



**Changing
Societies &
Personalities**



Online ISSN 2587-8964

Print ISSN 2587-6104

2023, Vol. 7, No. 4

Published **quarterly**

Founded in **2016**

Founder and Publisher:

Ural Federal University named after the first President of Russia Boris N. Yeltsin.
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The Journal is registered by the Federal Agency for Supervision in the Sphere of Telecommunication, 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 societal-level 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.

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EDITORIAL

Authentic: The Word of the Year 2023

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Although the tradition to select the Words of the Year (WotY) that have attracted a great deal of interest is fairly recent, it has already become quite popular. Such words are identified by different dictionaries, publishing companies, Internet sites, language societies, individual lexicographers, etc., and are believed to reflect the ethos, moods, or preoccupations of a particular year. For the year 2023, Merriam-Webster—the oldest dictionary publisher in the United States founded in 1831—has chosen *authentic* as its word of the year. This term describes something that people are thinking and writing about in stories and conversations about Artificial Intelligence, celebrity culture, identity, social media, and other issues. The Merriam-Webster “Word of the Year 2023” page mentions two reasons why so many people look up *authentic* in the dictionary: first, this word is hard to define, and, second, it is a subject of debate. As a rule, *authentic* is interpreted as a synonym for something real and genuine, as well as “true to one’s own personality, spirit, or character.” *Authentic* is often connected to identity, whether national or personal, “and with the rise of artificial intelligence—and its impact on deepfake videos, actors’ contracts, academic honesty, and a vast number of other topics—the line between ‘real’ and ‘fake’ has become increasingly blurred” (Merriam-Webster, 2023).

In the humanities and social sciences, the term “authenticity” is used in two main contexts. First, in existential philosophy after Martin Heidegger, it describes an ideal way of living characterized by such qualities as integrity, intensity, clarity, coherence, and honesty. Second, the concept of authenticity in the context of virtue ethics was developed by the Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor in his book *The Ethics of Authenticity* (1991). In his *magnum opus* “A Secular Age”, Taylor described the generalized culture of authenticity in Western societies, in which people are encouraged to find their own way, discover their own fulfillment, “do their own thing” prizing the individual self-expression of each person in their difference from others against surrendering to conformity with a model imposed

on individuals from outside, by society, or the previous generation, or religious or political authority (Taylor, 2007, p. 475).

Taylor places the roots of the ethic of authenticity in the Romantic period in Western culture (the late 18th century) and notes that intellectual and artistic élites have been searching for an authentic way of living or expressing themselves throughout the 19th century. At the same time, the ethics of authenticity has penetrated popular culture only in recent decades, in the time since the WWII (Taylor, 2007, p. 299). Taylor even calls the contemporary period in the human history (at least, in its Western part) *The Age of Authenticity*, when this kind of self-orientation seems to have become a mass phenomenon (p. 473). The ethic of authenticity is accompanied by soft relativism, which lets

each person do their own thing, and we shouldn't criticize each other's "values"; this is predicated on a firm ethical base, indeed, demanded by it. One shouldn't criticize the others' values, because they have a right to live their own life as you do. The sin which is not tolerated is intolerance. This injunction emerges clearly from the ethic of freedom and mutual benefit, although one might easily cavil at this application of it. (Taylor, 2007, p. 484)

The transformation of values is one of the key themes of *Changing Societies & Personalities*. I wish this process to be peaceful and to be based on mutual respect, which is, unfortunately, rarely follows this way. The discussions in the current issue are reflective of our policy of analyzing various cultures in their societal contexts aiming at achieving a better understanding between countries and peoples.

In the OPENING THE DEBATE section, Louie Giray's paper *A Case Against the Policy Mandating Vertically-Aligned Degrees in Philippine Graduate Education* is published. The author shares his concerns about the implementation of mandatory vertically-aligned degrees in the Philippine higher education system, while universities, by definition, should "not only be viewed as centers of learning and research but also as essential institutions of democracy." Consequently, obliging students to earn their academic degrees (MA, PhD) violates academic freedom and transgresses their autonomy, generalism, and multipotentiality. Giray believes that making vertical alignment work actually should mean "lecturers coordinating, updating what they teach and how they test, understanding what students need, and regularly checking if their subjects match their goals ... showing that vertical alignment is about creating a smooth academic setup, not enforcing what administrators want students to do." He even claims that imposition of degrees that administrators believe are appropriate make students "slaves to the educational system, forced to conform to a particular set of expectations rather than being able to make their own choices and pursue their own goals", and universities could become "anti-democratic, tyrannical, and oppressive if they prioritize a rigid system over the needs and aspirations of their students." Giray's paper is highly debatable, and I would like to encourage experts in the field of higher education from various countries to give their opinions on the matter.

The ARTICLE *Beyond the "Death of Research": Reimagining the Human-AI Collaboration in Scientific Research* by Mohammed Salah, Fadi Abdelfattah,

Hussam Al Halbusi, and Muna Mohammed is focused on the impact of the emergence of Artificial Intelligence (AI), specifically Generative AI (OpenAI ChatGPT and Google Bard) not only on natural sciences and the humanities, but also on arts, computer science, human-computer interaction, etc. Moreover, we are witnessing a tremendous paradigm shift in understanding of the world and humanity's place within it. At the same time, as the authors stress, "amidst this remarkable progress, a counter-narrative has emerged, painting a dystopian future where AI's rapid development potentially marginalizes human researchers, culminating in the so-called death of research", when human researchers are condemned to secondary roles. The article is aimed at a critical examination of such a view; it is considered to be oversimplified. The authors argue that while AI demonstrates exceptional performance in certain areas, it lacks essential human attributes indispensable to the research process. Therefore, they advocate for a synergistical collaboration of human and artificial intelligence and a carefully balanced approach, "seamlessly integrating AI's computational prowess with the irreplaceable value of human insight, creativity, and ethical guidance." Specifically, the article is focused on the human capacity for ethical judgment and decision-making. According to the authors, "while AI excels at quantitative analysis, it cannot interpret data within its broader context and ethical framework. With their deep understanding of cultural, historical, and social nuances, human researchers provide the interpretive layer that transforms AI-generated data into meaningful insights." The authors call human researchers "the ethical filter" necessary for envisioning societal impact of AI's predictions.

Zuo Wenjun, Svetlana V. Panikarova, Li Zhiyuan, and Zhao Qi in the ARTICLE *Working in the "Neo-Liberal Hegemony": An Investigation on Entrepreneurial Mindset of Internal Labor Market Based on Individual Differences* explore the entrepreneurial mindset (EM) in the context of digital nomadic entrepreneurship, employee innovation, intrapreneurship, creative labor markets, the gig economy, etc. The focus of the article is the influence of demographic factors on the development of an employee's EM, which has attracted insufficient research attention. The research is based on the example of China that underwent market transformation in the late 1970s. The authors argue that "the role of entrepreneurs in the history of China has shifted from non-existence in the early years to becoming a cornerstone of economic growth and innovation in the later years." They are motivated by the desire "to scrutinize the nexus between EM within the internal labor market and pertinent demographic variables, including gender, income level, educational attainment, and age." In order to clarify the EM varieties depending on different income levels, ages, genders, and educational levels, the authors have undertaken a study of representatives of business departments from Shanghai and Shenzhen, key economic centers in China with dynamic labor markets and numerous entrepreneurial ventures. For the research purposes, 261 valid responses were collected. The results provide insights into understanding the emergence of EM among China's native generation in the context of market reform and neo-liberal transformation.

The ARTICLE *Grouping of Occupations Based on Intragenerational Mobility* by Sergey A. Korotaev and Elena N. Gasiukova observes occupation as a key variable

in sociology, used as a predictor of a vast number of indicators ranging from political behavior to health, values, tolerance, moral position, sentiments, etc., influencing thinking, feeling, and behavior. As the authors mention, “every research inevitably implies the homogeneity of the analyzed professional groups in terms of properties essential for the work”; for further clarification of the nature of such homogeneity, the research presented in the article was aimed at creating groups of occupations based on mobility data using network analysis as the main methodology, where networks are served to model the relationships between occupations and people. The authors analyzed data from 15 waves of the Russian Longitudinal Monitoring Survey of Higher School of Economics (RLMS HSE) from 2007 to 2021. The age of the respondents was limited to 25–60. As a result, the authors identify four communities: the first (being the largest) unites mainly office staff; the second comprises workers, operators, and non-office associate professionals; the third includes occupations in the fields of education and medicine; and the fourth community consists of occupations in the service sector, security guards, and drivers.

Vera M. Peshkova in the ARTICLE *Types and Development Stages of Migrant Entrepreneurship in Russia* analyses migrant entrepreneurship as a relatively recent and complex phenomenon in international migration, focusing on its scale, the factors driving its emergence and evolution, the similarities and differences among migrant entrepreneurs from various countries, and the role of ethnicity in migrant entrepreneurship. Peshkova strives to get insights into entrepreneurial strategies and their interpretation in different situations and contexts. According to the author, “the most productive approach to studying migrant entrepreneurship is based on considering different combinations of interactions between three key factors: personal characteristics of migrants, group characteristics and resources, and the structure of opportunities and constraints, primarily related to the host and then the sending society.” The author presents a comparative analysis of the entrepreneurial activities of migrants from Azerbaijan and Kyrgyzstan who established their businesses since the 1990s, relying on a number of in-depth semi-structured interviews with public organizations, journalists, and migrant entrepreneurs conducted between 2017 and 2019 in Moscow and the Moscow region.

In the ARTICLE *Do Personality Traits Play a Role in Supporting Indonesian Islamic State? A Study of Fundamentalist Group Members in Indonesia* Tutut Chusniyah, Jas Laile Suzana Binti Jaafar, Hamdi Muluk, Zainal Abidin, and Gebi Angelina Zahra raise a highly important question about the compatibility of Islam and democracy. This issue is considered in the context of the conflict between Islam and the State of Indonesia ongoing for a long time, ever since Indonesia gained independence in 1945. The authors are specifically concerned about those people who support the concept of Islamic political system and whether a certain type of personality does play a role. They underline that there are various views on the factors that influence support for this idea, such as political attitudes and identity, focusing on the relationship between openness to experience and negative/positive characteristics or behaviors, and suggesting “that symbolic threat and *Salafi* ideology are the two psychological factors that mediate both openness to experience and support for the

idea of an Indonesian Islamic state.” The symbolic threat and *Salafi* ideology are used as mediators of the support for an Indonesian Islamic state. The study enrolled 325 male leaders, members, or sympathizers of three fundamentalist groups in Indonesia. In particular, the authors stress that data collection was not an easy process due to the sensitivity of the issue under consideration, although the participants took part in this research voluntarily without rewards.

Mostafa Ahadi and Shahriar Shahidi in the ARTICLE *Putting Fame and Celebrity in a Psychosocial Framework: A Scientific Analysis* pay attention to the impact of fame and such concepts as “celebrity,” “star,” and “influencer” on human life, and note that despite the significant expansion of academic research on celebrity, there is no coherent theory on fame in the field of psychology. The article is aimed at examining “scientific gaps by providing an overview of research trends in the field of celebrity psychology, in terms of research topics and methods used.” The authors use bibliometric analysis as a popular method to visualize trends in various fields, including celebrity psychology and formulate the following research questions: How has fame been psychologically analyzed in the past? How is fame currently studied? What trajectory will fame assume in the future? The data for the study were obtained from Scopus as a comprehensive citation database covering journals in engineering, medical, and social sciences for almost hundred years. English-language articles in the field of psychology were selected if they contained the words “famous” or “celebrity” in their titles, abstracts, or keywords.

In the ARTICLE *The Concept of the Dark Triad: Effect on Organizational Outcomes and Navigating Strategies*, Divya Upadhyay and Hasnan Baber write about the importance of a positive workplace atmosphere for productivity, innovation, and employee retention. At the same time, individuals with a high level of the Dark Triad (Machiavellianism, narcissism, and psychopathy) can foster a toxic culture, because they are known for manipulating others, creating a hostile work environment being characterized by a lack of empathy and a focus on themselves. The authors discuss the concept of the Dark Triad, examine its impact on the organizational outcome in various areas, explain the work strategies needed to work with Dark Triads to manage them along with their organizational outcomes in the workplace, and propose strategies for managing these outcomes, such as screening and selection procedures, training and development programs, the establishment of ethical policies and conduct codes, leadership development initiatives, performance management systems, and creating a supportive workplace.

Ekaterina S. Purgina and Andrey S. Menshikov in the ARTICLE *Environmental Imaginaries of the Arctic in the 21st Century Travel Writing* note that it “provides a diverse and rich repository of narratives, in which our relations to nature are spelled out in a more nuanced and interdependent way.” The authors describe major shifts in the way the Arctic was imagined from the legendary Ultima Thule, “a place lying between the worlds of gods and men,” to “an empty space to which outsiders are entitled,” a frontier, wilderness, wasteland, a “spot on the world’s fringes,” which made a perfect background for hunting and whaling stories where a “white Englishman in a white space” struggled with the elements. Special focus is made on the 20th century’s

rise to new, post-colonial visions of the Arctic. The authors argue that “contemporary travel literature deploys complex narrative constructions, reinterpreting some of the old tropes (e.g., the Arctic as an empty, pure, and ever-silent no-man’s land) and introducing new ones.” In particular, they analyze William E. Glassley’s travelogue “A Wilder Time: Notes From a Geologist at the Edge of the Greenland Ice” (2018), which, as the authors stress, challenges the “hegemonic” imaginaries of the Arctic as either a space to conquer or an ecosystem to protect.

In the *ARTICLE Exploring the Factors Influencing Tourist Destination Loyalty: A Case Study of Homestay Entrepreneurs in Thailand*, Chaiyavit Muangmee, Kanakorn Sawangcharoen, Veerapan Pongvatnanusorn, Thun Chaitorn, Nuttapon Kassakorn, and Shahab E. Saqib analyze the tourism industry and its role in bringing Thailand a significant income and positively affecting the overall economic system by providing employment opportunities. The authors are focused on the Samut Sakhon Province as a popular tourist destination and one of Thailand’s most well-known coastal provinces with its distinctive features, cultural heritage, and natural attractions that make it appealing for tourists. The article is aimed at highlighting the factors influencing tourist loyalty, which yet to be sufficiently identified and explored, as well as at developing a comprehensive Tourist Destination Loyalty Model specifically for homestays in Samut Sakhon Province and providing actionable recommendations for homestay entrepreneurs to enhance visitors’ satisfaction, loyalty, and repeat visitation. The data for the research was collected from 440 homestay tourists in Samut Sakhon. The sample was selected to be representative of this diverse group, encompassing a variety of demographic characteristics, travel preferences, and geographic diversity.

The *BOOK REVIEW* section includes a review by Andrey S. Menshikov of Thomas Remington’s book *The Returns to Power: A Political Theory of Economic Inequality, 2023*. The book under review “is a comprehensive overview of the research on inequality that covers, in fact, all—economic, social, political, psychological, and philosophical—aspects of the problem.”

Discussions around the topics raised in the present 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 web-site: <https://changing-sp.com/>

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OPENING THE DEBATE

A Case Against the Policy Mandating Vertically-Aligned Degrees in Philippine Graduate Education

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ABSTRACT

This paper delves into a policy that mandates vertically-aligned degrees. For context, many universities have adopted and are increasingly considering adopting this rule, which surprisingly has not faced much public criticism. This paper argues against the policy of mandating vertically-aligned degrees because it is, in the term of Frankfurt, bullshit and lacks merit due to administrators' misconceptions about vertical alignment. It asserts that the policy mandating vertically-aligned degrees restricts academic freedom and presents students with a false dilemma, limiting opportunities for generalism and multipotentiality. Upon examination, the policy leads to the dehumanization and alienation of students, reshaping universities into undemocratic, tyrannical entities while stifling creativity and cross-disciplinary collaboration. This paper advocates for a more adaptable and inclusive graduate education framework. It underscores the necessity of prioritizing students' individual needs and aspirations, urging for an environment where students have the agency to mold their educational journey. This paper strongly urges a shift away from inflexible educational mandates and highlights the significance of fostering an environment that champions autonomy, welcomes diverse academic pursuits, and enables the full exploration of students' potential. Finally, it seeks to cultivate an educational landscape that fosters innovation and societal progress while honoring individual autonomy and development.

KEYWORDS

educational policy, generalism, graduate education, Philippine higher education, vertical alignment

Received 12 June 2023

Accepted 22 November 2023

Published online 27 December 2023

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The Story

In place of an epigraph, an AI-generated image with prompt: In a small café, two graduate students, a woman and a man, engage in conversation. The woman sits in tears, visibly distressed by her inability to make choices regarding her education (Figure 1).

Figure 1

AI-Generated Image



Note. Source: Microsoft. (2023). *Bing Image Creator* [Image creation model]. <https://www.bing.com/images/create/>

After five long years, Riena and I were able to finally meet. We were blockmates in college. We completed the same bachelor's degree, with English as our major. At a small café, we talked about life and shared some stories. "It was not my choice to study MA Linguistics at Philippine Unity University (a pseudonym; herewith referred to as PUU)," she admitted. "It was the administrators who chose that program for me."

I was shocked by this revelation. "But I thought you were excited to be studying at such a respected university," I said. Riena sighed heavily. "I was actually set on studying MA Special Education," she explained. "I'm really interested in understanding and helping neurodiverse children, and I thought that degree would be the perfect fit for me."

"But then when I attempted to enroll in that program, the registrar said that it's not possible because it was not vertically-aligned with my bachelor's degree," she

continued, while I was sipping my iced coffee. “The registrar told me that, according to the university’s rules, students are required to study a program that is in alignment with their bachelor’s degree.” This must be highly rigid and pedantic. “So, if someone has a degree in math, for example, they are expected to pursue a Master’s and Doctorate degree in math too.” A deep sigh evidently had escaped her.

As I listened to her story, I couldn’t believe what I was hearing. “They do that to their students? That’s so unfair!” I exclaimed, feeling a sense of frustration and sadness for my friend. Riena replied with reddish eyes, as if she was going to release a river of tears, but she held back and explained, “I know. I was greatly disappointed when I was told that I couldn’t study what I was fervent about. But, of course, I didn’t want my passing score on the entrance exam to go to waste and hence I reluctantly agreed to study MA Linguistics, instead.”

I pondered about this policy—it was doing more harm than good. Because yes, Riena wasn’t the only student affected by this policy, but many others too, at present and in the future. Hence, I said to myself that I must undertake a move. And the first thing I undertook was to research the issue further to see if I could find any way to bring attention to it. When I contacted my other colleagues who studied and had been studying there, I discovered that this policy was indeed being implemented there with full conviction.

No doubt that something must be done. I must bring attention to the detrimental effects of this policy, I decided to speak out against it—through writing a paper. This is a dissent. In writing this paper, I am aware that my views are contrary to those held by the majority of teachers and administrators who support vertically-aligned degrees as a requirement for education. Lastly, my goal is to share my opinion on how mandating vertically-aligned degrees can harm the university, its students, and society at large, with the hope that this enlightens policy-makers.

Administrators Spewing Bullshit

While Riena finished talking about her predicament, I uttered, “That’s total *bullshit!*” That may be a profane word, but I used it as how Frankfurt utilizes it in his book *On Bullshit*. There, he explains *bullshit* as a persuasive speech that does not care about being truthful (Frankfurt, 2005). These administrators, I contend, do not know what they are talking about. They have not tried to study if the policy they are implementing is educationally sound. Or perhaps they just do not want to bother about it anymore because they already hold institutional power and whatever they say, students will believe and comply.

Yes, this trend is occurring in universities! This unquestioning acceptance has become standard in our country’s culture, especially within its universities, due to the Philippines being categorized as having a high-power distance culture. This means that inequality is viewed as the foundation of societal order (Hofstede et al., 2010). Consequently, individuals in lower positions (students) consistently defer to those in higher positions (administrators) and tend to accept this as the natural order of things (Sweetman, 2012), regardless of whether the rule is fair or disempowering.

Such a cultural dynamic fosters the notion that administrators should not and cannot be challenged. When they go unquestioned and receive no feedback, they wield unchecked power, which can lead to objectification, abuses, and corruption (Giray, 2021; Gruenfeld, 2020).

This is a pathetic sight of universities where students have become *sheeple*. They just follow what administrators say. I thought universities are heaven for critical thinking, reflection, and sound judgment, but this current situation says the opposite. This is ironic because they have become indifferent toward truth—the truth of academic freedom, the real meaning of vertical alignment, and that they are giving students a false dilemma. Those administrators should be the first ones to be concerned about truth values in the educational setting. Alas, they have become, as what Frankfurt (2005) calls them, *enemies of truth*. Now, I will detail why mandating students to take vertically-aligned degrees is bullshit (Table 1).

Table 1

Summary of Issues on Administrators Spewing Bullshit

Issue	Explanation
Destroying academic freedom	Mandating vertically-aligned degrees restricts students' academic freedom, curtailing their degree choices based solely on institutional regulations. This imposition limits exploration of diverse academic paths, undermining personal and intellectual growth
Wrong understanding of vertical alignment	Administrators' misconception of vertical alignment overlooks its purpose in curriculum planning. This narrow interpretation neglects the flexibility crucial for individualized learning paths, hindering academic and personal growth
False dilemma	Administrators limit students' choices by presenting a binary ultimatum. Failing to recognize alternative paths impedes autonomy and discourages intellectual exploration, disregarding diverse student aspirations and potentials

A. Destroying Academic Freedom

First, obliging students to earn vertically aligned degrees is against academic freedom. But do these administrators even know what it is? Do they know how this mandate clashes with academic freedom? Answering these questions can lead them to simple, definition-based, factual truths in the realm of education. It is ironic that they do not know this. How is it possible that they are in those positions? I bet they do not delve deeper about it because they are busy enjoying their lucrative salary and the air-conditioned rooms. But, let me help them. A quick-second search on Britannica can reveal that academic freedom entails the freedom of educators and learners to instruct, learn, and explore knowledge and research without unjust or limiting intervention from laws, institutional rules, or public influence (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, n.d.).

To reiterate, given the principle of academic freedom, which is instituted in all universities (at least in the Philippine setting), students should be free to pursue their academic degrees (MA, PhD)—whatever specialization they find fitting or interesting

to their endeavors—without constraint from any university regulation. Of course, satisfying the minimum requirements, like grades, is a prerequisite. But the name of the degree should not be a determining factor, most especially if the entrant is capable. As I see, PUU contradicts itself. Its administrators say that they value academic freedom; however, this policy of forcing students to take vertically-aligned degrees is a violation of academic freedom.

B. Wrong Understanding of Vertical Alignment

This is all mixed up! Those administrators have it wrong about vertical alignment. They think it is just about students sticking to one field from undergrad to PhD. Nope, that is not it! Let me explain. Vertical alignment, as Case & Zucker (2005) say, is about setting up a clear, sensible way of teaching subject-based content as students move from one level or course to the next. It is all about organizing what gets taught at different education stages. The aim? To make sure the lessons fit well together and nothing gets repeated (Hurst, 2015). And hey, it is not the students' job to handle this.

How do we make vertical alignment work? Definitely not by making students take specific degrees in a row. It is more about lecturers coordinating, updating what they teach and how they test, understanding what students need, and regularly checking if their subjects match their goals. Lapiz (2015) also mentions how programs are organized across different levels based on specialization, showing that vertical alignment is about creating a smooth academic setup, not enforcing what administrators want students to do.

Although I perused PUU's files and memoranda on their official website, to my knowledge, I did not find any written document that explicitly states a policy concretizing that students should take vertically-aligned degrees. Therefore, I assume that this is just a verbal and informal policy, which is spread in the frontline. These administrators have been saying and doing this over and over until it has become an ingrained policy.

They will tell the applicant, "Sorry, but you are unable to get this degree as it is not vertically aligned." Since applicants take these words as gospel, they would not dare to challenge them and would assume that the whole thing is for their own good. They would then just keep their mouths shut and switch the degree they really wanted. For the courageous ones, they would back down. However, considering this is a public university where tuition is affordable, many would hesitate to change institutions. They would just compromise, sacrificing their educational autonomy.

C. False Dilemma

Imposition of degrees that administrators believe are appropriate does not give students a real choice, but rather creates a false dilemma. Administrators say, "Take this specific degree or leave the university," simplifying the options to just two when students actually have many choices. A dilemma means every possible action leads to bad results (Thompson, n.d.). Here, if students take the degree, they might feel unfulfilled, or if they leave, they lose the chance to study affordably. Both options end up unsatisfactory for students personally. This way of presenting choices wrongly limits and disempowers them because it ignores their values, wishes, and goals.

These administrators implement such policy as they believe it to be the right way to do things. In academia, having degrees that match is considered a key factor in demonstrating expertise and credibility. At the same time, not every student pursues an academic career. Some opt for other career paths or plan to change fields after earning a degree. While I recognize the benefits of vertically-aligned degrees, I strongly believe that administrators should not limit students' choices by imposing degrees they find appropriate. Nor should they make it a requirement. They can advise or encourage students, but whether or not to pursue an aligned degree should be entirely at the discretion of the students involved.

Transgression to Autonomy, Generalism, and Multipotentiality

Imposing vertically-aligned degrees to students is a blatant transgression to their autonomy, generalism, and multipotentiality (Table 2). First, it constrains personal and student autonomy; it specifically limits their agency as a person who has the capacity to control their life and impedes their independence of being in-charge in terms of their own learning. Second, this policy implies that specialists are superior compared to generalists, when, in fact, both types are equally valuable in work and in societies. Third, it disregards that some people have multipotentiality, the capacity of a person to excel in multiple fields.

Table 2

Summary of Issues Discussed on Transgression to Autonomy, Generalism, and Multipotentiality

Issue	Explanation
Assaulting autonomy	The policy restricts students' autonomy, dictating a predetermined path and impeding their freedom to pursue personal interests, hindering their full potential. Administrators imposing vertically-aligned degrees act as academic coercers, disregarding students' ability for independent decision-making
Discounting generalism	The policy dismisses the value of generalism, emphasizing specialization and undermining students' exploration across diverse disciplines. Mandating vertically-aligned degrees confines students to a singular track, stifling curiosity and limiting interdisciplinary search crucial for innovation and societal advancement
Ignoring multipotentiality	The policy overlooks multipotentiality, disregarding individuals' diverse talents and interests across multiple fields. Imposing rigid program adherence stifles the growth of multipotential individuals, hindering their adaptability and exploration across disciplines.

A. Assaulting Autonomy

In a situation of compulsory vertically oriented degrees, students are deprived of autonomy and are prevented from following their personal and educational interests. I see that they are essentially slaves to the system, forced to conform to a particular set of expectations rather than being able to make their own choices and pursue their own

goals. Despite the belief of some school administrators at PUU that a set of vertically aligned degrees is desirable and advantageous for graduate students, I disagree. I believe that this system actually has the opposite effect and deprives students of the ability to make their own choices and follow their own paths. It stifles creativity and prevents students from fully realizing their potential.

When administrators do not consider what students want and their decisions for themselves, and when the administrators take away students' control over their own learning, this becomes *academic coercion*. They are forcing the students to get a specific vertically-aligned degree. These administrators think they know the best for students and hence act on the latter's behalf. Understanding that these graduate students are already adults, this policy neglects the capacity of them to decide for themselves and for their own personal and academic pursuits.

These students are not children anymore—they are, in fact, old and mature enough to decide wisely for their decisions in studies and life. They are responsible for the consequences of the action that they are going to take, whether it is taking an academic degree which may not vertically-aligned. Besides, the graduate students know what they should do with their education. They do not need another party to do the picking on their behalf. So, I see that insisting such is rule is unethical and insensitive.

Autonomy, alongside with competence and relatedness, is a psychological need which individuals must have for them to flourish in school and in life (Ryan & Deci, 2012). Again, this is a need. It's not optional. If this is stripped from them, their humanity will also be stripped—converting them to automatons. I fear that PUU is doing it without awareness. And I hope they won't close their sight on this terrible situation. This is very unbecoming of a university which is supposed to be a refuge to make individuals freer because of education. In the same vein, this is related to the bigger concept of agency, which refers to the “the ability to exert control over and give direction to one's life” (Biesta & Tedder, 2007, p. 134). Because yes, all of us, students not being exempted, need autonomy in life! This is a way for us to refine our sense of identity and gain confidence in our being.

B. Discounting Generalism

As the policy of vertically-aligned degrees is put into practice, students are required to traverse the path of specialism. Specialism pertains to concentration to a certain narrow field of study. This is in contrast with generalism, which is about the practice of studying various disciplines. Although I do not have any problem if a student desires to pursue a track to being a specialist, I insist that it is wrong if it is forced onto them. By telling—no, requiring—students to take vertically-aligned degrees only is an obvious transgression to their individual autonomy. We do not want them to think that they are hopeless victims of educational empires for not letting them become who they are because the programs they want are forbidden.

What I clamor is for them to have a choice to be a generalist! Not all want to be specialists. Not all are going to be successful on that pathway. I want that PUU allow the students to pick an academic degree even though it is not aligned to their

previous programs. There is nothing wrong from being generalists. This curiosity can lead them to cross-fertilizing ideas and disciplines. They might even help bring about an innovation, a new model, or even a new branch of knowledge! This is a better way to broaden the scholarly knowledge than just forcing them to stick to a confined, conventional track, which they may not even want in the first place. For yes, this set-up dampens students' spirit of curiosity, which is a crucial intellectual virtue to make science and societies flourish. Allowing them to pursue another discipline can make students blaze a trail!

Perhaps, deviating from vertically-aligned degrees can be stemmed from thinking that generalism is inferior. Many academics and administrators that I have talked to hastily generalized that it's not the sensible pathway because institutions put premium on specialism. However, in behavioral ecology, generalist species are better adapted to changing environments than specialist species. This is because generalists are able to survive on a wider range of resources and can adapt to a wider range of environmental conditions (Richmond et al., 2005). Applying this to the modern workplace, generalist individuals have the ability to learn new skills and adapt to changing environments. They may be more versatile and able to take on a wider range of responsibilities than specialists, who may have a deeper knowledge of a specific area but may be less able to adapt to new situations. See!

There have been many individuals who have achieved success and fame by taking a more generalist approach to their education and careers, combining knowledge and methods from different disciplines to bring about significant advances. Examples of successful generalists include Margaret Wheatley, a management consultant and author with a Master of Arts degree in Media Ecology and a doctorate from Harvard's program in Administration, Planning, and Social Policy; Dan Ariely, a professor and author with a Master's degree in cognitive psychology and a PhD in business administration; and Shaquille O'Neal, a former professional basketball player and businessman with a bachelor's degree in general studies, a Master's degree in business, and a Doctor of Education. These individuals have all achieved success despite pursuing programs that were not directly aligned with their previous degrees, showing that it is possible to blaze one's own trail and learn new things, regardless of previous academic backgrounds.

In this hypercomplex world, where singular disciplines often fall short in addressing multifaceted issues, generalists wielding diverse perspectives cannot be overlooked. Their expertise is increasingly invaluable in tackling challenges that transcend specialized domains. In fact, today's professional landscape necessitates the transfer of knowledge—the adeptness to apply insights across diverse contexts and domains (Epstein, 2021). Hence, it is indispensable to foster a mindset capable of navigating various disciplines. We face a lot of complex and cross-disciplinary problems and they demand a blend of skills and knowledge from multiple spheres, making a diverse educational background a valuable asset.

And if some people would maintain, "You are not going anywhere if you have degrees from different disciplines," it'd be better to whisper at their ear that it's

bullshit. Just like *shit*, it does not have any nutrition. They are just saying that to convince the other party that they are credible and all-knowing. If one is going to dissect that statement, they will see that it is ludicrously wrong. Having knowledge and skills in different disciplines can be a major advantage in today's world. With a diverse set of skills and knowledge, individuals are able to pursue careers in a variety of industries and may even be able to invent new fields by combining their expertise in unique ways. In this way, it can open up a wide range of possibilities for personal and professional growth.

Common sense seems to dictate, "PUU only wants them to become specialists so they end up being excellent knowledge workers." One might believe that it may be a good thing—but this kind of thinking is rigidly constricted. Its logic is merely about producing workers for industries and societies. Yes, we want to equip ourselves with knowledge and skills. Yes, we want to excel in the work we do. Yes, we want to help the society. But we also take graduate degrees for the advancement of ourselves, for the realization of our personal goals, and for the development of our identities.

Let me clarify this. I am not against specialization. I even recognize the value of specialism in life and in the workplace. However, not all want to become specialists. If one wants to specialize in a certain field, let them do it. But my point here is that requiring students to follow a specific, vertically-aligned degree program is not just. Not everyone wants to specialize in a particular field. And many people enjoy exploring other fields, connecting different ideas from different disciplines, and becoming generalists. Universities should recognize and respect this diversity of interests and allow students to pursue their own goals and interests, rather than mandating a particular path.

C. Ignoring Multipotentiality

Multipotentiality is the ability to have multiple potentials or talents. In the literature of giftedness, it is often used in the context of individuals who are not just skilled in one specific area, but who have a range of abilities and interests (Rysiew et al., 1999). These individuals may be referred to as *multipotentialites*, and they may have the ability to excel in a variety of different fields or disciplines (Wapnick, 2017). I see multipotentiality as a strength, as it can allow individuals to adapt to changing circumstances and pursue a wide range of interests. However, I contend that multipotential individuals cannot flourish in institutions, such as PUU, where deviating from previous program isn't allowed.

Multipotentiality is a term used to describe individuals who have a range of skills and interests across multiple fields; this reminds me of the concept of a *Renaissance man*. A Renaissance man is a person who is highly educated and knowledgeable in a variety of subjects, including the arts, sciences, and humanities (Heller, 2015). Famous examples of Renaissance men Leonardo da Vinci (painter, scientist, philosopher, engineer, etc.) and Nicolaus Copernicus (astronomer, diplomat, physician, economist, etc.). They made significant contributions to various fields and had a major impact on the world. These historical figures are remembered for their ability to shift old paradigms and advance mankind through their diverse skills and knowledge.

I believe that multipotential individuals will not thrive if they are required to have narrowly focused degrees. It is essential for people to have the freedom to explore their interests and to have the option to study or work in multiple areas if they want to (Ryan & Deci, 2006). Some people may find that a multipotential approach suits them best, and it is important for them to have the ability to follow this path if they choose. It's important for individuals to be able to make their own choices about what is best for them and to have the support and resources to pursue their goals.

I am inclined to align with Felipe Fernández-Armesto (2015) on the fading presence of multipotentiality, suggesting that universities play a role in its decline. The growing emphasis on specialization and the push for students to pick a narrow field of study early on contributes to this decline. PUU lacks the flexibility or resources to aid students exploring multiple areas of study, hindering the growth of multipotential individuals. This absence of support might create hurdles for them to excel in such an environment.

Finally, this topic of multipotentiality reminds me of *Divergent*, a science fiction novel by Veronica Roth (2011). The story is set in a dystopian society where people are divided into factions based on their personalities and are trained in specific disciplines. The main character, Tris, is a divergent, meaning she does not fit into any one faction and has the potential to be skilled in multiple areas. Tris must hide her divergence and prove her worth, while also fighting against a corrupt government that seeks to eliminate all divergents.

The place depicted in novel is somehow similar with PUU's for the students do not have the freedom to choose their own path of study and are instead assigned to a specific faction (discipline). This means that divergents (multipotentialites) are not able to pursue their own interests or goals and are instead required to specialize in a particular discipline. While administrators may argue that this system is beneficial because it prepares students for the kind of specialized degrees that are desired by many institutions and organizations, I believe that it actually hinders students' ability to thrive. By not allowing students to explore their own interests and passions, they may not be able to find fulfillment or succeed in their chosen fields.

Negative Repercussions to Students, Universities, and Societies

The implementation of mandatory vertically-aligned degrees in Philippine higher education has raised concerns about the negative repercussions it could have on students, universities, and societies. This policy can result in the dehumanization and alienation of students, who may feel like they are being forced to conform to a certain standard without regard for their individual interests or talents. Second, universities could become anti-democratic, tyrannical, and oppressive if they prioritize a rigid system over the needs and aspirations of their students. Finally, this policy may stifle creativity and consilience, as students are restricted to a narrow field of study and discouraged from exploring other approaches. I will explore these negative repercussions in greater detail (Table 3).

Table 3

Summary of Issues on the Negative Repercussions to Students, Universities, and Societies

Issue	Explanation
Students are dehumanized and alienated	This policy reduces students to mere pawns in the education system, depriving them of informed choice and individuality. This oppressive approach silences students by pushing them down predetermined paths without exploring alternatives
Universities become anti-democratic, tyrannical, and oppressive	The policy excludes students from decision-making, suppressing critical thinking and resembling undemocratic governance. Imposed without student input, it stifles engagement and contradicts values of democracy and fair governance
Creativity and consilience are stifled	Mandating specific degrees limits students' exploration, hindering creativity and impeding the free flow of interdisciplinary ideas necessary for breakthroughs. Focusing solely on specialized degrees opposes multidisciplinary approaches, limiting learning and cultural evolution

A. Students are Dehumanized and Alienated

Allow me to become more dramatic as I discourse the terrible repercussions of this policy to students. As Nick Haslam (2006) so eloquently stated, dehumanization is the insidious process of viewing others as mere objects, no different than beasts or machines. Yet, at PUU, students are subjected to this cruel fate. They are stripped of their humanity and forced into degree programs against their will, nothing more than mere pawns in a larger game, mere objects to further the agenda administrators call *vertical alignment*, which is again another political ploy to subvert spirituality in the realm of education.

The tyranny of power rears its ugly head in the world of education, where administrators, blinded by their own authority, fail to recognize the devastating effects of their actions, of their ill-conceived policies. Lammers and Stapel (2011) have shown that with power comes the dehumanization of the powerless, as the mighty justify their mistreatment by reducing others to mere objects. The students, with their voices silenced, are at the mercy of these administrators, who hold the platform of education in their hands. And yet, power corrupts, allowing individuals, such as these administrators, to act in increasingly self-serving and irrational ways (Giray, 2021; Guinote et al., 2002). The future of our students hangs in the balance, threatened by the very people who are tasked with shaping it.

Meanwhile, I see a trend in universities where many young students pursue graduate degrees. These young graduate students find themselves amid their developmental years, where they are prone to accepting the authority of their teachers and administrators without question; hence, they'd just obey the latter. This can have damaging consequences if students are forced to undertake a graduate program that they have no interest in. This may lead to what, in psychology, calls *identity foreclosure*, which pertains to a premature commitment to an identity without questioning it (American Psychological Association, n.d.). Students would just accept the values, goals, and roles chosen for them by administrators without considering their own wants and desires, and the potential for other alternatives.

In taking a graduate degree, the students are faced with a decision that could shape the rest of their lives. However, if they are told that their path is predetermined by their previous academic degree and they must follow the conventional track of a vertically-aligned degree, they may feel helpless. But little do the administrators know, the decision to pursue a graduate degree is not so cut and dry.

For the students are conscious beings, with their own experiences, beliefs, and aspirations. They know that there are various reasons for furthering their education, reasons that couldn't be ignored or reduced to mere names or numbers on a piece of paper. And so, if one chooses to go against the norm, to deviate from the expected path, let them be. After all, students possess their own bodies, and with that, the right to make their own decisions.

And make no mistake, our education becomes part of us. It helps shape who we are and what we stand for. That is why it is crucial that we, as individuals, are given the power to choose our own educational path. Students must not allow themselves to be mere vessels for someone else's vision of success. Therefore, the students' consciousness must be the deciding factor, the driving force behind any choice, including the choosing of a degree program.

Besides, education is not just about obtaining degrees, but about personal growth, self-discovery, and the pursuit of one's passions. And universities should not constrain them. Universities should not be seen as shackles, but as launching pads, spaces where the students can unleash their full potential. For yes, students must reclaim their autonomy in learning, and administrators hold the key to unlocking this potential. Only by granting students their rightful power can they truly become lifelong learners and fulfilled individuals.

B. Universities Become Anti-Democratic, Tyrannical, and Oppressive

Universities should not only be viewed as centers of learning and research but also as essential institutions of democracy (Fallis, 2007). This is because education itself is a powerful force that democratizes individuals and prepares them to actively participate in democratic life, as Koliba (2000) suggests. The foundation of a democratic state lies in the democracy present in educational institutions (Davies, 2008). Further, Fallis (2007) posits that in a knowledge-based society, universities are critical for the complete realization of social, civil, and political citizenship.

However, what is democracy in educational institutions? It is not a mere term to be thrown around and ignored. In the words of Lynn Davies (2008), democracy in education demands a thorough understanding of rights and responsibilities, and an unwavering commitment to their implementation. As stated by John Stuart Mill (1998) and widely propagated by Amartya Sen (2017), democracy is all about *government by discussion*, a process that cannot be accomplished by simply making decisions behind closed doors. If we are to truly uphold democracy in universities, we must engage with the students and other stakeholders and give them a voice in the decision-making process. Only then can we hope to create a society that is truly democratic and just.

It appears that the administrators at PUU have taken it upon themselves to make important decisions without even bothering to ask the students for their input. I believe

this is an outright transgression of democracy! The mandate that students take only vertically-aligned degrees has been imposed on them without any consultation with the public or its stakeholders. Such actions are highly anti-democratic and go against the very essence of democratic values.

As John Dewey (1916) so eloquently put it, democracy is not merely a form of government, but rather, it is a way of living, a mode of associated living that is based on conjoint communication and shared experiences. It is a space where people can interact, consult one another, and reach consensus. If we do not uphold these principles, we risk losing the very foundation upon which our democratic society is built. It is our duty to ensure that all voices are heard and that decisions are made in a fair and democratic manner.

During a recent discussion with a colleague, I was disheartened to hear him say, “We cannot do anything about it. Those are the rules set by the administrators, and we just have to follow them.” What a pitiful and faint-hearted attitude! This person seems to have given up on challenging authority and has become complacent in a world where those in power cannot be questioned. What shall happen in this world where we just do always with what others tell us? But I refuse to accept this as the norm! Such an approach is akin to living under a dictatorship, and it goes against the very essence of democracy.

State universities, such as the one we are discussing, are owned and operated by the democratic Philippine state. As such, they should uphold the same democratic values as the state itself. There should be open discussions and consensus-building, with the voices of students valued and their human rights protected, including the right to autonomy in educational decisions. As stated in Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, “Everyone has the right to education” (United Nations, 1948). This right should include the freedom to choose one’s course of study, as education is not just about obtaining a degree but enriching one’s qualitative life. It is our responsibility to ensure that these fundamental rights are respected and upheld in all aspects of education.

I cannot in good conscience stay silent about the policy that has been imposed on the students, which I can only liken to tyranny. This policy robs them of their autonomy as individuals and strips away their freedom to pursue their own goals. It is a stark contradiction to the very idea of student-centeredness. We all yearn to explore and satisfy our curiosities, and to use our education to achieve our personal goals. Yet, under this policy, students are left feeling helpless, as if they are living in a state of tyranny where they lack sovereignty over their own bodies and minds (Mill, 1998).

The university’s restrictions deprive them of the opportunity to choose their own courses of study, a situation that is reminiscent of the enslavement of people throughout history. Such a lack of autonomy is never beneficial for those who are enslaved, and the consequences can be much more severe than just psychological harm, as Abed (2004) has noted. As Paulo Freire (2007) said, any act that prevents people from becoming more fully human is oppressive, and this policy is undoubtedly one such act.

Louis Althusser (2014) believed that institutions that shape people’s beliefs and values, such as universities, can be considered as *ideological state apparatus*, which refers to the role that these institutions play in reproducing and reinforcing dominant ideology, thereby maintaining the existing power structure. By mandating students to take vertically aligned degrees, universities become part of this apparatus through perpetuating a dangerous

ideology that education should only serve the purpose of preparing individuals for work. This narrow-minded perspective ideologically molds students to be uncritical laborers (Saltman, 2018), fostering conformity and stifling diversity and critical thinking. Therefore, this threatens the very essence of free and innovative thought.

Meanwhile, we can connect here the Marxist concept of false consciousness. *False consciousness* is a dangerous state of mind where individuals unconsciously adopt ideas that are not in their best interest, thus perpetuating the existing power structure and dominant ideology (Augoustinos, 1999; Eyerman, 1981). At PUU, this can be seen through the requirement for students to take vertically-aligned degrees with the purpose of solely preparing them for work. By accepting this narrow perspective, students unconsciously accept their role as uncritical laborers in society, thereby reinforcing their own oppression and maintaining the status quo.

Pierre Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence, which pertains to the subtle and indirect ways in which dominant groups exert power and control over subordinate groups, can also be linked in this topic (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; see Zizek, 2008). By mandating students to take vertically-aligned degrees, universities are perpetuating symbolic violence, making students unconsciously adopt limited perspectives on education and reinforcing the existing power structure.

Hence, I stand firmly against the restriction of student freedom in choosing their own degree programs. It sends shivers down my body to think about the implications of this move. Normalizing routine and conformity, it threatens to extinguish the sparks of individuality and creativity within our learners. As eminent public university, PUU's implementation of this policy has the potential to spread like wildfire to other institutions. If not met with critical mindset, it may give birth to a series of ill-conceived policies that will rob our learners of their autonomy and lead to a dystopian Philippine educational system, where education is no longer a beacon of hope and creativity. I cannot let that happen.

Looking toward the future, I am filled with a sense of dread. The suppression of student freedom to choose their own degree programs is already taking root and gaining credibility, and I fear that it will become an accepted norm like the air we breathe. This hegemonic thinking threatens to transform our universities into anti-democratic, tyrannical, and oppressive institutions that suppress critical thinking and strip learners of their autonomy. We must fight to ensure our universities are democratized. We cannot allow our voices to be silenced and our freedom to be restricted.

C. Creativity and Consilience are Stifled

According to St. Augustine (1909, pp. 5–22), no one performs well when acting against their own will, even when the action itself is good. This strongly suggests that an innate, unrestricted curiosity leads to more effective learning. Truly, the individuality and autonomy in learning cannot be neglected. This also applies to mandating graduate degrees. When students are forced to pursue a specific graduate degree, they may lack investment in the learning process and feel obliged to complete coursework without any genuine interest in the subject matter. This can hinder their ability to explore, make mistakes, experiment, and become creative, which are vital for a meaningful and engaging learning experience. By allowing students the freedom to choose graduate

degrees that align with their interests and passions, they are more likely to approach their studies with enthusiasm and a desire to learn, which can lead to creative breakthroughs.

“The University is above all governed by actions of discovery; and that such discovery and inventiveness—the adventure that is a University—is shaped by a demand for an ongoing openness to possibility. The word that we usually give to that openness to possibility, of course, is just freedom” (Docherty, 2011, p. 4). The adventure of a university is indeed shaped by an ongoing openness to possibility, which requires the freedom to discover and explore. Unfortunately, at PUU, students are mandated to pursue vertically aligned degrees, which limits their exposure to different fields and ideas. This can send the message that they should conform to a particular degree, field, and set of expectations, rather than explore their interests and passions.

I think that this lack of openness and freedom at PUU can hinder students’ ability to think creatively and innovatively. Mandating vertical aligned degrees may stifle their inventiveness, as we may feel pressured to fit in to a specific way of thinking and problem-solving. When we have the ability to explore various fields and ideas, we are more likely to make connections between different areas of study, leading to new insights and discoveries. Who knows, perhaps the person who deviated from the enforced vertically aligned degree could become the next trailblazer or even make groundbreaking discoveries?

Meanwhile, the Philippine Qualifications Framework (n.d.) outlines that Level VII (Post-Baccalaureate Program) graduate students are expected “demonstrate advanced knowledge and skills in a specialized or multi-disciplinary field of study for professional practice, self-directed research, and/or lifelong learning.” Mandating students to take vertically-aligned degrees is against the spirit of the PQF. This policy limits students’ choices and suggests that graduate studies are solely focused on specialization. This approach disregards the importance of a multidisciplinary or transdisciplinary approach to learning, which is critical for developing a well-rounded and versatile graduate student.

If mandating vertically-aligned degrees becomes a trend, I think it may potentially lead to a dystopic society. When students are forced to pursue a specific degree, they may feel obligated to comply with the requirements without genuine interest or passion. Consequently, the resulting work may lack authenticity and individual expression, leading to dehumanization and a lack of benefit to society. As John Stuart Mill (1998) aptly argued, the authentic pursuit and achievement of individual talents and passions contribute to the greater good of society. Making graduate students pursue degrees that align with their interests and resonate with their soul, I believe, ultimately benefits not only the students, but also the society as a whole.

Also, *consilience* is strangled if this policy is perpetuated. As Charles Murray (2003) states, the meaning of *consilience* is the linking together of principles from different disciplines, especially when forming a comprehensive theory. However, when students are mandated to pursue vertically aligned degrees, the potential for consilience is limited. The focus becomes too narrow, stifling creativity and innovation, and discouraging students from exploring interdisciplinary or unconventional approaches. This can lead to missed opportunities for creativity and limit the development of comprehensive theories that draw upon knowledge from multiple fields. Moreover, mandating such degrees can also increase pressure and competition within the education system, leading to a more stressful and competitive environment for students.

Consilience, as described by Edward Wilson (1999), involves the collaboration of various academic disciplines to explore a common topic of interest, with the hope of contributing to cultural evolution. However, mandating students to pursue vertically aligned degrees could potentially hinder this process. As Melvin Konner (2003) argues, the very survival of our species and planet requires wonder, which can be stifled by a narrow focus on a particular discipline. Such a mandate could lead to a bordering effect that limits cross-fertilization of ideas and stifles interdisciplinary exploration. It could also restrict students' ability to think critically and creatively, which is essential for contributing to scholarly advancements. As such, it is important to maintain academic freedom and encourage students to explore various fields and approaches to contribute to consilience and cultural evolution.

Concluding Thoughts

In place of an epigraph, an AI-generated image with prompt: A student imprisoned by bureaucratic processes, striving to break free and create their own educational path amidst institutional rigidity (Figure 2).

Figure 2
AI-Generated Image



Note. Source: Microsoft. (2023). Bing Image Creator [Image creation model]. <https://www.bing.com/images/create/>

The case against mandating vertically-aligned degrees in Philippine graduate education is a complex one with far-reaching implications for students, universities, and society as a whole. The administrators who advocate for this policy, though well-intentioned, are destroying academic freedom, a fundamental pillar of higher education. By forcing students to adhere to a narrow, rigid system, they are stifling innovation and creativity, and undermining the very purpose of education. Their understanding of vertical alignment is also flawed, as it ignores the fact that cross-disciplinary approaches and generalist skills are crucial for solving complex problems and advancing knowledge in the 21st century.

Indeed, the policy of mandating vertically-aligned degrees in Philippine graduate education violates students' autonomy, generalism, and multipotentiality. By disregarding autonomy, universities risk becoming oppressive institutions that prioritize conformity over critical thinking and individuality, potentially leading to an anti-democratic and tyrannical environment. Dismissing generalism ignores the importance of multi-disciplinary knowledge and skills that are crucial in adapting to evolving job markets and societal needs. Moreover, ignoring multipotentiality neglects the fact that a student may possess a number of diverse interests and talents that can be harnessed to create innovative solutions for complex problems.

For yes, we must challenge the false narrative that mandating vertically-aligned degrees among graduate students is the only path to development, credibility, and excellence. We must continue to hold administrators accountable and demand that they prioritize the needs and aspirations of their students above narrow and rigid systems. By working together and advocating for a more inclusive and flexible higher education system, we can create a brighter future for our students and our society.

Education, after all, comes from the Latin word *educare*, which means *to bring forth what is within*. Students should not be molded into a predetermined shape, but rather given the opportunity to shape themselves. As John Holt (1967) wisely noted, we must end the ugly and antihuman business of people-shaping and allow and help people to shape themselves.

Let us demand an education that values individual autonomy, creativity, and potential. Let us create an education that helps people shape themselves and brings forth their unique talents and passions. Only then can we truly unleash the full potential of individuals and create a better society for all.

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ARTICLE

Beyond the “Death of Research”: Reimagining the Human–AI Collaboration in Scientific Research

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ABSTRACT

The prevailing narrative of AI rendering research obsolete overlooks its immense potential as a collaborative tool with the capacity to revolutionize scientific exploration. This paper critically examines the relationship between AI and human intelligence, advocating for a synergistic approach that harnesses the unique strengths of both. By weaving AI's computational prowess with human creativity, ethical reasoning, and contextual understanding, we can unlock unprecedented avenues for discovery and innovation across diverse research fields. This paper delves into the intricate interplay between AI and human intelligence, meticulously examining their strengths, limitations, and potential for collaborative synergy. It underscores the critical role of human judgment in ensuring ethical and responsible research practices, emphasizing the need for a robust philosophical and ethical framework to guide the integration of AI. Instead of succumbing to the fear of the “death of research,” this paper presents a compelling vision of a future with AI as a powerful tool to augment human capabilities. This symbiotic

Received 8 August 2023

Accepted 15 December 2023

Published online 27 December 2023

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partnership fosters revolutionary breakthroughs while preserving the human essence of research. By embracing this collaborative model, we pave the way for a new era of scientific discovery not by the demise of research but by unprecedented innovation, ethical progress, and a deeper understanding of the world around us.

KEYWORDS

Artificial Intelligence, human intelligence, research evolution, ethical conduct, human behavior, Generative AI, ChatGPT, Bard

Introduction

The emergence of Artificial Intelligence (AI), specifically Generative AI such as OpenAI ChatGPT¹ and Google Bard² has ignited a transformative fire within the realm of scientific inquiry. Its unrivalled ability to process vast data, discern intricate patterns, and enhance computational efficiency has catapulted AI to the forefront of numerous research domains, encompassing the natural sciences and humanities alike (Alam, 2022; Y. K. Dwivedi et al., 2021). This paradigm shift has transcended the mere expansion of our capabilities, fundamentally reshaping the very landscape of scientific possibility. AI's role in driving forward knowledge and offering insights previously constrained by human limitations is undeniable, paving the way for groundbreaking discoveries and pushing the boundaries of exploration (Y. K. Dwivedi et al., 2021).

However, amidst this remarkable progress, a counter-narrative has emerged, painting a dystopian future where AI's rapid development potentially marginalizes human researchers, culminating in the so-called death of research (Boisvert, 2015; Euchner, 2019). This narrative raises unsettling concerns about a future dominated by AI, where human researchers are relegated to mere bystanders, overshadowed by the computational supremacy of their artificial counterparts.

We challenge this oversimplified view, arguing that it misinterprets the intricate interplay between human and AI intelligence (Clifton et al., 2020; Craig & Kerr, 2019). While AI demonstrates exceptional performance in certain areas, it lacks essential human attributes indispensable to the research process. Deep contextual understanding, innovative and creative thinking, and the capacity for ethical judgment are uniquely human qualities that not only shape the direction of scientific discovery but also imbue it with a depth and perspective beyond the reach of AI in its current state (Y. K. Dwivedi et al., 2023).

Therefore, our paper engages in a critical examination of the ongoing discourse surrounding AI in research. We firmly reject the notion of an inevitable "death of research" due to AI's ascendancy while instead advocating for a future where human and artificial intelligence collaborate synergistically. This envisioned future embraces

¹ ChatGPT® is a trademark of OpenAI OpCo, LLC, registered in the US and other countries.

² Google Bard™ is a trademark of Google LLC, registered in the US and other countries.

a balanced approach, seamlessly integrating AI's computational prowess with the irreplaceable value of human insight, creativity, and ethical guidance. We posit that such a fusion will propel our collective knowledge forward and ensure that research remains anchored in the bedrock of ethical principles and human values that are the lifeblood of scientific inquiry.

By exploring this confluence of human and AI intelligence, we aim to demonstrate that the intelligent adoption of AI in research can catalyze a dynamic and promising new era of scientific exploration. This era will be marked by groundbreaking advancements and a renewed appreciation for the human elements that continue to drive the essence of inquiry and innovation. We invite you to join us on this journey as we unlock the boundless potential of this human-AI collaboration, ushering in a new dawn of scientific discovery.

Artificial Intelligence and Its Transformative Impact: Implications for Arts, Humanities, Computer Science, Human-Computer Interaction, and Psychology

Integrating Artificial Intelligence (AI) into diverse research fields signals a pivotal moment in the history of scientific exploration. Its unrivalled data processing capabilities and pattern recognition abilities have transcended mere enhancements, ushering in a paradigm shift in research methodologies across disciplines, dramatically increasing the scale, speed, and depth of insights attainable (Lee et al., 2021; McQuillan, 2022; Santiago, 2019). This transformative impact of AI is not confined to any singular field; its influence reverberates throughout the arts, humanities, computer science, human-computer interaction, and psychology, introducing innovative methodologies and novel perspectives that fundamentally reshape our understanding of the world and our place within it.

Arts and Humanities: Unveiling Hidden Narratives and Connections

In the realm of arts and humanities, AI's analytical prowess has become an invaluable tool for dissecting and interpreting vast volumes of textual, visual, and audio data. This not only expedites the research process but also unveils hidden narratives and connections previously obscured by the limitations of human analysis. AI algorithms can sift through extensive historical records, analyzing language, art, and music patterns to uncover previously unknown cultural influences and connections (Hayles, 2012; Perrotta & Selwyn, 2020). This empowers researchers to reconstruct lost histories, challenge established interpretations, and offer new perspectives on cultural and artistic phenomena.

Human-Computer Interaction: Fostering a Deeper Synergy Between Technology and Human Needs

The transformative power of AI extends far beyond the realm of the humanities, impacting the very fabric of technology itself. In computer science and human-computer interaction, AI's advancements have led to the development of more intuitive and efficient digital tools, paving the way for a more profound synergy

between technology and human needs (Grudin, 2022; Natale, 2021). AI-powered systems can analyze user behavior and preferences, adapting interfaces and functionalities in real-time to create personalized experiences that are intuitive and responsive to individual needs and preferences. This evolution in human–computer interaction holds vast potential for enhancing user experience across diverse domains, from education and healthcare to entertainment and communication.

Psychology: Unlocking the Secrets of Human Behavior and Cognition

The field of psychology has also witnessed a significant transformation through the integration of AI. Advanced algorithms can now analyze complex patterns of human behavior and cognition with a level of precision and depth that was previously unimaginable. This empowers researchers to develop more effective psychological interventions, tailor treatment plans to individual needs, and gain deeper insights into the nuances of human behavior (Bughin et al., 2017; Y. K. Dwivedi et al., 2023). AI's automation capabilities also liberate researchers from tedious data analysis tasks, allowing them to focus on creative and interpretive aspects of their work, significantly accelerating research timelines and fostering a more efficient and productive research environment.

Beyond the Fear of Automation: A Collaborative Future for Human and Machine Intelligence

Despite the undeniable benefits of AI, concerns arise about its potential to replace human researchers altogether. These anxieties often stem from misconceptions about the current capabilities of AI and the hypothetical nature of Artificial General Intelligence (AGI), a hypothetical AI that could perform any intellectual task a human can (Khogali & Mekid, 2023; Makridakis, 2017). However, anxieties surrounding AI replacing human researchers are mainly unfounded. Current AI systems, while advanced, operate within defined parameters and lack several vital attributes that are fundamental to human researchers.

The Irreplaceable Role of Human Insight: Embracing the Human-AI Symbiosis

Human researchers possess unique abilities that AI cannot replicate, such as deep contextual understanding, innovative and creative thinking, and the capacity for ethical judgment and decision-making. These human-centric qualities shape the direction of scientific discovery and imbue it with a depth and perspective that transcends the limitations of current AI systems.

Instead of fearing the potential displacement of human researchers, we should strive to embrace a future where human and AI intelligence collaborate in a symbiotic partnership. This future envisions AI as a powerful tool that complements and enhances human capabilities, not replaces them. By leveraging the strengths of both human and machine intelligence, we can unlock unprecedented possibilities for scientific discovery and innovation across diverse disciplines. This human–machine symbiosis holds the potential to revolutionize the way we approach research, leading to breakthroughs that were previously unimaginable.

This collaborative future of research necessitates a carefully balanced approach. While recognizing the immense potential of AI, we must also remain mindful of its limitations and potential risks. By cultivating a research environment that fosters ethical considerations, transparency, and accountability, we can ensure that the integration of AI into research is conducted responsibly and serves the greater good of humanity.

By embracing a collaborative approach to scientific inquiry, we can usher in a new era of human–machine collaboration, a golden age of scientific discovery marked by:

- Unprecedented innovation: the combined power of human creativity and AI's computational prowess will unlock transformative breakthroughs across diverse fields, from medicine and engineering to cosmology and social sciences.
- Personalized research: AI-powered tools will personalize the research process, tailoring methodologies and analyses to individual researchers' strengths and areas of expertise.
- Improved research efficiency: automating tedious tasks will free up valuable time and resources for researchers to focus on critical thinking, problem-solving, and innovative endeavors.
- Deeper understanding of human behavior and society: AI can analyze vast datasets of human behavior and social interactions, providing researchers with unprecedented insights into human cognition, culture, and societal dynamics.
- Enhanced ethical considerations: utilizing AI's ability to process vast amounts of information can support researchers in making informed ethical decisions regarding research methodologies and implications.

However, realizing this vision requires us to address several key challenges:

- Bridging the digital divide: ensuring equitable access to AI technology and training resources is crucial for fostering a truly inclusive and collaborative research environment.
- Combating bias: we must develop and implement robust measures to mitigate potential biases in AI algorithms, ensuring fair and ethical research practices.
- Developing human–AI communication and collaboration skills: researchers need to be equipped with the skills necessary to communicate and collaborate with AI systems effectively, maximizing the potential of this partnership.
- Maintaining human oversight and control: while leveraging AI's capabilities, it is crucial to uphold human control and decision-making in research, prioritizing ethical considerations and safeguarding against potential misuse of technology.

By addressing these challenges and embracing the transformative potential of human–machine collaboration, we can usher in a golden age of scientific discovery, where the combined brilliance of human and artificial intelligence pushes the boundaries of knowledge and paves the way for a brighter future for all.

Join us on this exciting journey as we explore the limitless possibilities of human–machine symbiosis. Together, we can unlock the universe's secrets, solve the world's most pressing challenges, and create a future where scientific progress is driven by collaboration, innovation, and ethical responsibility.

***The Indispensable Role of Human Researchers:
Creativity, Context, and Ethical Considerations***

Acknowledging AI's transformative role in research, it is crucial to recognize its operational limits within programmed parameters, contrasting starkly with the inherent human traits of creativity, intuition, and ethical judgment. These human characteristics are pivotal in advancing scientific discovery where AI's capabilities fall short (Salah, Abdelfattah, & Al Halbusi, 2023).

Creativity and Innovation: The Human Spark in the Age of Artificial Intelligence. Creativity and innovation, fundamental to transformative research, stem from a uniquely human ability to seek answers and formulate novel questions, develop innovative methods, and pioneer new understanding paradigms (Salah, Abdelfattah, & Al Halbusi, 2023). While AI has automated and streamlined many research tasks, its scope for true innovation, invention, or boundary-pushing thought is inherently limited by its programming (Salah, Al Halbusi, & Abdelfattah, 2023).

AI's operational framework, based on learned data and patterns, restricts it from generating groundbreaking hypotheses or pioneering new research methodologies. Such creative endeavors require an out-of-the-box thinking approach, challenging norms, and viewing problems from fresh perspectives, traits inherent to human researchers (Chomsky et al., 2023; Salah, Abdelfattah, & Al Halbusi, 2023).

Furthermore, creativity in research often involves risk-taking, an area where human researchers excel. This involves embracing uncertainty and learning from failure, aspects that AI, with its algorithmic and probability-based operations, cannot replicate. Additionally, human research's emotional and motivational drivers—curiosity, passion, and the quest for understanding—are beyond AI's artificial construct.

In conclusion, while AI can enhance various research aspects, the genesis of new ideas, the spark of creativity, and the impetus for innovation are distinctly human attributes. As AI technology advances and becomes more integrated into research, recognizing and valuing these human contributions becomes crucial. Therefore, the future of research should not be a choice between human and artificial intelligence but a synergistic collaboration that leverages both strengths.

Understanding and Context: The Human Edge in the Age of Artificial Intelligence. Human researchers excel in interpreting research data within its nuanced context, a capability stemming from our complex cognition, experiential knowledge, and intuitive understanding of the world. In contrast, despite its computational prowess, AI lacks this depth in contextual understanding, impacting its efficacy in specific research domains (Y. K. Dwivedi et al., 2021).

Interpreting research data requires an intricate understanding of cultural, social, and historical contexts, which human researchers develop through extensive study and immersion in their fields. This nuanced comprehension, especially in the social sciences, is beyond AI's current capabilities, primarily focusing on quantitative analysis (Brynjolfsson & McAfee, 2017).

AI's limitation lies in its inability to grasp qualitative aspects of data—cultural subtleties, historical influences, and human emotions underpinning research data are often lost on AI (Ozmen Garibay et al., 2023; Ram & Verma, 2023). Additionally, human

researchers intuitively understand their field, forming connections and hypotheses beyond the explicit knowledge of AI processes.

Furthermore, human researchers bring their perspectives, biases, and values, enriching research with diverse interpretations. AI, devoid of subjective experiences, may offer objective analyses but lacks the depth and diversity of human research (Cath et al., 2018).

Crucially, human researchers apply ethical reasoning, understanding the moral dimensions of their research, an aspect currently absent in AI. This ethical consideration is fundamental across all stages of research, from question formulation to interpretation and application of findings.

In conclusion, while AI excels in quantitative data handling, it lacks contextual understanding and ethical reasoning. Recognizing and valuing human researchers' unique contributions in these areas is essential as we integrate AI into research. The future of research lies in combining human intelligence's contextual, intuitive, and ethical strengths with AI's analytical capabilities, creating a synergistic and forward-driving research environment.

Ethical Considerations: The Imperative of Human Judgment in the Age of Artificial Intelligence. The ethical dimension of research is a critical area where human judgment is indispensable. In every research stage, from framing questions to disseminating findings, researchers face ethical choices impacting privacy, equity, and moral integrity (Khogali & Mekid, 2023). AI, limited by its programming, lacks the capacity for moral judgment, necessitating human oversight (Salah, Abdelfattah, & Al Halbusi, 2023).

For instance, in projects involving sensitive data, AI may efficiently process information but cannot assess ethical implications like privacy or consent—areas where human judgment is crucial (Nashwan & Abujaber, 2023). Similarly, ethical judgments in interpreting findings, considering societal impacts and potential misuses, are beyond AI's capabilities.

Ethical reasoning in research also involves balancing different considerations, such as potential knowledge benefits against privacy risks, a task that AI is not equipped to handle. Addressing bias and fairness in AI requires more than algorithmic tweaks; it calls for a multidisciplinary effort to recognize and mitigate inherent biases, ensuring fair and inclusive outcomes (Salah, Alhalbusi, et al., 2023).

Human researchers must establish robust mechanisms and transparent protocols for privacy and consent, reflecting respect for individual autonomy and rights. Transparency and accountability in AI research are vital for maintaining public trust and facilitating ethical evaluations, with AI models designed for understandability and accountability measures in place (Bang et al., 2021).

The global ethical approach to AI in research necessitates transcending national boundaries, promoting shared principles, and equitable access (Nikolic et al., 2023). Additionally, AI models' social and cultural implications must be considered, developing systems that avoid harmful stereotypes and foster social cohesion. Environmental concerns are also integral to AI's ethical landscape, aligning research with sustainability principles to address AI's significant energy demands.

Finally, preserving human autonomy and agency in AI-augmented research is paramount. A balanced, user-centric design emphasizing human oversight is essential for synergizing AI and human intelligence. In conclusion, the ethical dimensions of research underscore the irreplaceable role of human judgment. As AI enhances research capabilities, the future hinges on a collaborative approach where human and AI strengths are integrated, emphasizing human ethical integrity and judgment in research processes.

Human-AI Symbiosis: The Future of Research

The vision of the future we propose is not one where AI replaces human researchers but one of symbiosis, where AI and human intelligence complement each other, each contributing its unique strengths. This balanced approach leverages AI's computational and analytical capabilities and human researchers' creativity, contextual understanding, and ethical judgment.

Augmentation, not Replacement: Envisioning a Future of Human-AI Synergy in Research

In a rapidly advancing technology world, the narrative of Artificial Intelligence (AI) replacing human researchers is a concern that has captured the public's imagination. However, this simplistic view obscures a more nuanced and constructive perspective that envisages AI not as a replacement but as a powerful augmentative tool.

The remarkable capacity of AI to manage extensive datasets, perform intricate computations, and automate repetitive tasks presents a unique opportunity to reshape the research landscape. Far from supplanting human researchers, this technological advancement enhances human abilities and liberates them to focus on tasks that require uniquely human attributes. It marks the beginning of a new era of research where human intellect and artificial intelligence work synergistically, each playing to their strengths (Jarrahi, 2018).

AI's unrivalled computational abilities offer the research community opportunities to expand its reach and efficacy. The concept of AI augmentation emphasizes this symbiotic relationship, recognizing the distinct advantages and limitations of both human and artificial intelligence. AI's speed and precision in data processing are unmatched. Still, humans retain superiority in creativity, critical evaluation, ethical decision-making, and understanding complex and nuanced contexts.

In this framework, AI does not imply replacement but emphasizes enhancement and collaboration. AI tools can automate tasks, allowing human researchers to dedicate their time to more critical aspects that require human intellect and insight. Researchers can direct more effort into formulating innovative research questions, brainstorming new approaches, and developing hypotheses. AI's ability to sift through existing literature supports this process by providing comprehensive overviews of existing work (Agrawal et al., 2019).

Furthermore, AI's analytic capabilities can identify patterns and trends, but human researchers are essential for interpreting these findings within specific cultural,

social, or scientific contexts. Combining human interpretation and AI data processing can lead to more nuanced understandings, generating creative solutions and fostering interdisciplinary research (R. Dwivedi et al., 2023).

Ethical considerations intrinsic to the research process highlight another area where human judgment is vital. AI can assist in assessing specific ethical components, but the human touch is irreplaceable in considering all potential ethical consequences. The combined force of human researchers and AI can foster a more responsible and thoughtful approach.

Ensuring that researchers across disciplines have access to AI tools and the necessary training to use them is vital for fully realizing the benefits of AI augmentation. Challenges such as bias, fairness, security, and privacy must also be addressed. Vigilance in recognizing and correcting biases and robust measures to safeguard information and uphold ethical standards are essential (Ahmad et al., 2022).

In conclusion, the future of research, guided by a vision of human-AI synergy, is not a battleground but a fertile ground for collaboration. It is a future where researchers and AI work together, each contributing their strengths. By relieving human researchers from tasks that can be automated and amplifying their abilities in areas where they excel, AI becomes a powerful ally.

This synergy opens new avenues for exploration, empowering researchers to address more complex questions and fostering creativity, interdisciplinary collaboration, and ethical deliberation. The integration of AI in research is not a harbinger of human obsolescence but a symbol of progress and promise. It redefines the research landscape, offering a vision that combines the best of what both human and artificial intelligence have to offer, forging a path toward a more innovative, insightful, and responsible future.

Enhanced Decision Making: Where AI Meets Human Judgment to Supercharge Research

Integrating Artificial Intelligence into research has ushered in a transformative era, particularly in decision-making. When coupled with human judgment, AI's capabilities in predictive modeling can revolutionize research across diverse fields (Füller et al., 2022). By leveraging AI's ability to analyze massive datasets and identify patterns, researchers can forecast trends and behaviors with unrivalled accuracy and speed, impacting every stage of the research process (Frank et al., 2017).

However, the actual value of AI's predictive power lies in its harmonious alignment with human insight. While AI excels at quantitative analysis, it cannot interpret data within its broader context and ethical framework. With their deep understanding of cultural, historical, and social nuances, human researchers provide the interpretive layer that transforms AI-generated data into meaningful insights.

This symbiosis of AI and human judgment is crucial in ensuring ethical decision-making. Human researchers act as the ethical filter, interpreting AI's predictions through the lens of privacy, equity, and societal impact. This allows research to align with societal values and ethical considerations, leading to responsible and impactful outcomes.

The benefits of this collaborative approach are already being realized across various domains. In healthcare, AI-powered predictive models enhance diagnosis and treatment planning, while in environmental studies, they forecast climate patterns with greater accuracy. In financial markets, the combination of AI's analytical power with human expertise shapes investment strategies, showcasing the broad applicability of this partnership.

Furthermore, the collaboration between AI and human judgment fosters interdisciplinary research, breaking down traditional silos and encouraging integrative approaches to complex problems. This interdisciplinary nature of AI-driven research opens new avenues for comprehensive solutions that transcend traditional boundaries, leading to a more holistic understanding of the world around us.

In conclusion, the future of research lies not solely in the computational prowess of AI but also the critical role of human creativity, ethical judgment, and contextual understanding. This partnership marks a shift in the research paradigm, balancing quantitative precision with qualitative depth and ethical considerations. AI emerges in this context not as a replacement but as a vital ally in pursuing knowledge, paving the way for a future where research is more informed, ethical, and insightful. The combined power of AI's efficiency and human insight creates a research landscape that aligns with the complexities and values of our modern era.

Collaborative Innovation: Where AI Meets Human Ingenuity to Propel Research Forward

The future of research holds a thrilling promise: a future where artificial intelligence and human ingenuity converge in a collaborative dance of innovation, driving scientific discovery and advancement to unprecedented heights. This vision is not AI replacing human researchers but a symbiotic partnership where each leverages the other's strength.

AI's computational prowess and pattern-recognition capabilities allow it to sift through the data set, uncovering hidden connections and correlations that might escape even the most discerning human eye. This ability to generate novel combinations of existing information can spark new hypotheses and open doors to previously unexplored avenues of research. Imagine AI algorithms analyzing vast genomic datasets to pinpoint potential targets for revolutionary drug therapies or sifting through historical and environmental data to predict future climate patterns with unprecedented accuracy.

While AI excels at generating these novel combinations, it lacks the human touch needed to interpret their significance and translate them into meaningful discoveries. This is where the crucial role of human researchers comes into play. Armed with their creativity, critical thinking skills, and deep understanding of the context, human researchers can take these AI-generated insights and build upon them. They can question, analyze, and interpret the findings, using their critical thinking to refine hypotheses and design innovative methodologies to test their validity.

Furthermore, human researchers bring a crucial multidisciplinary perspective to the table. They can draw upon insights from diverse fields of knowledge, cross-

pollinating ideas and forging unexpected connections that might not be readily apparent to AI alone. This holistic approach ensures that ethical, social, and practical implications are carefully considered, leading to responsible and impactful applications of AI-driven research.

This collaborative innovation model paints a vibrant picture of the future of research. It is a future where AI and human researchers work hand-in-hand, their unique strengths complementing and amplifying each other. Together, they can tackle the most complex research challenges, unlock the universe's secrets, and contribute to a deeper understanding of the world around us. This is not just a vision; it is a call to action, an invitation to embrace the power of collaboration and unlock the limitless potential of AI-augmented research.

In conclusion, the future of research is not about AI replacing human researchers but rather about AI empowering human researchers. By working together in a collaborative innovation model, we can unlock unprecedented possibilities for scientific discovery and contribute to a future filled with progress, innovation, and a deeper understanding of the world we inhabit.

Ethical Oversight: The Indispensable Role of Human Supervision in AI-Driven Research

The rapid integration of Artificial Intelligence (AI) into research methodologies presents immense potential and profound ethical challenges. While AI offers unrivalled data analysis and insight generation capabilities, its potent nature necessitates robust ethical oversight to ensure responsible and humane applications. In this context, human supervision emerges as the indispensable safeguard for upholding ethical standards within the research landscape.

Human intelligence possesses unique attributes that are crucial for guiding AI operations ethically. Our inherent discernment, moral judgment, and capacity to contextualize information enable us to define the boundaries within which AI should operate. This includes upholding transparency, fairness, non-maleficence, and respect for autonomy and privacy. Closely monitoring AI outputs enables researchers to identify and mitigate potential biases, unfair practices, and unintended consequences.

This role of human oversight assumes particular significance in various research domains:

- **Human-Computer Interaction:** Researchers must ensure that AI systems respect user rights and adhere to ethical norms, fostering trust and responsible development.
- **Psychology:** AI applications in psychology demand careful oversight to prevent violations of privacy and consent and the propagation of harmful biases that can negatively impact individuals.
- **Social Sciences:** Human understanding of social and cultural nuances is critical for evaluating the broader societal implications of AI-driven research. Through ethical judgment, researchers can guide the responsible application of AI to enhance societal well-being without exacerbating inequalities or causing harm.

Contrary to dystopian narratives of AI dominance, the future of research is not one of annihilation but of augmentation and innovation. It is a future where AI and human

intelligence engage in a balanced, symbiotic relationship. Human oversight leverages the unique strengths of AI for groundbreaking research, propelling us towards frontiers previously unimaginable.

This vision is theoretical and the roadmap for a future of responsible and impactful research. By embracing AI as a powerful tool under ethical human supervision, we can unlock unprecedented possibilities for discovery and contribute significantly to advancing human knowledge across diverse disciplines.

In conclusion, human oversight is not an obstacle to AI-driven research but its indispensable foundation. We are guided toward a future where technology serves humanity, ethical considerations, temper advancements, and the pursuit of knowledge are always intertwined with the pursuit of good.

Conclusion and Future Directions: Navigating the AI-Augmented Research Landscape

The rapid advancement of artificial intelligence presents challenges and opportunities for the research landscape. As we integrate AI into our methodologies, a crucial task arises: ensuring seamless integration without sacrificing the indispensable human elements intrinsic to research. This delicate equilibrium demands a symbiotic relationship between human and artificial intelligence, achievable through continuous dialogue, innovation, education, and cross-disciplinary collaboration.

Fearmongering narratives often portray AI as the harbinger of the “death of research.” This paper rejects such pessimism, viewing AI integration as a transformative chapter in scientific inquiry. Far from an apocalyptic vision, AI emerges as a powerful catalyst, expanding our horizons and propelling us into uncharted territories of discovery.

The potential of AI augmentation is vast. By leveraging AI’s exceptional capabilities, we can significantly enhance the research process, leading to novel breakthroughs previously beyond our grasp. AI’s ability to manage vast datasets, automate repetitive tasks, and identify complex patterns empowers us to conduct research with greater efficiency, accuracy, and sophistication.

However, this embrace of AI does not diminish the enduring value of human intelligence. Instead, it strengthens and celebrates its unique role. Human intelligence remains irreplaceable in formulating original research questions, interpreting data within complex socio-cultural contexts, integrating diverse perspectives, and ensuring ethical research conduct. It is a delicate balance where machine intelligence’s cold objectivity meets human thought’s warm creativity and empathy.

Navigating this era of profound change necessitates foresight, wisdom, and a steadfast commitment to ethical principles. We must actively champion the harmonious relationship between human and artificial intelligence, acknowledging and respecting the unique strengths and limitations of each. This approach allows us to unlock the potential of AI while remaining vigilant against the ethical and practical risks associated with its misuse or overreliance.

Collaboration is paramount in charting our path forward. It requires a collective effort from diverse fields, which are computer science, ethics, social sciences, humanities, and the myriad research domains currently being transformed by AI. Universities, research institutions, governments, and industries must join forces, fostering an ecosystem conducive to innovation while upholding ethical standards.

Equally important is the role of education. The next generation of researchers must have technical skills, critical thinking, ethical reasoning, and interdisciplinary understanding to navigate the complex interplay between human and artificial intelligence.

In conclusion, this paper envisions a future of research not dominated by AI but instead characterized by a synergistic relationship between humans and artificial intelligence. It is a vision of progress, partnership, and a harmonious collaboration between technology and humanity. By fostering this symbiosis, we pave the way for research's innovative, responsible, and human-centric evolution. We can then harness the potential of AI ethically and responsibly to our collective advantage.

Far from a competitive struggle, the future lies in a harmonious dance between the artificial and the human, unlocking new realms of understanding, creativity, and wisdom. It is an invitation to a future brimming with possibility that honors our technological prowess without neglecting our human essence. It is a call to exploration, integrity, and hope—a journey towards a future where the best of human and machine intelligence converge to reveal unexplored paths. We must strive for this future—a future where technology serves humanity, and together, we embark on a journey of boundless discovery.

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ARTICLE

Working in the “Neo-Liberal Hegemony”: An Investigation on Entrepreneurial Mindset of Internal Labor Market Based on Individual Differences

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ABSTRACT

Neo-liberal economy, distinguished by its emphasis on innovation and competition driven by buyer's authority, necessitates workforce to cultivate an entrepreneurial mindset (EM) for self-improvement. The aim of this study is to investigate the EM among employees in the Neo-Liberal economy. The objective is to discern the attributes associated with EM within the internal labor market, while also investigating the influence of individual variances upon these attributes. We obtained our samples by administering a set of questionnaires to a cohort of 261 individuals employed in small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) located within the geographic scope of China. Our investigation has probed into the facets of the EM, encompassing innovativeness, need for achievement, risk-taking, autonomy, and proactiveness. These components were subjected to rigorous scrutiny through the utilization of *t*-tests and analysis of variance techniques, with the objective of detecting noteworthy disparities among gender, age, educational

Received 2 September 2023

Accepted 22 November 2023

Published online 27 December 2023

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attainment, and salary scale in relation to these five dimensions of EM. Furthermore, we have bolstered our research findings with supplementary evidence derived from additional correlation analyses. Our study's findings reveal that age and educational levels do not manifest substantial variations in EM. However, we do observe significant distinctions in EM across varying income levels and genders. Additionally, this paper addresses the implications of our findings, delineates the limitations encountered in our study, and elucidates potential directions for future research. This paper's originality stems from its unique analysis of the interaction between neo-liberal economic policies and individual entrepreneurship in China, as seen through the perspective of its generation raised post-market transformation.

KEYWORDS

neo-liberal capitalism, entrepreneurial mindset, internal labor market, employability

Introduction

Contemporary economy relies on entrepreneurial adaptability to identify societal inefficiencies, facilitating efficient resource allocation for consumer needs (Schumpeter, 2021). This aligns with the "sovereignty of the buying public" concept from Austrian economics, motivating entrepreneurs to innovate for consumer well-being (von Mises, 1951). This shift in the economic landscape also promotes increased competition among workers, ultimately resulting in a post-employment era characterized by job instability, wage disparities (Reich, 2002), and the dominance of "neo-liberal hegemony" (McGuigan, 2014). To thrive, waged labor must adopt an "entrepreneurial self," aligning with consumer preferences (Kelly, 2006). This trend is supported by labor research on digital nomadic entrepreneurship, employee innovation, intrapreneurship, creative labor markets, and the gig economy, among others. As a result, the entrepreneurial mindset (EM), previously associated with entrepreneurs, is now seen as essential for waged labor in a neo-liberal economy (Ikonen & Nikunen, 2019).

In spite of the substantial body of research elucidating the role of EM in enhancing the employability prospects of wage laborers (Laalo et al., 2023), there remains a dearth of scholarly inquiry into the influence of demographic factors on the development of an employee's EM (Kuratko et al., 2023). Furthermore, in a neoliberal economy that emphasizes market forces and reduces government intervention, understanding how people can use their unique qualities to thrive becomes crucial (Pedro-Carañana & Armirola-Garcés, 2022). This existing gap and the focus on individual efforts underscore the necessity to explore the expression of EM from the standpoint of individual differences.

Meanwhile, we take the example of China as our research subject to provide insight on the public attitudes toward entrepreneurialism since its market transformation

in the late 1970s. After the rapid global expansion of a neo-liberal ethos after 1980 (Harvey, 2006), a range of liberal policies have come to prominence in China (Bremmer, 2010). The ascent of market-oriented reforms has extensively reshaped Chinese economic landscapes, compelling a significant transformation in China's labor markets. Particularly, the role of entrepreneurs in the history of China has shifted from non-existence in the early years to becoming a cornerstone of economic growth and innovation in the later years (Huo & Wei, 2023). Moreover, the internal labor market in China presents a unique milieu that is significantly different from Western models due to its distinct socio-cultural values, Confucius traits, and political nuances (Obschonka et al., 2019; Xu et al., 2023). Thus, this research also contributes to existing literature by providing an original analysis of how individual differences within China's workforce interact with the neo-liberal economic environment to influence EM.

Based on this rationale and the abovementioned scholarly gap, the primary aim and motivation of this study is to scrutinize the nexus between EM within the internal labor market and pertinent demographic variables, including gender, income level, educational attainment, and age. To realize this research aim, a bifurcated approach is adopted: firstly, to ascertain the presence of statistically significant disparities across distinct demographic cohorts; and secondly, in instances of discerned noteworthy disparities, to meticulously investigate the disposition of EM's distribution within the confines of the demographic groupings.

Literature Review

Entrepreneurial Mindset as a Labor Phenomenon in a Neo-Liberal Society

Neo-liberalism aligns society with liberal-capitalist principles, combining a constitutional democracy and a modest welfare state (Vallier, 2022). It has become dominant ("neo-liberal hegemony"), influencing culture and identities, with celebrities epitomizing unattainable success (McGuigan, 2014). This hegemony promotes an "entrepreneurial self" to adapt to neo-liberal challenges. Coleman (2016) describes the role of EM to overcome "new pessimism" among youth facing austerity, while Ikonen and Nikunen (2019) emphasize the importance of nurturing entrepreneurial skills for employability and economic growth. Avle et al. (2019) highlight the critical role of digital technology and computer-supported cooperative work in fostering entrepreneurialism in the modern economy. In the context of China, EM among employees is also emphasized as a crucial attribute for sustaining employability in the nation's progressively competitive job market (Shi & Sewell, 2011).

EM can be elucidated as a cognitive stance facilitating an individual in generating value through the discernment and proactive exploitation of opportunities (Daspit et al., 2023). This entails making judicious decisions despite restricted information availability, exhibiting flexibility and tenacity within environments characterized by intricacies and unpredictabilities. While investigating the literature concerning EM, Amit et al. (1995) reached the conclusion that two additional dimensions, namely emotional and behavioral aspects, have been incorporated into the conceptualization of EM. Upon careful consideration, it becomes evident that the definitions attributed to

the entrepreneurial construct bear resemblance to the ABC model of attitude proposed by Breckler (1984), which is established to comprise three distinct components known as affect, behavior, and cognition. Given that an attitude represents a persistent psychological propensity an individual possesses toward a specific object, the EM equips its adherents with a predisposition to engage in entrepreneurial behaviors.

The application of EM is not restricted solely to conventional entrepreneurs who establish startup enterprises. Presently, scholarly discourse suggests that EM could extend to encompass a prevalent disposition within the workforce, implying that individuals such as corporate innovators (Ireland et al., 2006), managerial figures (Covin & Slevin, 2017), and employees (Hwang & Shin, 2019) inclined towards organizational entrepreneurship. Academics have established a correlation between the emergence of EM and the tenets of neo-liberal enterprise (Kuratko et al., 2023), the cultivation and advancement of entrepreneurial pedagogy (Wardana et al., 2020), as well as the intricate milieu of an unpredictable and precarious labor market landscape (Ikonen, 2013). Additionally, scholarly discourse acknowledges the pivotal function of EM in furnishing wage laborers with adeptness to navigate the intricacies of an uncertain labor market terrain (Ikonen & Nikunen, 2019). Furthermore, Hu et al. (2022) conducted an in-depth study on the implementation of EM within the Chinese context. Their research revealed a significant correlation between EM of human resource professionals and their career progression, as well as their capacity for intrapreneurship within their current roles.

The Outcomes of Entrepreneurial Mindset

The existing body of research concerning the outcomes of EM can be categorized into two main levels: individual and venture. At the individual level, EM has been observed to have implications for various aspects such as individual identity renewal (Morris et al., 2012), the ability to balance conflicting objectives (Žur & Naumann, 2018), commitment escalation (McMullen & Kier, 2016), and the pivotal determination of initiating a new business endeavor (Ousios & Kittler, 2018). Turning to the venture level, EM's influence is closely linked with the strategic choices undertaken by a venture (Lombardi et al., 2021), the display of entrepreneurial leadership qualities (Shepherd et al., 2015), and ultimately, the overall performance achievements of the venture (Ireland et al., 2003). In a study focused on China, Wenjun (2023) demonstrated that fostering an EM in employees through the provision of psychological safety and engagement significantly augments their strategic renewal behavior.

In contemporary times, the linkage between EM and entrepreneurship has expanded, shifting towards recognizing its role in the internal labor market. Reibenspiess et al. (2022) emphasized that employees exhibiting entrepreneurial behavior serve as the bedrock for organizational innovation. This requisite for entrepreneurial behavior inherently underscores the need to nurture employees' EM. Moreover, research in industrial relations and strategic human resources reflects a growing necessity to empower employees to display greater proactivity and creativity in the era of the knowledge economy (Antonioli et al., 2011; Engelsberger et al., 2022).

Additionally, research endeavors like those concerning the “entrepreneurial self” strive to comprehend the commitment and preparation essential for thriving in the modern economy (Kelly, 2006). Within this framework, the entrepreneurial self assumes a crucial persona, shedding light on labor capabilities in neo-liberal capitalism (Ikonen & Nikunen, 2019). This newfound, generalized entrepreneurial capability aligns with the contemporary labor force’s evolving requirements. Notably, activities such as self-improvement, technology adaptation, and overcoming exclusions demand an EM. This disposition prompts individuals to be innovative, proactive, and creative in navigating potential labor market challenges (Avle et al., 2019). A compelling illustration is evident in the freelance media labor domain, where the interplay of entrepreneurialism and activism is observable (Salamon, 2020). This synergy allows individuals to confront economic instability and technological shifts in digital media industries and media organizations.

Demographic Variables and Entrepreneurial Mindset in the Internal Labor Market

Within this context, our study posits that demographic variables play a pivotal role in shaping EM among employees. Previous empirical investigations have explored the impact of individual factors such as metacognition (Haynie et al., 2010), self-efficacy (Zhang & Chun, 2018), experience (Otsios & Kittler, 2018), and dispositional factors (Ikonen & Nikunen, 2019) on the formation of EM. Viewing EM as a cognitive process, it can be situated within a framework of cognitive processes.

Theoretically, the manifestation of an employee’s EM within an organizational context is intricately linked to both individual variances and the organizational milieu. This premise is evident in the connection drawn between entrepreneurial education and an individual’s inclination towards venture creation (Duong, 2022). Drawing from the realm of organizational research, social identity theory offers insights into the potential mechanisms linking various demographic variables to an employee’s EM. Central to social identity theory is the notion that an individual’s sense of identity and affiliation with a specific group significantly influence their attitudes (Hogg, 2016). Demographic factors such as gender, wage level, and educational attainment form a fundamental aspect of an individual’s personal identity. For instance, membership in a demographic group characterized by higher income might positively impact one’s perception of entrepreneurial opportunities, leading to greater proactive behavior, innovation, and risk-taking propensity.

Empirical support can further validate our hypothesis. Jelenc et al. (2015) conducted a study to explore how demographic factors affect individual entrepreneurial orientation and strategic thinking ability. Their results demonstrated that particular demographic variables indeed influence entrepreneurial thought patterns. Within the entrepreneurial orientation framework, aspects such as age, gender, education abroad, and previous experience contribute to the trajectory of EM. Noteworthy is the finding that entrepreneurs aged 40–60 display a reduced propensity for risk-taking. In the context of strategic thinking, demographic elements like age, gender, education, and experience are closely tied to distinct styles of strategic thinking. For instance, their study indicates that entrepreneurs above 60 tend to exhibit higher scores in

systems thinking. In their study on the influence of household income on individual entrepreneurial orientation, Nandamuri and Gowthami (2013) established household income as a critical demographic factor affecting entrepreneurial orientation. Notably, all factors, except risk-taking, exhibited statistically significant correlations with household income, with the majority of relationships between income levels and entrepreneurial orientation components being positive. Additionally, Dubey and Sahu (2022) found in their research that demographic factors such as gender, locality of stay, and family income significantly impact the entrepreneurial intention of graduate students, whereas age and occupation do not. Consequently, we develop a research framework to reflect our hypotheses as follows (Figure 1):

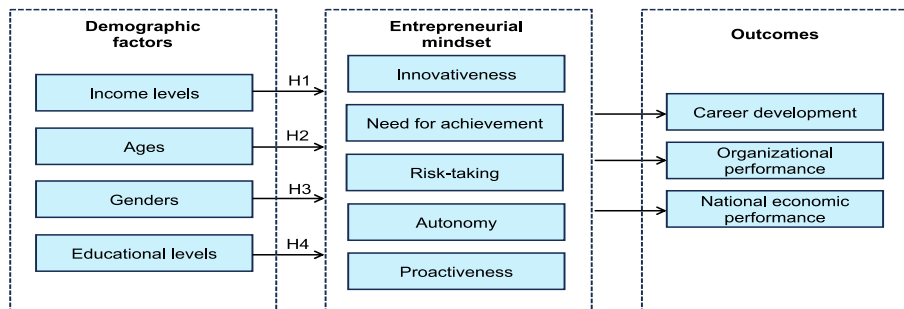
Hypothesis 1 (H1): EM varies under employees' different income levels.

Hypothesis 2 (H2): EM varies under employees' different ages.

Hypothesis 3 (H3): EM varies under employees' different genders.

Hypothesis 4 (H4): EM varies under employees' different educational levels.

Figure 1
Research Framework



Methodology

Sampling Strategy

Our sample was collected by convenience sampling through suitable channels, considering the exploratory type of the research (Gu & Chi Sen Siu, 2009) and the confidentiality policies of the HR departments of the studied companies (Albdour & Altarawneh, 2014). The study was conducted in Shanghai and Shenzhen, key economic centers in China with dynamic labor markets and numerous entrepreneurial ventures. Data was collected from January to March 2023, mainly from small to medium-sized enterprises. We invited 30 department heads to participate in our survey, receiving 278 responses after distributing it through their subordinates. To guarantee data reliability, we implemented a quality control question, eliminating 17 responses. This left us with 261 valid responses for analysis. Our choice of this sample size was influenced by response rate, research constraints, comparability to other studies, and the necessity for a robust statistical analysis. Furthermore,

Roscoe (1969) recommended a sample size between 30 and 500 as appropriate for most behavioral studies.

The demographic characteristics of our sample are described as follows: male workers accounted for 17.6% of the respondents, while 82.4% were female. The majority of our respondents (90%) fell within the age range of 18 to 30, with 9.6% belonging to 31–40 age group and 0.4% falling within 41–50 age range. In terms of education, 73.9% of the respondents had received education at the junior college or university level, while 26.1% had attained a Master's or Doctorate degree. Regarding income levels, 39.1% of respondents had incomes below 4,000 CNY (approximately 564.58 USD), 41.8% fell within the income range of 4,000 to 8,000 CNY (approximately 564.58–1,129.16 USD¹), 12.3% were within the income range of 8,000 to 12,000 CNY (approximately 1,129.16–1,693.74 USD), and 6.8% had incomes exceeding 12,000 CNY (approximately 1,693.74 USD).

Measurement

The assessment of the EM was adopted from the College Students' Entrepreneurial Mindset Scale (CS-EMS), a tool that was recently formulated and verified by Jung and Lee (2020). As per recommendations put forth by Parameswaran and Yaprak (1987), the technique of back translation was employed to safeguard the faithful and meticulous conveyance of the underlying semantic nuances of the original English scale into the Chinese adaptation. This study employed a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*), which was then categorized into five sub-factors: innovativeness (I), comprising six items, need for achievement (NA), four items, risk-taking (RT), three items, autonomy (A), three items, and proactiveness (P), three items. The comprehensive compilation of survey instruments and corresponding programming code is available within the appendix section for reference (Appendix). According to the results, the Cronbach's α reliability coefficients for the sub-factors of innovativeness, need for achievement, risk-taking, autonomy, and proactiveness were .88, .83, .88, .77, and .80, respectively. Additionally, the reliability coefficient for the entire scale was reported to be .94, supporting its robustness as a measure of EM (Hair et al., 2009).

Result

Measurement Model Validation

In order to validate our hypothesis testing data, we followed the recommendations of Straub et al. (2004) regarding measurement validity, encompassing content, convergent, and discriminant validity. Convergent validity was assessed using Average Variance Extracted (AVE), as per Fornell and Larcker (1981), to measure variance from constructs versus measurement error. Composite reliability (CR) evaluated construct consistency, considering different indicator loadings (Hair et al., 2009). Cronbach's alpha gauged reliability by correlating scale items (Straub et al., 2004). For discriminant validity, we examined loadings and cross-loadings, ensuring constructs shared more

¹ According to the exchange rate at the time of the study.

variance with their measures than with others (Hair et al., 2009). Content validity was achieved by adapting constructs and items from prior literature, refined through a pilot survey, ensuring clarity and distinct articulation (Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994).

Table 1 presents the computed values for AVE, CR, and Cronbach's alpha for each construct. In accordance with the recommendations put forth by Raykov (2008), the omission of item A3 has been executed in preparation for subsequent data analysis, aiming to ensure internal reliability. The analysis reveals that the minimum CR value is .670, the lowest Cronbach's alpha value is .688, and the smallest AVE value is .504. These findings indicate elevated reliability and convergent validity across all constructs, surpassing the benchmarks suggested by scholars (Fornell & Larcker, 1981; Pallant, 2020). In Table 2, the loadings and cross-loadings from factor analysis are illustrated, with loadings (italicized values) notably surpassing cross-loadings. In line with Straub et al. (2004), this outcome underscores ample discriminant validity and convergent validity for all constructs employed in our study.

Table 1
Overview of Measurement Model

Constructs	Items	CR	AVE	Cronbach's α
Innovativeness	4	.831	.556	.824
Need of achievement	4	.883	.653	.881
Risk taking	3	.874	.698	.873
Autonomy	2	.670	.504	.688
Proactiveness	3	.800	.573	.795

Note. Source: developed by authors.

Table 2
Loadings and Cross-Loadings

Items	Component				
	1	2	3	4	5
I1	.525	.688	.842	.518	.195
I2	.497	.575	.867	.403	.170
I3	.427	.309	.812	.434	.069
I6	.687	.691	.655	.479	.175
NA1	.866	.432	.503	.572	.184
NA2	.838	.580	.600	.583	.137
NA3	.846	.547	.491	.533	.200
NA4	.869	.502	.414	.526	.177
RT1	.574	.881	.543	.482	.268

Table 2 Continued

Items	Component				
	1	2	3	4	5
RT2	.537	.891	.517	.503	.244
RT3	.465	.868	.436	.508	.266
A1	.094	.281	.106	.108	.870
A2	.282	.233	.193	.302	.862
P1	.583	.596	.575	.815	.258
P2	.556	.458	.456	.896	.188
P3	.603	.564	.461	.782	.172

Note. Extraction method: principal component analysis; Rotation method: varimax with Kaiser normalization; Source: developed by authors.

Common Method Biases

The common method variable was used to confirm that common bias was not a major issue in this study. We used Harman’s one-factor test with IBM SPSS 26 for detecting possible common method biases in our research (Harman, 1976). The result revealed that the total variance extracted by a single factor is 45.901%, which is lower than the recommended threshold of 50% (Podsakoff et al., 2003). Therefore, there are no apparent issues with common method bias in this research.

Table 3

Common Method Bias Test

Fit indices	X ² /df	CFI	TLI	RMSEA	SRMR
Recommended value	< 3	> .90	> .90	< .08	< .08
Actual value (Model 1)	551.1/104 = 5.30	.806	.776	.128	.071
Actual value (Model 2)	200.747/94 = 2.14	.954	.941	.066	.041
Actual value (Model 3)	131.325/79 = 1.66	.977	.966	.050	.032

Note. Source: developed by authors. CFI—comparative fit index; TLI—Tucker–Lewis index; RMSEA—root-mean-square error of approximation; SRMR—standardized root-mean-square residual.

Additionally, in line with Zhou et al. (2007), we conducted fit index computations for three models using Mplus 8.3 software. Adhering to Harman’s one-factor test rationale, Model 1 represented a method-only approach with all items loaded onto a single factor. Distinguishing Model 2 from Model 3 is the inclusion of control over the impact of an unmeasured latent method factor (Podsakoff et al., 2003): Model 2 encompassed solely trait-related loading of items, while Model 3 introduced a joint trait and method factor, extending the Model 2 setup. Table 3 presents the outcomes. Notably, Model 2 exhibited considerable improvement over Model 1, whereas the enhancement from

Model 2 to Model 3 was marginal. This implies that the primary variance is explained by the trait factor rather than the shared-method factor. Hence, the study's susceptibility to common-method bias appears unsubstantial (Williams et al., 2010).

Comparing Means

Having validated the measurement model and ensured data quality, we are poised for further data analysis for hypothesis testing. We utilized an independent samples *t*-test to compare the means of two distinct groups. This method is appropriate for our study as it evaluates if there is a significant difference in the means of two groups on a continuous dependent variable. Its simplicity and effectiveness in such comparisons are well documented (Mishra et al., 2019). For mean comparisons across multiple groups, we used a one-way ANOVA, ideal for examining the effect of a single independent variable on a continuous dependent variable in three or more groups. This choice is supported by its proven efficiency in identifying significant differences between group means (Tukey, 1949).

Table 4
Independent Samples t-Test Grouped by Gender

Constructs	Gender	<i>n</i>	Mean	<i>SD</i>	<i>T</i>	Sig. (2-tailed)
I	Male	46	5.3478	1.11115	2.604	.010*
	Female	215	4.9372	0.9386	2.334	.023*
NA	Male	46	5.1196	1.27991	0.567	.571
	Female	215	5.0198	1.03666	0.495	.622
RT	Male	46	4.8188	1.33834	2.446	.015*
	Female	215	4.3209	1.23418	2.321	.024*
A	Male	46	5.4783	1.27348	3.315	.001***
	Female	215	4.8535	1.13491	3.076	.003**
P	Male	46	5.2754	1.26355	1.39	.166
	Female	215	5.0264	1.06576	1.245	.218

Note. Source: developed by authors. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Table 4 presents the outcomes of an independent samples *t*-test, categorized by gender. The findings indicate noteworthy dissimilarities between males and females concerning innovativeness, risk-taking, and autonomy. However, no significant variances are discernible in terms of the need for achievement and proactiveness. Table 4 also displays the mean values of innovativeness, risk-taking, and autonomy among male workers as 5.348, 4.819, and 5.478, respectively. Correspondingly, female employees exhibit mean values of 4.937, 4.321, and 4.854 for the same attributes. This data suggests that male employees are more inclined towards an entrepreneurial mindset characterized by qualities like innovativeness, risk-taking, and autonomy.

Table 5
Independent Samples t-test Grouped by Age

Construct	Age	n	Mean	SD	T	Sig. (2-tailed)
I	18–32	235	5.0979	0.95064	-1.368	.108
	31–40	25	5.3667	0.75615	-1.645	
NA	18–32	235	5.0287	1.10190	-0.356	.148
	31–40	25	5.1100	0.90738	-0.416	
RT	18–32	235	4.3887	1.27406	-0.643	.565
	31–40	25	4.5600	1.20077	-0.674	
A	18–32	235	5.0610	1.00595	-1.221	.981
	31–40	25	5.3200	1.02956	-1.198	
P	18–32	235	5.0227	1.12616	-2.151	.045*
	31–40	25	5.5200	0.78811	-2.860	

Note. Source: developed by authors. The age group 40–50 was disregarded due to the lack of a sufficient sample. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Table 6
Independent Samples t-test Grouped by Education Level

Constructs	Education	n	Mean	SD	T	Sig. (2-tailed)
I	Undergraduate	193	4.9845	1.02337	-0.696	.487
	Graduate	68	5.0809	0.85458	-0.758	
NA	Undergraduate	193	4.9935	1.03878	-1.104	.271
	Graduate	68	5.1618	1.19371	-1.033	
RT	Undergraduate	193	4.4076	1.28187	-0.023	.981
	Graduate	68	4.4118	1.22457	-0.024	
A	Undergraduate	193	4.9819	1.18186	0.42	.675
	Graduate	68	4.9118	1.19058	0.418	
P	Undergraduate	193	5.0518	1.06484	-0.453	.651
	Graduate	68	5.1225	1.21749	-0.425	

Note. Source: developed by authors. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Table 5 displays the outcomes of an independent samples *t*-test categorized by age. The findings indicate that there are no notable variations across various aspects of EM among workers in distinct age brackets, apart from proactiveness. These results indicate that employees within the internal labor market generally exhibit an entrepreneurial mode of thinking, regardless of age disparities. Nevertheless,

employees within the age range of 31 to 40 exhibit a higher propensity for workplace proactivity when compared to their counterparts aged 18 to 30. Likewise, Table 6 presents the results of an independent samples *t*-test categorized by educational attainment. The results suggest that there are no significant differences in different dimensions of EM among employees with varying levels of education. This underscores that individuals within the internal labor pool showcase a mindset inclined towards entrepreneurship, irrespective of their educational backgrounds.

Table 7
One-Way ANOVA Grouped by Income

Items	Income	<i>n</i>	Mean	<i>SD</i>	<i>F</i>	Sig. (2-tailed)	Multi-comparisons
I	4000	102	4.766	1.026	4.699	0.003**	$\bar{1} - \bar{4}^*$
	4000-8000	109	5.094	0.978			
	8000-12000	32	5.211	0.793			
	12000	18	5.528	0.707			
NA	4000	102	4.777	1.219	3.89	0.01*	$\bar{1} - \bar{4}^*$
	4000-8000	109	5.154	0.951			
	8000-12000	32	5.211	1.002			
	12000	18	5.500	0.836			
RT	4000	102	4.160	1.292	2.877	0.037*	-
	4000-8000	109	4.474	1.260			
	8000-12000	32	4.740	1.050			
	12000	18	4.833	1.290			
A	4000	102	4.887	1.115	0.258	0.855	-
	4000-8000	109	5.005	1.222			
	8000-12000	32	5.063	1.134			
	12000	18	4.972	1.450			
P	4000	102	4.801	1.220	4.073	0.008**	$\bar{1} - \bar{4}^*$
	4000-8000	109	5.180	1.017			
	8000-12000	32	5.281	0.947			
	12000	18	5.556	0.870			

Note. Significant level: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; $\bar{1} - \bar{4}^*$: The mean difference between Group 1 (4,000 CNY and below) and Group 4 (12,000 CNY and above) is significant at the $p < 0.05$ level; Multi-comparisons: This analysis is conducted by grouping the sample according to income levels (1 represents 4,000 CNY and below, 2 represents 4,000-8,000 CNY, 3 represents 8,000-12,000 CNY, and 4 represents 12,000 CNY and above); Source: Developed by Authors.

Table 7 displays the outcomes of a one-way ANOVA categorized by wage tiers. The findings indicate notable variations among employees across distinct wage levels concerning all dimensions of the EM, except for autonomy. Generally, employees with

elevated wage levels exhibited superior scores on our research scale compared to those with lower incomes. Supplementary insights into the differences are attainable from the post-hoc testing results, which present outcomes from multiple comparisons. These outcomes reveal that employees earning below 4,000 CNY had means of 4.765, 4.777, and 4.801 for innovativeness, need for achievement, and proactiveness, respectively. Conversely, employees earning above 12,000 CNY had means of 5.528, 5.500, and 5.556 for the same dimensions. This implies that individuals possessing entrepreneurial traits like innovativeness, the need for achievement, risk-taking, and proactiveness generally receive higher wages.

Supplementary Analyses

Our aim was to enhance and substantiate our findings through supplementary analyses. To achieve this objective, we conducted additional correlation analyses. The descriptive statistics and correlations between all constructs are presented in Table 8. Moreover, two primary conclusions can be drawn from the gathered data. Firstly, gender exhibits significant correlations with most components of the EM, including innovativeness, risk-taking, and autonomy. This outcome reinforces the results from the preceding independent samples *t*-test categorized by gender, underscoring the distinctions in characteristics between different genders. Secondly, income displays significant correlations with all EM constructs except autonomy, highlighting income as a crucial indicator of EM. On the other hand, age and education demonstrate no significant correlations with EM constructs. Consequently, it can be inferred that variations in EM based on age and education are likely to be minimal. In summary, our supplementary analyses serve to further enhance and validate the outcomes of our hypothesis testing.

Table 8
Descriptive Statistics, Correlations Between Constructs

Variables	Mean	SD	Gender	Age	Edu	Income	I	NA	RT	A	P
Gender	1.82	0.38	1								
Age	1.10	0.32	-.23**	1							
Edu	2.26	0.44	-.02	.19**	1						
Income	1.87	0.88	-.30**	.49**	.31**	1					
I	5.01	0.98	-.16**	.11	.04	.22**	1				
NA	5.04	1.08	-.04	.03	.07	.20**	.66**	1			
RT	4.41	1.26	-.15*	.05	.00	.18**	.67**	.60**	1		
A	4.96	1.18	-.20**	.06	-.03	.04	.21**	.21**	.30**	1	
P	5.07	1.10	-.09	.12*	.03	.21**	.64**	.69**	.63**	.25**	1

Note. Source: developed by authors. * *p* < .005; ** *p* < .01; *** *p* < .001.

Discussion

This study identified two demographic variables (gender and income level) that will significantly influence an employee's EM. Specifically, the strength of EM is stronger among male employees or employees with a higher income level. However, we cannot find a significant mean difference among the dimensions of "autonomy" under different income levels. This might mean that individual autonomy is not a primary driver for potential labor force members who choose a job as employed workers, and this is different from self-employed workers and entrepreneurs. This finding is in line with the results of research conducted by Nikolova et al. (2023), who concluded that being our boss and bossing others provide more work autonomy than working for an employer. Generally, scholars hold that the self-employed enjoy a higher level of work autonomy and control compared to employees (Nikolova et al., 2023; Stephan, 2018).

Our findings demonstrate that individuals with higher income levels often exhibit a heightened inclination toward embracing an EM. From an economic standpoint, those with greater income enjoy enhanced financial resources, affording them a safety net that mitigates the perceived risks associated with entrepreneurial pursuits. Monsen et al. (2010) corroborated this nexus between profit-sharing and employee engagement in nascent ventures by considering moderating factors such as risk and exertion. In a parallel vein, Douglas and Fitzsimmons (2013) arrived at a similar conclusion, positing that a more favorable attitude toward income correlates with stronger entrepreneurial intentions. Specifically, they substantiate the favorable associations between income and entrepreneurial intentions through the lens of "basic economic theory," contending that the cultivation of entrepreneurial intentions serves as a means for individuals to attain higher income levels in pursuit of fulfilling their heightened desire for goods and services. This alignment with the foundational tenets of economic theory underscores the notion that individuals are driven by the maximization of their financial utility.

In our research, we have discovered that male employees tend to display an EM more often in the workplace, especially in areas such as risk-taking, autonomy, and innovativeness. This finding is consistent with prior research (Lim & Envick, 2013). However, it is important to recognize that societal gender role expectations and potential cultural influences play a significant role in understanding the gender disparities related to EM. Firstly, gender schema theory (GST) posits that individuals conform to gender roles dictated by their sociocultural environment (Bem, 1981). In Confucian culture, enduring traditional roles favoring masculinity may hinder or highlight women's entrepreneurial engagement (Xu et al., 2023). Secondly, regarding risk-taking, control behavior may elucidate gender differences (Kepler & Shane, 2007). Envick and Langford (1998) found that female entrepreneurs exhibit control behavior more frequently. This preference for control may lead female entrepreneurs to opt for less risky ventures (Kepler & Shane, 2007). Thirdly, autonomy differences were previously explained by male entrepreneurs' greater confidence in their abilities (Kepler & Shane, 2007). Females may seek support from spouses, family, friends, and colleagues, influenced by social expectations on gender roles per GST. Lastly, gender differences in innovativeness, as noted by Lim and Envick (2013), only suggest that

female entrepreneurs are not averse but may lack the resources expected by social norms. Thus, factors resulting from social expectations, like educational background, career opportunities, and societal expectations, could potentially play roles in understanding gender differences in innovativeness.

Employees aged 31 to 40 are more likely to demonstrate proactive behavior in the workplace compared to those aged 18 to 30. This could be due to factors such as greater experience, maturity, career responsibilities, and commitment. However, our research results show that age cohorts and educational level do not significantly impact most of the components of employees' EM. Three perspectives may possibly explain these results. Firstly, while prior research has yielded similar results (Dubey & Sahu, 2022), the absence of significant age group differences in our study may be attributed to our sample composition. Specifically, 90% of our respondents fall within the 18–30 age group, which primarily represents the native generation of the neo-liberal economy. Consequently, caution is advised when extending this conclusion to other generations that were born and lived before China's market reform. Secondly, potential qualities of entrepreneurial thinking can be nurtured and developed regardless of age and educational level. Furthermore, an individual's EM can be influenced by various other factors, such as personal experiences (Jackson et al., 2023), exposure to entrepreneurial role models (Holiienka et al., 2013), and the surrounding organizational culture (Shepherd et al., 2010). Our results implicate that age or educational level alone cannot significantly impact an individual's EM compared to the above-mentioned factors. Besides, EM may serve more pragmatic purposes in a way that provides work benefits for certain groups of people regardless of age and educational level (McVea & Dew, 2022).

Cultural and contextual factors may also play a significant role in understanding these findings, especially when comparing China with other regions. Confucian values, emphasizing tradition, renqing, face, discipline, and harmony, likely contribute to a consistent entrepreneurial mindset in China across different age groups. Studies like Obschonka et al. (2019) suggest that regions in China with reduced emphasis on these values tend to have a more active entrepreneurial culture. China's local entrepreneurial landscape is closely tied to economic growth and the relaxation of policies on private businesses since the late 1970s (Li et al., 2012). This economic liberalization, along with rapid growth, has created entrepreneurial opportunities that are less dependent on formal education. Disparities in EM based on income levels reflect economic inequality in China, where higher incomes provide better resources for entrepreneurship (Sahasranamam & Sud, 2016). Gender imbalances in entrepreneurship may result from traditional societal roles favoring masculinity in Confucian culture, impacting women's entrepreneurial engagement (Xu et al., 2023). In contrast, developed countries often show a stronger link between educational attainment and EM due to the emphasis on entrepreneurial skill development in their education systems (Echtner, 1995). However, high income levels in Western contexts also facilitate greater entrepreneurial activity due to improved resource access (Panda & Dash, 2014). While social welfare systems may reduce the necessity for survival-driven entrepreneurship (Cowling & Bygrave, 2006), gender disparities persist universally, albeit with varying degrees and manifestations.

Conclusion

In the context of a neo-liberal economy marked by innovation and buyer-driven competition, employment norms have evolved. Success in this environment requires the cultivation of EM, involving proactive identification and pursuit of opportunities. This research focuses on understanding EM within China's native generation experiencing market reform and neo-liberal transformation, particularly within the internal labor market. It highlights that age and educational levels have a limited impact on EM. However, significant disparities emerge based on income levels and gender, with high-income earners and men displaying a stronger tendency towards EM. Furthermore, among employees belonging to China's native generation of market reform and globalization, those aged 31–40 exhibit greater proactivity compared to the 20–30 age group.

Research Implications

This study on the EM of employees across different demographics offers insights for both academia and practice. Academically, it fills gaps in existing research by examining demographic characteristics, moving beyond the traditional focus on entrepreneurs (Jelenc et al., 2015). This shift is timely, considering evolving labor relations and the rise of knowledge work (Lazzarato, 1996). Furthermore, these results provide insights into understanding the emergence of EM among China's native generation in the context of market reform and neo-liberal transformation. Practically, the study informs social and managerial strategies. It highlights gender differences in EM, aiding in the development of policies for gender equality and women's economic empowerment (Ikonen, 2013). For management, the findings suggest promoting gender diversity and entrepreneurial skills in the workplace. The study also suggests linking EM with rewards to boost innovation and competitiveness. Overall, it emphasizes the value of diversity in fostering team innovation and entrepreneurial capabilities.

Limitations and Future Research

This study detailed demographic variations in workplace EM, but it is crucial to recognize its limitations and propose research designs for future studies. This study utilized convenience sampling to gather data, a data collection method in the social sciences known for its efficiency and cost-effectiveness. However, this method's susceptibility to bias, especially from under-represented subgroups, suggests the need for future research to incorporate diverse sampling techniques like purposive and random sampling for robustness. Furthermore, the predominance of participants aged 20–30 years warrants careful consideration of age-related influences on EM, given their upbringing during China's market reforms. Future investigations should consider a wider age range to offer a more comprehensive analysis of entrepreneurial perceptions across different generations shaped by China's economic evolution. Data was gathered using self-report scales, where employees self-assessed their thoughts after reading the scales. Although self-reports can yield a subjective measure of internal states, other methods like peer-rating scales offer different insights by

allowing managers to evaluate employees' EM, providing an external perspective on key study variables. The study suggests that employees' EM varies by gender and income and offers existing theories and explanations for it. However, future research should empirically explore the roots of these differences.

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Appendix

Constructs, Items, and Its Code

Constructs	Items	Code
Innovativeness	I like to take on a new challenge.	I1
	I try to work in a novel way.	I2
	I am likely to accept new ideas.	I3
	I persistently try to come up with outstanding ideas.	I4
Need for Achievement	I act aggressively to achieve a goal.	NA1
	I am more passionate than others.	NA2
	I have a strong will to achieve something.	NA3
	I persist in pushing forward necessary things against all odds.	NA4
Risk-taking	I tend to push forward something with high expected value even with high risk.	RT1
	I tend to take risks for new opportunities.	RT2
	I tend to take challenges even when there is a risk of failure.	RT3
Autonomy	I am reluctant to receive outside aid.	A1
	I prefer solving problems independently.	A2
	I prefer acting based on my own decision.	A3
Proactiveness	I proactively plan new things.	P1
	I plan and act in advance rather than waiting for something to be given.	P2
	I tend to actively overcome hardships rather than attributing to the environment.	P3



ARTICLE

Grouping of Occupations Based on Intragenerational Mobility

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ABSTRACT

Occupation is a key factor in human thinking, feeling, and behavior. Theoretically derived occupational groupings or classes are typically used to transform occupations into a variable suitable for statistical manipulations. We argue that such groupings are unlikely to produce groups that are homogeneous across a broad set of attributes. Instead, we offer a data-driven approach to identify groups of occupations based on respondents' mobility data using network analysis. The vertices of the network are codes of occupations, and the edges reflect the number of transitions between them. Using modularity maximization, we identify four communities and evaluate the stability of the resulting partition. As an example demonstrating the efficiency of the resulting grouping, we present a comparison of the predictive power of this grouping and one of the generally accepted groupings of occupations, that is ESeG (European Socio-economic Grouping), in relation to the human attitudes and values found in previous publications. The results indicate the preference of our grouping.

KEYWORDS

occupations, network analysis, ISCO codes, intra-generational mobility, career trajectories, modularity networks, class

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The research was supported by the Russian Science Foundation (project No. 22-28-20426).

Occupation is a key variable in sociology and other social sciences. As a class, it is often used as a predictor of a vast number of indicators ranging from political behavior to health, including values (Booth, 2020; Kohn, 1969), tolerance (Adriaenssens et al., 2022), moral position, and sentiments (De Keere, 2020; Sayer, 2010). Occupation influences (directly and indirectly) thinking, feeling, and behavior throughout the life course, which different authors (Stephens et al., 2014) extensively discuss. However, regardless of the chosen subject of analysis and the theoretical approach used, every research inevitably implies the homogeneity of the analyzed professional groups in terms of properties essential for the work. A necessary (but not necessarily sufficient) condition for this is the existence of boundaries for mobility between such groups. Indeed, it is hardly possible to talk about specific cultures or personality types inherent in occupations (groups of occupations) *a* and *b* if their representatives regularly move from *a* to *b* or from *b* to *a*. Identifying such relatively closed groups presents a certain methodological complexity and requires a large amount of data. Not long ago, it was suggested to use network analysis to solve this problem (Toubøl & Larsen, 2017; Toubøl et al., 2013). On the basis of occupation transition data, occupational groupings have been proposed for a number of countries via network analysis (Cheng & Park, 2020; Schmutte, 2014; Toubøl & Larsen, 2017; Toubøl et al., 2013). In Russia, for the implementation of this task data from the Russian Longitudinal Monitoring Survey of Higher School of Economics (RLMS HSE) suitable; however, to the best of our knowledge, there are no studies dedicated to creating groups of occupations based on mobility data. The aim of this research is to solve the above problem.

Occupation as a Variable

To become a variable in the model, an “occupation” must go a long way. First, the interviewer asks a respondent to describe in a free form what they do at work. Next, an encoder selects a code for this description according to a certain system of occupation codes (for example, ISCO08, see below). Then a researcher works with coded occupations and no longer refers to the respondents’ initial answers (as a rule, they do not have access to those answers). In this research, we do not intend to problematize the use of existing occupational classifiers; however, it is worth paying attention to one aspect important for the present study.

Allocating a code to an occupation can be represented as a translation from the language of the agents involved—people who describe their own and other people’s occupations, based on their own practical interests—into the language of universal classifiers. With such (as with any) translation, there is probably a discrepancy between differences that are significant in the local context (e.g., those allowing to find a proper vacancy or an employee for a position), with those differences that seemed important to the members of the commission that create international classifiers. A possible empirical manifestation of such a scenario is the frequent change of occupation codes when re-surveying the same respondent with the same job, because two codes, which are different from the point of view of classification, equally correspond to a “real” occupation. For authors who study the level of mobility, such changes in occupation

codes present an obstacle because they overestimate the level of mobility (see Cheng & Park, 2020). Our research has a primarily methodological focus; we are interested in the relationships between occupational codes (ISCO08), so such artificial transitions are a legitimate source of data for us.

In their original form, occupation codes can hardly be used in analysis because of their large number. Therefore, the next step is to convert the occupation codes into a variable suitable for inclusion in the model. One of the options for such a transformation is to create a numerical variable, for example, a scale of prestige or social status, which associates each occupation code with a certain value at this scale.¹ In this research, we are interested in another approach that is more common, namely, combining occupational codes into several groups, usually called classes.

Typically, researchers use a priori, that is theoretically driven, schemes, primarily the Goldthorpe class scheme and its derivative European socio-economic classification, or ESeC (Rose & Harrison, 2007). The shortcoming of using such a grouping is that the connection of the principles underlying the grouping with the phenomena of interest to the researcher remains indirect (at best). For example, the Goldthorpe scheme is based on an assumed difference in the types of contracts between employees and employers. Although there may indeed be significant differences in culture (practices, dispositions, personalities) between the resulting classes, it is easy to doubt whether such a grouping best explicates these differences.

An alternative is data-driven approaches that group occupations in an empirical manner. If the targeted groups/classes have some internal homogeneity (and therefore intergroup differences) in the traits of their members, we can expect the composition of these groups to be relatively stable over time. Indeed, intensive population exchange between groups would lead to the disappearance of intergroup differences. Composition stability means a relatively high level of mobility (change of occupations) within groups and a low level of mobility between them. Thus, mobility tables (inter- or intra-generational) are the starting point for many studies of this kind. A mobility table is a square table, the rows and columns of which are the names of occupations/groups of occupations (e.g., origin by row and destination by column), and the values in the cells are the number of respondents with the corresponding initial and final occupations. Log-linear analysis has been long used as the main method of such tables analyzing. It models the logarithm of frequency in a cell as a linear combination of the coefficients of the row, column, and their interaction. Typically, log-linear analysis is used to study the nature of transitions between given categories, and not to aggregate these categories.² However, criteria have been proposed that allow testing of the statistical admissibility of certain category combinations (Breiger, 1981; Goodman, 1981). The criteria allow testing of a small number of theory-driven hypotheses about possible combinations of categories. In fact, these criteria are applied to a very small initial list of occupational groups subject to consolidation, and often serve to update or adapt already existing groups. Thus, the log-linear analysis of mobility tables does not allow implementing a truly data-driven approach to the grouping of occupations.

¹ See Lambert & Griffiths (2018); also, see Bessudnov (2012) for an example of analysis using Russian data.

² As an example of log-linear analysis of mobility in Russia, see Yastrebov (2016).

Network analysis is an approach that has recently gained popularity among mobility researchers. It allows overcoming the above limitations of log-linear analysis. Cheng and Park (2020) present a more detailed comparison of various approaches. The source data is still the mobility table described above. The vertices of the network are occupations connected by an edge if the value in a table cell at the intersection of the corresponding row and column is greater than zero. There are different approaches to analyze such mobility networks: a clique-based algorithm (Toubøl & Larsen, 2017; see also Toubøl et al., 2013), which can cluster only those vertices that form a clique, that is a subset of vertices, each pair of which is connected by an edge; Infomap algorithm used by Cheng and Park (2020); community detection based on modularity maximization (e.g., Schmutte, 2014), which is used in this work and will be discussed below. Before moving on to the description of the research methodology, it is necessary to consider the structure of the occupation codes considered in this research, namely, ISCO08.

International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO08)

In 1952, the International Labour Organization (ILO) published the first International Classification of Occupations for Migration and Employment (ICOMEPE), with descriptions of 1,727 occupations based on national reference materials (International Labour Organization, n.d.). In 1957, the first complete version of the International Standard Classification of Occupations was presented at the International Conference of Labor Statisticians (ICLS), and ISCO-58 was officially published in 1958. Later, ISCO was modified several times to comply with the changing realities of the labor market and its use in cross-country comparisons. The codes were last updated in 2008.

The ISCO structure is hierarchical, with occupational codes corresponding to the characteristics of a job, which is defined as a set of tasks and duties, and the required skill level for its fulfillment where a skill is defined as the ability to perform tasks and duties (International Labour Organization Department of Statistics, n.d.). Each occupation has a four-digit code: the first digit reflects the level of qualification and the scope of activity (major groups), each subsequent digit details the scope of activity and tasks performed by workers, the second digit determines sub-major groups, and the third one identifies minor groups. In total, the codebook contains 436 four-digit codes, 130 three-digit codes, 43 two-digit codes, and 10 single-digit codes. If an encoder cannot assign one of the four-digit codes to the respondent based on the available data, then they may limit themselves to assigning only the first three, two, or even one digit(s). Thus, the total number of unique codes found in the database is extremely large, and many of them are few in number.

Since the position of sparse codes in the network can be largely random, we needed to take a number of steps to exclude numerically insignificant categories from the analysis. First, ISCO08 codes were consolidated to the first three digits (minor groups). Furthermore, a numerically insignificant three-digit code could be attached to a code of a more numerous group within a common sub-major group (two-digit code), in which case the combined category received the name of the more numerous group

code. In some cases, when no logical grouping of three-digit codes would achieve the required group size, all codes within that sub-major group were combined into one group, which received the name of the sub-major group. However, three of the sub-major groups were still too small in number (95, 94, 73); therefore, they were attached to the more numerous sub-major groups within the corresponding major groups. Some codes could not be aggregated in this way, so they were assigned to a separate category “other” and excluded from the created network. Thus, agricultural workers were excluded (major group 6 and sub-major group 92). In addition, the “others” category included one- and two-digit codes assigned when the encoder could not reliably attribute the respondent’s occupation to a certain minor group (three-digit code). The exception was group with code 83, which, for some reason, turned out to be quite numerous. The total share of codes classified as “others” turned out to be insignificant. The unemployed also formed a separate category, which was excluded from the network creation. The ISCO08 source codes, descriptions of the corresponding occupations, and the categories to which they were assigned are shown in Table 1. In total, 48 categories were obtained (excluding “other” and “unemployed”); hence, the created network would have 48 vertices.

Table 1
Correspondence of Aggregated Categories and ISCO08 Codes, Membership of Categories in Communities and ESeG-Groups

Community	ESeG	Categories (network vertices)	ISCO08 three-digit codes	Description
1 (blue)	1	11	11_	Chief executives, senior officials, and legislators
1 (blue)	1	12	12_	Administrative and commercial managers
			131	Manufacturing, mining, construction, and distribution managers
1 (blue)	1	132	132	Manufacturing, mining, construction, and distribution managers
			133	Information and communications technology service managers
1 (blue)	1	134	134	Production and specialized services managers
1 (blue)	1	14	14_	Hospitality, retail and other services managers
1 (blue)	2	21	21_	21 science and engineering professionals
3 (brick)	2	22	22_	22 health professionals
3 (brick)	2	231	231	University and higher education teachers
			232	Secondary education teachers
3 (brick)	2	233	233	Vocational education teachers

Table 1 Continued

Community	ESeG	Categories (network vertices)	ISCO08 three-digit codes	Description
3 (brick)	2	234	234	Primary school and early childhood teachers
3 (brick)	2	235	235	Other teaching professionals
1 (blue)	2	24	24_	Business and administration professionals
1 (blue)	2	25	25_	Information and communications technology professionals
1 (blue)	2	261	261	Legal, social, and cultural professionals
			262	Librarians, archivists, and curators
1 (blue)	2	263	263	Social and religious professionals
			264	Authors, journalists, and linguists
1 (blue)*	2	265	265	Creative and performing artists
			311	Physical and engineering science technicians
2 (green)	3	311	314	Life science technicians and related associate professionals
2 (green)	3	312	312	Science and engineering associate professionals
2 (green)	3	313	313	Process control technicians
3 (brick)	3	32	32_	Health associate professionals
1 (blue)	3	331	331	Financial and mathematical associate professionals
1 (blue)	3	332	332	Sales and purchasing agents and brokers
1 (blue)	3	333	333	Business services agents
1 (blue)	3	334	334	Administrative and specialized secretaries
1 (blue)	3	335	335	Government regulatory associate professionals
1 (blue)	3	34	34_	Legal, social, cultural, and related associate professionals
1 (blue)	5	41	41_	General and keyboard clerks
1 (blue)	5	42	42_	Customer services clerks
1 (blue)	5	43	43_	Numerical and material recording clerks
1 (blue)	5	44	44_	Other clerical support workers

Table 1 Continued

Community	ESeG	Categories (network vertices)	ISCO08 three-digit codes	Description
4 (yellow)	7	51	51_	Personal service workers
1 (blue)	7	52	52_	Sales workers
3 (brick)	5	53	53_	Personal care workers
4 (yellow)	5	54	54_	Protective services workers
2 (green)	6	71	71_	Building and related trades workers
2 (green)	6	72	72_	Metal, machinery, and related trades workers
2 (green)	6	74	74_	Electrical and electronics trades workers
2 (green)	6	75	73_	Handicraft and printing workers
			75_	Food processing, woodworking, garment, and other craft and related trades workers
2 (green)	6	81	81_	Stationary plant and machine operators
2 (green)	6	82	82_	Assemblers
4 (yellow)	6	83	83	Drivers and mobile plant operators
2 (green)	6	831	831	Locomotive engine drivers and related workers
4 (yellow)	6	832	832	Car, van, and motorcycle drivers
4 (yellow)	6	833	833	Heavy truck and bus drivers
2 (green)*	6	834	834	Mobile plant operators
			835	Ships' deck crews and related workers
3 (brick)*	7	91	91_	Cleaners and helpers
			94_	Food preparation assistants
2 (green)	7	93	93_	Laborers in mining, construction, manufacturing, and transport
2 (green)	7	96	95_	Street and related sales and service workers
			96_	Refuse workers and other elementary workers
Others			0, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 13, 23, 33, 35, 61, 62, 92, 310, 315	

Note. * unstable membership, _ any number or lack thereof. Source: developed by authors on the basis of International Labour Organization Department of Statistics (n.d.); Meron et al. (2014).

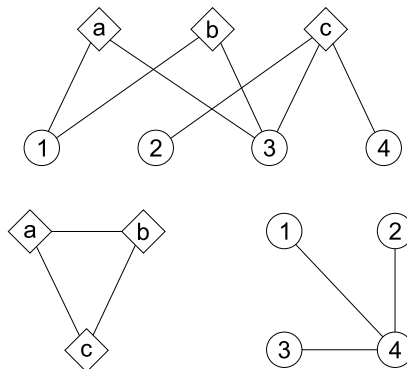
Methodology

In this article, networks are used to model the relationships between occupations and people. A network with two types of vertices is called a bipartite network. It connects only the vertices of different types, for instance, people and occupations in our study. However, neither occupations nor people may be connected with each other. We also analyze networks consisting of uniform vertices: only workers or only occupations. If a connection between vertices is seen as a binary indicator (either there is a connection, or there is not), the network is unweighted. If the edges can connect vertices with greater or lesser “strength,” then they should have a corresponding “Weight” value; such a network is called weighted. Finally, connections between vertices may be directed, e.g., we can separately analyze the flow of people moving from occupation *a* to occupation *b*, and the reverse flows from *b* and *a*; such a network is called directed. In this study, we ignore the direction of movement and consider only its intensity; hence, we only deal with undirected networks.

Let us look at an example of the network type considered in this article. We have four respondents and know their occupations for four consecutive years: 1—*abba*, 2—*cccc*, 3—*abcc*, 4—*cccc*, where the numbers represent the respondents, and the letters represent their occupations in chronological order. Figure 1 shows a bipartite network built on these data. The edges connect occupations and people who worked during the period under review. The network is not weighted; therefore, repeated tenure of a person in the occupation does not affect the image in any way. Hence, if we discard the last year of observations for our four respondents, the figure will not change. The figure shows that respondents 1 and 3 have highly overlapping work experience (occupations *a* and *b*), whereas the same people match occupations *a* and *b*. We may assume that these occupations require similar skills or attract people with similar educational backgrounds.

Figure 1

An Example of a Bipartite Network



Note. Diamonds mean occupations and circles mean people (above), and its weighted projection (below). Bold edges have a weight of 2, thin edges have a weight of 1.

In a bipartite network, only vertices of different types can be connected, but we are primarily interested in the relationships between occupations. To explicate them, we can consider two projections: occupations and people (see Figure 1, lower part). The edges connect those occupations, in which the same people are found. Similarly, in another projection, the edges connect respondents with experience in the same occupation. People who have experience in only one occupation (e.g., 2 or 4) do not affect the occupation network in any way. The projections are weighted, and the weight of the edges is equal to the number of common occupations/people. We can see that occupations a and b , and people 1 and 2, are connected by the edge with a greater weight than others are.

Assume that we have data (see the next section) on the successively occupied occupations for k years of a large number of respondents N , the number of occupations O was determined above. Based on these data, an “occupation–person” network can be built. In this case, its projections are networks of occupations and networks of persons. The next stage is the identification of the groups in the network. Within these groups, occupations are more closely connected with each other than with representatives of other groups. Such groups are called communities; one of the popular strategies for finding them is modularity maximization. The concept of modularity was introduced by Newman and Girvan (2004) for unweighted networks and was further extended to weighted ones (Newman, 2004a). The value is the difference between the proportion of edges connecting vertices within the same community, and the same value if we preserve the degrees of vertices (the number of edges emanating from a vertex) in our network but otherwise connect vertices together at random.

Let us denote the adjacency matrix by \mathbf{A} , each of its elements A_{ij} corresponds to the weight of the edge between vertices i and j (if any) or 0 (if none). Since the networks considered in this article are undirected, then $A_{ij} = A_{ji}$. The sum over a row or column is equal to the degrees of the corresponding vertex. For a partition into l groups, we denote the membership of the i vertex as $c_i \in \{1, 2, \dots, l\}$. Then the number of vertices that do not cross the boundaries of communities will be:

$$\frac{1}{2} \sum_{i,j} A_{ij} \delta(c_i, c_j), \tag{1}$$

where $\delta(x, y)$ is the Kronecker symbol, equal to 1 if $x = y$, otherwise equals 0; the coefficient $1/2$ is due to the fact that in the matrix \mathbf{A} each edge occurs twice, like A_{ij} and A_{ji} . Next, for a random placement of edges, we calculate the mathematical expectation of the weight of the edge between vertices i and j that have degrees k_i and k_j . The sum of cells in \mathbf{A} squares gives the total number of edges taking into account their weight m . An edge with weight f will be considered as f edges of unit weight, and then in total we have m edges with $2m$ endpoints. If one endpoint belongs to vertex i , then its second endpoint can be any of $2m - k_i$, we subtracted the number of ends lying on i , because in our network, edges leaving and entering the same vertex are impossible. The probability that the second endpoint hits vertex j is then $k_j / (2m - k_i)$. The mathematical expectation of the weight of the edge between vertices i and j is equal to $k_i k_j / (2m - k_i)$. Replacing A_{ij} in formula (1) with this value, we obtain

the number of edges that do not cross the boundaries of communities in the case of a random placement of edges (at fixed degrees of vertices):

$$\frac{1}{2} \sum_{i,j} \frac{k_j k_i}{2m - k_i} \delta(c_i, c_j). \quad (2)$$

Subtracting (2) from (1) and dividing by m to obtain the fraction, we arrive at the modularity formula:

$$\frac{1}{2m} \sum_{i,j} \left(A_{ij} - \frac{k_j k_i}{2m - k_i} \right) \delta(c_i, c_j).$$

Real modularity maximization algorithms ignore the subtraction of k_i in the denominator, setting $k_i \ll m$ (for criticism, see, e.g., Cafieri et al., 2010):

$$\frac{1}{2m} \sum_{i,j} \left(A_{ij} - \frac{k_j k_i}{2m} \right) \delta(c_i, c_j). \quad (3)$$

One way to maximize modularity is to use a fast greedy algorithm (Newman, 2004b). In the first step, each of the O occupations is assigned to a separate cluster. At each subsequent step, the algorithm chooses which two communities to combine into one to maximize the increase or minimize the decrease in modularity because of this action. The algorithm operation can be represented as a dendrogram, depicting the steps at which groups merged. This work uses the implementation of the algorithm in the igraph R package (Csárdi et al., 2023).

Given a community structure resulting from modularity maximization, it would be highly desirable to know the extent to which this structure reflects the properties of the population and is not an artifact of a particular sample. Typically, in statistics, numerical tests are used to identify the significance of a result; however, such tests can hardly be adapted for our purposes. The most obvious solution is to check the stability of the resulting partition by multiple repetitions of the analysis on a set of bootstrap samples. If it is true for each pair of vertices that they (almost) always end up together in the same community or (almost) always end up in different communities, then such a partition should be considered stable. Based on this logic, a numerical measure of a partition robustness was proposed (Shizuka & Farine, 2016). However, we are interested not so much in an aggregate indicator of a partition quality, but in the stability of each specific occupation occurrence in the cluster, to which it is assigned. Such information will allow us to identify the core and periphery of communities, which is important from the point of view of both substantive interpretation and methodology.

Data

We used data from 15 waves of the RLMS HSE from 2007 to 2021 for analysis. The age of the respondents was limited to 25–60. An earlier stage of a career may be associated with casual part-time jobs for students, and therefore is not indicative for our analysis.

When using several waves of panel data, the first task is to arrange them into a representative sample for the planned study. The simplest and most obvious

strategy is to use a balanced panel, which means selecting those respondents who, at t_1 time were included in a representative sample (designated as S_{cs1} , where $cs1$ is cross-sectional in t_1) and were interviewed at all subsequent moments t_2, t_3, \dots, t_k (designated as S_{bpl}). If the probability of missing one or more waves from the 2nd to k is the same for all members of S_{cs1} (i.e., they have the same probability of getting into S_{bpl}), then the S_{bpl} sample may also be considered representative. This simplest case is usually referred to as missing completely at random, or MCAR (Rubin, 1976). A more plausible assumption is that the probability of attrition is not equal, but can be predicted based on the observed (at t_1) characteristics of the respondent (missing at random, MAR). In this case, the representativeness of S_{bpl} can be ensured by selecting the following weights:

$$w_{ai} = \frac{1}{1 - p(r_i = 1|x_{1i})},$$

where i is the respondent's identifier, r is a binary indicator of attrition from S_{bpl} ($1 =$ attrition), x_1 is a vector of the respondent's characteristics at t_1 time, respectively $p(r = 1|x_1)$ is the probability that the respondent missed one or more waves, provided that in the first wave they had characteristics of x_1 . This probability can be calculated using logistic regression, then

$$\log \frac{p(r = 1|x_1)}{1 - p(r = 1|x_1)} = \beta x_1,$$

where β is the set of estimated coefficients, and the vector x_1 starts at 1, the respondent's index is omitted. Therefore,

$$w_a = 1 + \exp(\beta x_1). \tag{4}$$

Considering the task, the expected assumption is that the labor market in the period under review is homogeneous in time. This allows us to take several k -year samples, the beginning of which fall on different waves ($S_{bpl1}, S_{bpl2}, \dots$), and create a pooled sample, which will also be a representative sample of the k -year labor trajectories of Russians. Let us note the following points:

- S_{bpl1} member must be included in the representative sample S_{cs1} , but is not required to be included in S_{cs2} , although it must be included in the full RLMS sample in year t_2 ;
- when pooling samples S_{bpl} , the same record of the same person can be duplicated several times. For example, when a respondent's set of occupations for four years ($abcd$) is known and they were in a representative sample for at least the first two years (window size $k = 3$), S_{bpl1} contains the sequence of occupations abc , S_{bpl2} contains the sequence of occupations bcd . As a result, the combination bc will appear twice in the final sample;
- the larger k , the more unique combinations of occupations are included in the final sample, so for the mentioned respondent with $k = 3$, five combinations will be recorded such as ab, bc (twice), ac, cd, bd ; with $k = 4$, the six combinations will be those listed earlier + ad .

Based on the above, we can describe the trade-off associated with the choice of k parameter. On the one hand, with large k , we are more efficient in using the data of each real respondent (who did not miss any of the k waves), since we do not lose the combination of their occupations, as well as data from respondents who left the representative sample, but were interviewed in subsequent years. On the other hand, with k increasing, the proportion of respondents to be excluded from the pooled sample also increases, along with the duplication of data.

In order to discuss further, we should clarify the meaning of original and duplicated data. Consider a respondent with an *abab* career trajectory of four years who has been in a representative sample for all that time. If we assume $k = 4$, he will be in our pooled sample once, on the bipartite network he will appear as a vertex with two edges leading to *a* and *b*. If $k = 3$, it will fall into the pooled sample twice, in the first year with the *aba* trajectory, and in the second one with the *bab* trajectory. So, this implies two vertices with two edges each; if $k = 2$, there are three such vertices. In fact, this is equivalent to assigning a weight of 2 ($k = 3$) or 3 ($k = 2$) to the initial “original” information that the respondent’s career combines occupations *a* and *b*. The weights themselves are not a big problem; however, when they reach large values, they can lead to instability in estimates.

We can select the hyperparameter k in a more formal way by taking two parameters as criteria, namely the total number of original transitions in the sample and the proportion of the number of original transitions from the total number of transitions between occupations in the reconstructed network. These values were obtained numerically for k from 2 to 7; the observed trends indicate that further search is impractical. The results are presented in Table 2. In general, with $k = 4$ we obtain the least loss of information relative to the full base. The ratio of original transitions and those used in the model is also acceptable. Large k ’s, as can be seen, do not provide any advantage. The presented calculation has been carried out for the aggregated categories presented above. However, for original ISCO codes $k = 4$ is also optimal (not presented).

Table 2
Sample Parameters for Different Lengths (k) of the Considered Career Trajectory

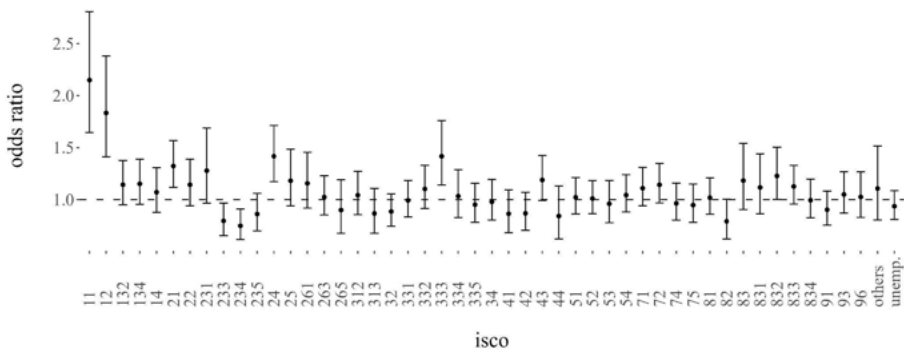
k	Number of original transitions	Total number of transitions	Share of original transitions
2	9,510	12,848	0.74
3	11,511	21,184	0.50
4	12,158	26,315	0.46
5	11,676	28,588	0.41
6	11,458	29,656	0.39
7	11,013	29,245	0.38

Note. Source: authors.

By choosing the value of k , we can calculate the attrition-related weights. To do this, we will use logistic regression, the predictors of which are age (linear and quadratic), as well as the aggregated categories. The dependent variable is a binary indicator equal to zero if the respondent’s occupational status (ISCO code or information that

the respondent is unemployed) is known for all four years, otherwise, it is equal to one. The probability of dropping out of the sample decreases monotonically with age at the age interval in question (not presented), the odds ratio of ISCO categories is presented in Figure 2. We can see that, in general, representatives of groups with higher status have a greater chance of missing the survey, probably because of the higher spatial mobility of such people. The age effect can be explained in the same way. The final weight of an observation in the created sample is determined by two weights: the w_{cs} (cs is cross-sectional) weight associated with the sample design, which is contained in the RLMS database, and the w_a attrition weight calculated by formula (4): $w_t = w_{cs} \times w_a$.

Figure 2
Estimated Odds Ratios by ISCO Group for Attrition (95% CI)



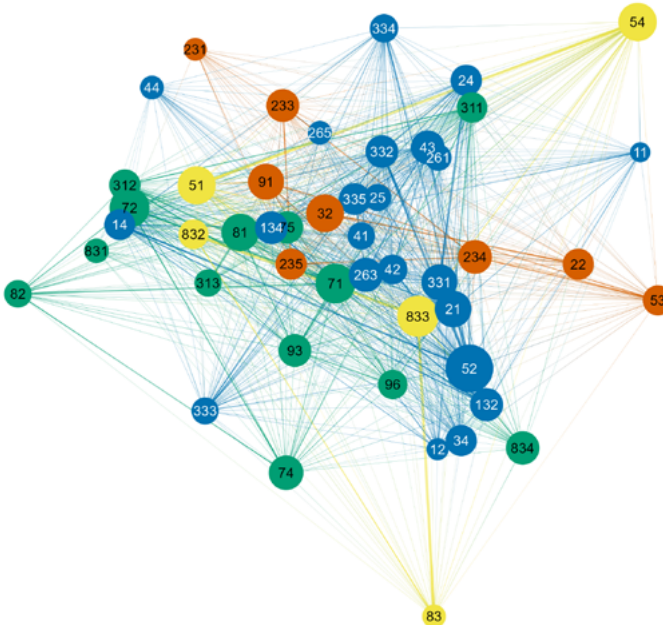
Note. The reference group is 311 in ISCO08. CI = confident interval.

If the MAR assumption is accepted, then the database consisting of 12 balanced samples (2007–2018), each of which is composed of four-year career trajectories of respondents from a representative part of the RLMS, is a representative sample of four-year career trajectories of Russians (taking into account the w_t weights). However, a worse scenario is also possible, when the probability of non-response is determined by the value of unobservable indicators (missing not at random, MNAR). For example, the transition to occupation g is often accompanied by a relocation, then in our sample the connections of this occupation with others will be underrepresented, despite the use of w_t weights. Working with MNARs (and MNAR testing itself) is a complex task. We can offer the following simple check. If we take $k = 2$ and compare the profile of respondents' occupations in the representative sample of RLMS vs. the occupations of the second year of respondents in our sample, then they should not differ significantly under MAR. If such differences are found, MNAR occurs. This check was carried out using the Chi-Square test of independence with Rao-Scott correction; the Rao-Scott correction is necessary because the samples in question have weights. The differences turned out to be insignificant even at the 10% level, which allows us to reject the MNAR hypothesis.

Results and Discussion

The network with communities obtained from modularity maximization is shown in Figure 3. The achieved modularity value is 0.32. The dendrogram of the vertex mergers resulting from the fast greedy algorithm application is shown in panel A of Figure 4. In panel B of Figure 4, for each pair of occupations, the share of bootstrap resamplings where they ended up in the same community is shown in heatmap format. Only a few occupations have unstable membership. For example, code 265 gravitates to both the first (bottom to top in the left panel, blue) and the third (brick) community. Code 834 is toward the second (green) or fourth (yellow) community. The yellow community tends to split into two, i.e. 51 and 54 versus 83, 833, 832, in cases where the algorithm finds five communities rather than four (in 24% of resamplings). If this scenario were to occur, 91 people could also be categorized in the first of these clusters (51 and 54). Note that all examples of unstable membership refer to occupations that were included in the corresponding communities during one of the last mergers, while most of them (except perhaps 265 and 83) cannot be regarded as small in number. Hence, we believe that the unstable membership of occupations is not a consequence of sample limitations but reflects the actual relationships between the ISCO codes.

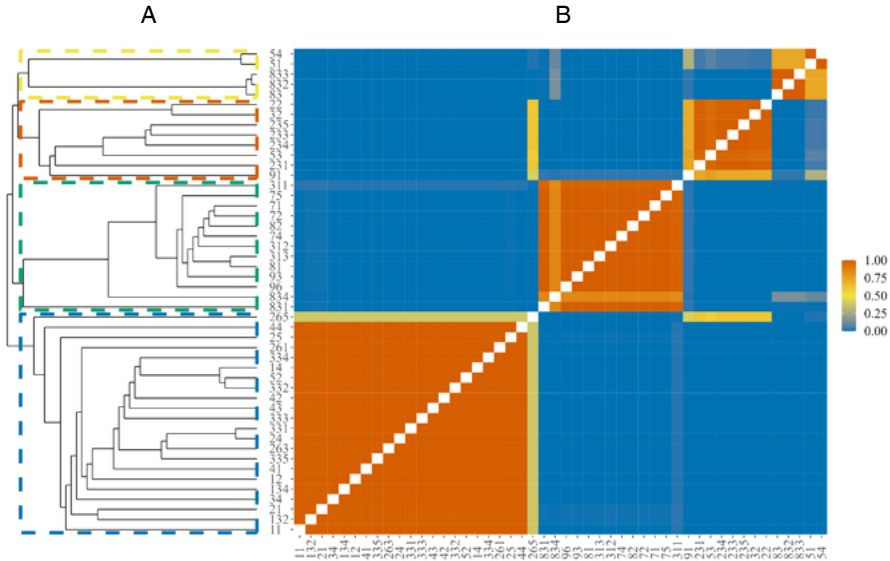
Figure 3
Network of Occupations



Note. The numbers correspond to occupational groups, the thickness of the lines reflects the weight of the connection, and the colors indicate community membership: blue—1, green—2, brick—3, yellow—4.

Figure 4

The Resulting Partition: Dendrogram of Community Merging and Stability Check



Note. Panel A: Dendrogram of community merging when running the fast greedy algorithm. The colors indicate community membership: blue—1, green—2, brick—3, yellow—4. Panel B: Heatmap of the probability of occupations belonging to the same community by row and column (among bootstrap reassemblies).

The most obvious question that arises when creating a new grouping is how different it is from those previously proposed. In the present paper, we will limit ourselves to comparing the resulting scheme with ESeG (European Socio-Economic Groups, see Meron et al., 2014), elaborated at the request of Eurostat to create a pan-European grouping of occupations based on ISCO08 (the previous ESeC grouping was originally created for ISCO88). The declared purpose of this scheme is to ensure “grouping of individuals with similar economic, social and cultural characteristics.” To encode ESeG, the first two digits of the ISCO code and employment data (self-employed or employee) are used. Grouping is possible without considering employment data, in which case the fourth group, “small entrepreneurs,” is not allocated. We assume that two groupings are consistent if the boundaries of one do not intersect the boundaries of the other, i.e., each group of one grouping is either completely included in a group of the other, or completely includes several groups of the other. The correspondence of the ESeG grouping to the resulting communities is shown in Table 1. If the first ESeG grouping is completely included in the first community, then the second group is divided between the 1st and the 3rd communities, each of the third, fifth, and sixth groups is included in three communities at the same time (1, 2, 3; 1, 3, 4; 2, 3, 4), and the sixth group is included in four communities at once. In general, we can conclude that ESeG does not reproduce the boundaries of occupational mobility that we identified. Therefore, if members of the ESeG group are similar in one cultural dimension, we cannot be sure that they will automatically be similar in another.

Of course, one study is not enough to doubt the applicability of ESeG to the analysis of Russian data; however, the obtained result indicates the need for further research and a critical attitude towards the application of existing schemes for ISCO code grouping.

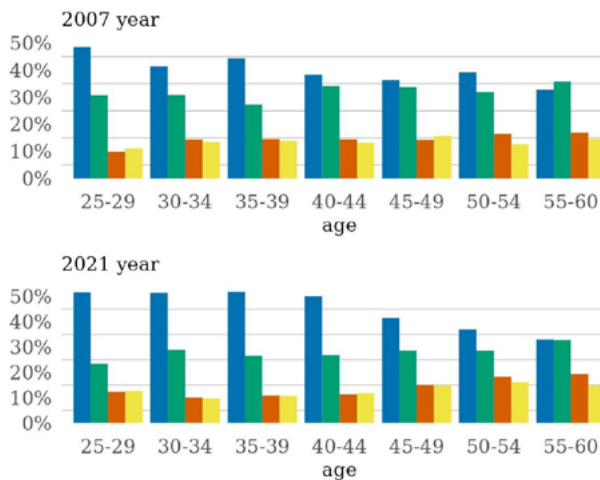
Next, we move on to a meaningful interpretation of the resulting communities. Socio-demographic indicators of communities in 2007 and 2021 are shown in Table 3 and Figure 5. Because we excluded some occupations related to agriculture from the analysis, we provide tables that represent only the urban population. Let us start with the smallest community—the fourth one (yellow). It includes occupations such as service sector workers (51: cooks, waiters, hairdressers, etc.), security guards (54), and drivers (832, 833, drivers also statistically prevail in category 83). Among representatives of occupations in this group, men predominate (Table 3), as well as older respondents (Figure 5).

Table 3
Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Urban Respondents from Founded Occupational Communities

Community	Women's share, %		Median personal income, rub.		Mean personal income, rub.	
	2007	2021	2007	2021	2007	2021
1 blue	66.5	65.0	11,953	34,965	14,360	43,389
2 green	27.0	22.6	9,926	33,939	11,715	38,129
3 brick	91.7	89.3	6,948	29,887	8,543	33,266
4 yellow	21.0	22.5	8,911	34,919	10,771	37,959

Note. Source: authors.

Figure 5
Occupational Structure of Age Cohorts



Note. Sum of columns in each cohort is 100%. The colors indicate community membership: blue—1, green—2, brick—3, yellow—4.

The third community (brick) includes health (associate) professionals (22, 32), teachers (23), and personal care workers (53, e.g., birth assistants and nannies). The above occupations belong to *biudzhethniki* [public servants], the most feminized group, as approximately 90% of their representatives are women; this is the oldest and lowest-income group (Table 3, Figure 5).

The second community (green) includes skilled workers (7), workers and operators from ISCO08 major groups 8 and 9, as well as science and engineering associate professionals (31). Predictably, this category includes the largest proportion of men, with their predominance only increasing from 2007 to 2021 (Table 3).

Finally, the first (blue) group is the largest, and it includes the highest status occupations: managers (1) and most professionals (except those who belong to the second community); this group also includes almost all white-collar semi-professionals and clerks. The group has the most balanced gender composition among all, although women are still the majority (Table 3). Unlike other groups, the proportion of representatives of this group is growing among younger generations, i.e., under 40 years old (Figure 5), and they gravitate most towards the largest cities (not shown). Collectively, the group brings together a diverse group of office staff living primarily in large cities. Our analysis did not reveal the existence of boundaries between career trajectories within this community.

In the introduction, we pointed to the use of occupational groupings as predictors of respondent personality attributes. The simplest demonstration of the effectiveness of the resulting communities in comparison with other groupings (ESeG) is their ability to better predict the characteristics of respondents. A few indicators found in the papers were considered: tolerance towards gays and lesbians³ (Adriaenssens et al., 2022), attitudes towards redistribution,⁴ which is one of the indicators of moral worldviews (De Keere, 2020; see also Kulin & Svallfors, 2013), attitudes towards migration⁵ (Davidov et al., 2018); gender equality attitudes⁶ (for example, Soboleva, 2019); wealth values⁷ as the ESS human values indicator (Davidov et al., 2008).

The simplest models were used, in which the predictors were age, gender, and membership in an occupational group (see Table 4). Results show that older generation is less tolerant (to gays, lesbians, and migrants), do not strongly strive to make expensive purchases and more likely advocate for redistribution and gender equality. The communities of office workers, teachers, and doctors are more tolerant towards sexual minorities and greet gender rights of being employed for both sexes. Also, office workers have the least pronounced attitude towards redistribution.

³ Question B34. *Gay men and lesbians should be free to live their own lives as they wish* (European Social Survey, 2016).

⁴ Question B33. *The government should take measures to reduce differences in income levels*. The value corresponds to the degree of agreement (European Social Survey, 2016).

⁵ Question B41. *Would you say it is generally bad or good for country's economy that people come to live here from other countries?* Values rise with approval (European Social Survey, 2016).

⁶ Question B33a. *Men should have more right to job than women when jobs are scarce*. The value corresponds to the degree of agreement (European Social Survey, 2016).

⁷ Question H1 CARD 76_B. *Important to be rich, have money and expensive things* (not like me at all/not like me/ a little like me/ somewhat like me/ like me/ very much likely) (European Social Survey, 2016).

Biudzhetni differ significantly from other communities in that they do not value wealth. Of greatest interest is the comparison of the predictive power of community-based and ESeG-based models. The R^2 for regressions with communities is higher in all models. Since our grouping has fewer categories than ESeG does, the gap in adjusted R^2 is even more significant between the models. In addition, F -statistics was used to compare the fits of different models. The check showed that the extended models (included both variables of ESeG and occupational communities) provided a better fit than a model with only ESeG occupational indicator.

Table 4

Prediction of Tolerance and Attitudes Towards Redistribution With Help of Founded Grouping and ESeG

	Tolerance	Attitudes towards redistribution	Attitudes towards migration	Gender equality attitudes	Wealth values
Age	-0.008*	0.007*	-0.013*	-0.008**	-0.024***
Gender (ref. = male)	0.063	0.128*	-0.144	-0.529***	0.075
Community (ref. = 1 blue):					
2 green	-0.25**	0.266***	-0.501**	0.203*	-0.17*
3 brick	0.069	0.226**	-0.212	0.057	-0.306**
4 yellow	-0.263*	0.214*	-0.355	0.354**	-0.166
R^2	0.019	0.022	0.011	0.088	0.052
Adj. R^2	0.016	0.018	0.008	0.085	0.048
ESeG R^2	0.018	0.014	0.007	0.085	0.049
ESeG adj. R^2	0.012	0.008	0.001	0.08	0.043
F -statistics (level of sig.)	5.0%	0.0%	5.0%	5.0%	10.0%
N	1,286	1,375	1,297	1,370	1,382

Note. Source: authors. * $p < .1$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .001$.

Conclusion

In the presented paper, we attempt to create a grouping of ISCO08 occupational codes based on data on respondents' mobility. Presumably, the relatively impenetrable boundaries between groups constitute a prerequisite for obtaining groups that are relatively homogeneous on attributes unknown in advance. Hence, the criterion for identifying groups is a high level of transitions between occupational codes within the group and a low level across group boundaries.

The RLMS data for 2007–2021 were used to realize this grouping, resulting in a network whose vertices are occupation codes while the edges are the number of transitions between these codes. Through modularity maximization, four communities

were identified. Their stability was assessed using a variety of bootstrap resamplings and proved to be quite high. The first community, being the largest, unites mainly office staff, the second one comprises workers, operators, and non-office associate professionals, the third one includes occupations in the fields of education and medicine, and the fourth community consists of occupations in the service sector, security guards, and drivers.

As an example demonstrating the efficiency of the resulting grouping, a comparison was made of the predictive power of this grouping and the European Socio-economic Grouping (ESeG) in relation to the indicators known in the literature. The results indicate that our grouping is preferable.

The proposed grouping may already be used as an alternative or an addition to the known occupational (class) schemes. However, the performed research has some limitations, overcoming which will allow us to obtain a more reliable grouping. First, only one of several possible ways to construct a network and identify communities was used (for other approaches, see Cheng & Park, 2020; Toubøl & Larsen, 2017). It is desirable to have a grouping that is consistently reproduced regardless of the method used. Different approaches are based on different initial assumptions; a comparison of the results obtained can serve as a diagnostic tool for the ISCO classification. Second, the resulting groups have an unbalanced gender composition, where some communities are predominantly female and others are male. In their research, Toubøl & Larsen (2017) obtained similar results. This may indicate the existence of gender-specific patterns of mobility, which requires further testing. Third, we examined four-year career spans ($k = 4$), but we can imagine a situation where the transition from profession a to b is quite common, but involves an intermediate stage of being in profession c . In this case, four years may not be sufficient to capture many transitions from a to b in the data; therefore, checking the stability of the graph partition with respect to different values of k is desirable. Finally, the question of the stability or change of these groups over time is important.

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ARTICLE

Types and Development Stages of Migrant Entrepreneurship in Russia

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ABSTRACT

The study of migrant entrepreneurship in Russia is a relatively recent and complex social phenomenon. Its uniqueness stems from the surge in international migration, primarily from former regions of the Soviet Union, coinciding with significant socio-economic transformations, specifically the shift from the Soviet centrally planned economy to a market economy. This context partly explains the limited empirical research and the absence of a comprehensive theoretical foundation for such studies in Russian social science. Seeking to fill this gap, this article provides a brief overview of migrant entrepreneurship approaches, methods, empirical evidence, and findings. The research compares the data on migrants from Azerbaijan and Kyrgyzstan who started their businesses since the 1990s. The study includes 58 in-depth semi-structured interviews conducted between 2017 and 2019, supplemented by a questionnaire survey of Kyrgyz entrepreneurs (a sample of 200 persons), and an analysis of the Kyrgyz business platform, Tabarman, on social networks. The comprehensive analysis of the mutual influence of structural, group, and personal characteristics of migrants reveals ideal types and developmental stages in Kyrgyz and Azerbaijani migrant entrepreneurship in Russia across different post-Soviet periods. This article enhances our understanding of the complex dynamics of migrant entrepreneurship in the evolving socio-economic landscape of post-Soviet Russia.

KEYWORDS

migrant entrepreneurship, “ethnic economy”, migrants from Kyrgyzstan, migrants from Azerbaijan.

Received 20 August 2023

Accepted 2 November 2023

Published online 27 December 2023

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Introduction

Over the last decades, migration issues have taken center stage in both global and national political and academic agendas, with the entrepreneurship of migrants as one of the most significant phenomena resulting from migration (Marchand & Siegel, 2015; McAuliffe & Khadria, 2019; Xavier et al., 2013, pp. 47–50). The characteristics of migrant entrepreneurship and its contribution to overall economic and business activities vary significantly across different countries and world regions (European Economic and Social Committee, 2012). This variation depends heavily on contextual factors such as opportunities and constraints, the economic and business environment, as well as the dynamics of migration processes, motivation for migration, and the composition of migrants.

International migration is one of the critical factors influencing the social and economic development of contemporary Russia. While forced migration dominated in the 1990s, primarily due to conflicts, the 2000s witnessed a noticeable shift toward labor migration. Pre-pandemic data show that there were 10.7 million temporary foreign citizens in Russia simultaneously. Over 80% of them were citizens of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS): 9.1 million in 2014, 8.7 million in 2015, 8.5 million in 2016, 8.2 million in 2017, and 8.4 million in 2018. Almost half of these migrants are from Central Asia, approximately 14% from the Caucasus region, and about a third from Eastern European countries (Maleva, 2019, p. 40). Additionally, there is an increase in the share of foreign citizens in the working-age population of Russia (Rosstat, 2021a).

The complexity and uniqueness of migrant entrepreneurship in Russia stem from heightened international migration coinciding with significant socio-economic transformations, in particular the transition from the Soviet centrally planned economy to a market economy. While there were isolated instances of business activity during the Soviet era, true entrepreneurship only began to flourish after the disintegration of the USSR. In essence, the surge in both large-scale migration and the emergence of new forms of employment occurred almost simultaneously. This synchronicity not only underscores the novelty and specificity of the issue, but also accounts for the scarcity of research in this area.

Since migrant entrepreneurship is a relatively recent and complex phenomenon in Russia, in this paper, we are focusing on questions about its scale in contemporary Russia, the factors driving its emergence and evolution, the similarities and differences among migrant entrepreneurs from various countries, and the role of ethnicity in migrant entrepreneurship. It is also crucial to explore the business strategies and practices employed by migrants, including leveraging the resources of ethnic and migrant communities, and this research aims to address these inquiries. The structure of the paper is as follows: first, the paper provides an overview of approaches to migrant entrepreneurship, and then it describes the methods and empirical evidence, and concludes with an analysis of the results and key findings.

Conceptual Background and Literature Review

Numerous academic papers on this topic share a common goal: they seek to investigate how migrant entrepreneurship differs from non-migrant entrepreneurship and why some migrants are more predisposed to start a business than others. It is essential, however, to begin by acknowledging the absence of a unified definition for migrant entrepreneurs and their entrepreneurship. According to the most precise definition, a migrant entrepreneur is a business owner born either abroad or in a country hosting an ethnic minority, including both first and second-generation migrants (Ahmad & Seymour, 2008; Xavier et al., 2013, p. 44).

Many studies begin by identifying the opportunities and/or constraints that influence the emergence and development of migrant entrepreneurship, often adopting a supply-and-demand perspective in examining these factors (Kloosterman, 2010; Volery, 2007). The supply side encompasses contextual and structural conditions, such as politics, laws, norms, and the economic landscape. On the other hand, the demand side considers migrant characteristics like motivation, skills, and social contacts. The interactive theory, central to our understanding of the interplay between migrant characteristics and the structure of opportunities, is at the core of this analysis (Waldinger et al., 1990). Developed within the theory of mixed embeddedness, the interactive model posits that institutional, political, and socio-economic factors or contexts are shaped by the interaction of three spatial levels: national, regional/urban, and district (Kloosterman, 2010; Kloosterman & Rath, 2001; Light, 2005). Over time, the mixed embeddedness theory has been refined, recognizing that entrepreneurs not only react to external factors but can also overcome and change them (Barberis & Solano, 2018). The analysis of opportunities and group characteristics is complemented by an examination of the personal characteristics of migrants and the entrepreneurship strategies arising from their interaction (Oliveira, 2007).

The analysis of opportunities and constraints often delves into the categories of capital and resources, special attention being given to the role and place of ethnicity (Cederberg & Villares-Varela, 2018; Galbraith et al., 2007; Ilhan-Nas et al., 2011; Volery, 2007; Wang, 2013; Zhou, 2004).

There is also a series of works comparing the roles of ethnic and class resources that constitute both social and cultural capital (Light, 1984). Initially focused on determining which resource is more critical, discussions have since shifted towards identifying their balance based on circumstances and context (Light, 2005). Migrant networks, serving as primary ethnic resources, receive significant attention. These networks, rooted in family and compatriot ties, aid migrants, even those with limited finances and skills, in gaining opportunities for social mobility and integration into the new labor market and host society (Light, 2005; Park, 1984).

Ethnicity is considered a key factor in migrant entrepreneurship, as outlined in the theory of ethnic economies (Light, 2005), enclave economy or migrant enclave (Portes & Jensen, 1987; Wilson & Portes, 1980), and the theory of middleman minorities (Bonacich, 1973). The latter is currently employed to explain the economic activity of migrants who serve as middlemen, mediating between the local society

and minorities in the modern urban cosmopolitan environment (Valenzuela-Garcia et al., 2018). Furthermore, in some cases, the same migrants can be defined both as middleman minorities and as enclave entrepreneurs (Zhou, 2004). The popularity of ethnicity as a factor in migrant entrepreneurship can be attributed to its ability to capture the specific ethno-cultural features of migrants (Pécoud, 2010). It should be noted that there is a strand in the literature on migrant economy, dating back to M. Weber and W. Sombart that focuses on the cultural and value characteristics of migrants, suggesting their potential predisposition to entrepreneurship and success in business (Portes & Zhou, 1992; Volery, 2007).

In recent years, there has been a trend to adopt a spatial perspective when analyzing structural possibilities and constraints, along with the group and individual characteristics of migrants in modern research, in contrast to the works of the Chicago School or studies on ethnic enclaves, the concept of space has evolved from a static, geographically fixed perspective to a more flexible and dynamic post-space, embracing a complex context (Valenzuela-Garcia et al., 2018). This implies a concurrent consideration of the opportunity structure and the relations between social, cultural, political, and institutional forces at different spatial levels (Wang, 2013). The new understanding of space has supplemented and broadened the mixed embeddedness theory with the concept of positioning and spatial scales (Barberis & Solano, 2018); the emplacement concept (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2013, p. 496); and the transnational prospect concept (Bagwell, 2015; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004).

The dissolution of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp in the 1980s and 1990s brought about global political and socio-economic transformations. It also created new research problems and opportunities to test well-developed theories and research perspectives on entrepreneurship in the United States and Western Europe in a completely new post-socialist context (Chepurenko, 2017; Kshetri, 2009; Ovaska & Sobel, 2005; Runst, 2011). Multiple studies seek to conceptualize entrepreneurship development within a national and economic context marked by a rather sparse record of start-ups and entrepreneurship in general. Researchers from various disciplines have been examining the impact of post-Soviet and post-socialist migration as a new factor in post-socialist reality, studying the relationship between migration and entrepreneurship and how immigrant entrepreneurship has emerged (Ageev et al., 1995; Matricano & Sorrentino, 2014; Nikolko & Carment, 2017; Tepavcevic, 2017, 2020; Židonis, 2015).

In Russian social sciences, the study of migrant entrepreneurship has been limited, primarily due to the novelty of the phenomenon. Several main areas of research can be distinguished. Firstly, there are studies examining the “ethnic labor division” (Dmitriev & Pyadukhov, 2005; Kuznetsov & Mukomel’, 2007). Secondly, there is a focus on entrepreneurship as a form of socio-economic adaptation for migrants (Radaev, 1995; Ryazantsev, 2000). Other works examine the actual practices of ethnic entrepreneurship by looking at the peculiarities of entrepreneurial activity in individual ethnic and migrant communities in Russia (Dzhanyazakova, 2021; Gadzhiganova, 2013; Snisarenko, n.d.). In other words, most works treat migrants as a single homogeneous social group, emphasizing “ethnic” entrepreneurship

as a characteristic of all migrants (Ryzhova, 2008). An exception is the study by Brednikova and Panchenkov (2002) that recognizes the situational nature of migrant ethnicity within the concept of the “ethnic economy.”

To summarize this brief overview, the most productive approach to studying migrant entrepreneurship is based on considering different combinations of interactions between three key factors: personal characteristics of migrants, group characteristics and resources, and the structure of opportunities and constraints, primarily related to the host and then the sending society. Although ethnicity has a significant role to play in migrant entrepreneurship, it can be considered a primordial feature of any migration, serving as a group and individual resource relevant in a specific context. Therefore, the entrepreneurship of migrants in modern Russia should be comprehensively viewed, taking into account socio-economic and historical conditions, capabilities and constraints, as well as the characteristics of migrants, including the place and role of ethnicity at different levels.

Data, Method, and Its Justification

This research is grounded in a comparative analysis of the entrepreneurial activities of migrants from Azerbaijan and Kyrgyzstan who established their businesses since the 1990s. The selection of migrants from these countries is driven by several factors. First, as mentioned earlier, international migrants in Russia are predominantly ex-Soviet Union citizens. According to 2021 statistics, 92% of migration growth corresponds to international migration from CIS countries. Central Asian countries (Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Kazakhstan) contribute to half of the total migration growth (52%), including CIS countries (56%), and comprise the majority of foreign labor migrants. Approximately the same proportions include migrants from Ukraine (15%), Armenia, and Azerbaijan (16%) (Rosstat, 2021a, 2022).

Second, migration from Azerbaijan and Kyrgyzstan to Russia has distinct histories, scales, and dynamics. Active migration from Azerbaijan commenced in the early 1990s, while migration from Kyrgyzstan began around the mid-2000s. According to population censuses, in the early 2000s, around 621 thousand Azerbaijanis and about 32 thousand Kyrgyz people with Russian citizenship resided in Russia. Ten years later, the figures were around 603 thousand and 103 thousand, respectively. As of August 1, 2019, there were approximately 710 thousand Azerbaijani migrants (Maleva, 2019, p. 40). Therefore, we can assume that at least 1.5 million Azerbaijanis, both citizens and non-citizens of Russia, currently reside in the country, with some expert estimates suggesting even up to 33.5 million. As for migrants from Kyrgyzstan, there are at least 1.1 million currently living in Russia, with more than 700 thousand citizens of Kyrgyzstan and approximately 350 thousand citizens of Russia (Maleva, 2019, p. 40).

Third, Azerbaijan and Kyrgyzstan are among the top CIS countries that receive money transfers from Russia. From 2011 to 2019, approximately three-quarters of personal money transfers from Russia were sent by migrants to Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Azerbaijan. This not only indicates a large number of migrants from

these countries but also reflects their economic activity (Shcherbakova, 2020). In addition, Azerbaijan represents the Transcaucasian region, while Kyrgyzstan stands for the Central Asian region of the post-Soviet space.

Fourth, after Kyrgyzstan joined the Eurasian Economic Union in 2015, Kyrgyz citizens are no longer required to have labor patents. Consequently, the rules for staying and working in Russia for migrants from Kyrgyzstan differ from those for migrants from Azerbaijan and vice versa. Therefore, comparing migrants from these two states offers a clear example of the diversity of post-Soviet migration, encompassing socio-demographic and cultural composition, as well as features in different socio-economic periods. This comparison will allow us to explore how structural opportunities/constraints and migrant characteristics mutually influence the specificities of their entrepreneurship.

The empirical segment of the study relies on in-depth semi-structured interviews, comprising eight interviews with representatives of public organizations and journalists, and 50 interviews with migrant entrepreneurs. These interviews were conducted between 2017 and 2019 in Moscow and Moscow region. Analysis of these interviews gives us insights into how people themselves see the phenomenon, and how entrepreneurial strategies are interpreted in different situations and contexts.

Complementing the interviews are the data from the questionnaire survey of entrepreneurs of Kyrgyz origin (with a sample size of 200 people). More valuable information to our dataset is added by the analysis of the Kyrgyz business platform Tabarman on social media like Instagram¹ and Facebook² in 2018.

The interview guide and questionnaire encompass various aspects: questions about the entrepreneur (age, education, work experience, reasons for migration, Russian citizenship, motivation to start a business, etc.); aspects related to entrepreneurship itself (enterprise profile, history, start-up capital, loans, legal status, partners, employees, clients, success and difficulties, place and role of ethnicity); and inquiries about external factors, opportunities, and constraints (the attitude of the host society, the impact of economic crises, political and migration changes, etc.).

Research Results

Migrant Entrepreneurship: Navigating Opportunities and Constraints

Migrant entrepreneurship is influenced by the broader business climate and economic conditions, both on the national level and on the level of specific geographical areas. When considering entrepreneurship among the Russian population or foreign migrants, we have to grapple with the lack of consistent and comparable statistics. According to the Rosstat [Federal State Statistics Service], as of the end of 2020, there were approximately 4.8 million entrepreneurs and self-employed individuals in

¹ Instagram™ is a trademark of Instagram Inc., registered in the U.S. and other countries. По решению Роскомнадзора, социальная сеть Instagram полностью заблокирована в России как экстремистская организация.

² Facebook™ is a trademark of Facebook Inc., registered in the U.S. and other countries. По решению Роскомнадзора, социальная сеть Facebook в России признана экстремистской организацией и заблокирована.

Russia, constituting 7.2% of the total employed population (Rosstat, 2021b, pp. 11, 34). As of January 2023, the Unified Register of Small and Medium-Sized Businesses reported about 6.0 million small and medium-sized businesses (including individual entrepreneurs), employing approximately 15.2 million people. This figure represents nearly one-quarter of the country's total working population (Federal Tax Service of Russia, n.d.).

In 2020, Russia ranked 39 out of 44 countries in the National Entrepreneurship Context Index, according to the Global Entrepreneurship Monitoring (Bosma et al., 2021, p. 93). The entrepreneurial profile of Russia differs from both developed and developing countries. While Russia aligns with developed countries in terms of entrepreneurial activity levels, it leans closer to developing countries in terms of entrepreneurial aspirations. The limited appeal of entrepreneurship in Russia might be attributed not only to economic structures and job opportunities but also to people being wary of starting a business. There has been some progress, though. In the early 2000s, only one in every 20 Russian citizens was considered an early entrepreneur, but in recent years, this ratio has improved to almost one in every 10 (Verhovskaya et al., 2021, p. 21). Monitoring data indicate that migrants in Russia (24%) are less likely to enter business out of necessity compared to non-migrants (38%). Additionally, there are slightly more early entrepreneurs among migrants than non-migrants (7.4% vs. 4%, respectively) (Verhovskaya & Dorohina, 2012, pp. 38–40).

Given the inconsistency and ambiguity in the statistics on the Russian economic and entrepreneurial context, it would make sense to complement it with survey data and interviews with migrants. According to migrant entrepreneurs' interviews, several factors either contribute to or limit entrepreneurship opportunities in Russia. The overall socio-economic situation, both in the country and globally, plays a crucial role. Economic reforms in the 1990s, such as the introduction of free prices, trade liberalization, and privatization, resulted in the collapse of the socialist economy, declining Russian production, unemployment, and a decrease in living standards. Entrepreneurs of Azerbaijani origin, who migrated actively during this period, found it challenging to secure employment, even with higher education and professional experience, but many trade niches, especially resale, were available. Following a similar logic, entrepreneurs from Azerbaijan were particularly affected by the crises of 2008 and 2014, leading to a decrease in the purchasing power of the Russian population, as they were often engaged in trading essential commodities. In contrast, active migration from Kyrgyzstan started in the 2000s after the stabilization of the market system and an increase in economic well-being, creating a demand for hired labor in construction and services. Consequently, most entrepreneurs of Kyrgyz origin entered the Russian market as employees.

External factors also include changes in the socio-economic and political landscape of the sending country. Economic stabilization in Azerbaijan in the mid-2000s led to a decline in both overall migration and migrant entrepreneurship. Kyrgyzstan's accession to the Eurasian Economic Union in 2015 resulted in the abolition of labor patents, simplified customs procedures, and intensified trade relations, fostering confidence among Kyrgyz migrants and contributing to the development of

entrepreneurship, including transnational ventures. The planned economy's focus on specific sectors in Soviet-era Kyrgyzstan, particularly agriculture and the garment industry played a crucial role. The contemporary history of Kyrgyzstan's clothing industry commences with the resale of clothing, primarily sourced from China, in wholesale and small wholesale markets, including those in Russia and Kazakhstan.

Geographical proximity to China had a significant impact, as products were initially brought to Kyrgyzstan before reaching Russia. With the improving economic situation in Russia and Kyrgyzstan and the growing experience of Kyrgyz migrants in clothing trade, garment production has flourished. The process started with cottage sewing production, often involving only a few sewing machines, and later expanded to include small sewing workshops. This led to a rise in "self-tailoring," particularly in Kyrgyzstan. It is estimated that there is a thousand of small and cottage garment factories in Bishkek, and since 2011–2012, production in Russia has been established based on some closed clothing factories. Kyrgyzstan's entry into the Eurasian Customs Union further stimulated the development of this industry. This example illustrates how the interplay of specific structural economic conditions in Russia and Kyrgyzstan, along with the group resources of Kyrgyz labor migrants, influenced the evolution of clothing production and trade.

Another structural factor influencing entrepreneurship involves conditions directly shaping businesses. The inaccessibility of bank loans, high taxes, and stringent regulation are cited as the primary constraints by entrepreneurs. Market conditions, including fluctuating product values regulated by supply and demand, also pose challenges. Entrepreneurs of Azerbaijani origin specifically point out changes in trade regulations, the expansion of federal retail chains, and the constant changes in rules for the placement of retail outlets in Moscow and Moscow region as specific limiting conditions. These factors contribute to increased market competition and business closures.

Some entrepreneurs consider Russian citizenship significant but not obligatory for business creation, especially since foreign citizens can register entrepreneurial activities in Russia, while proficiency in the Russian language is cited as a crucial resource. Language proficiency surpasses the importance of citizenship, particularly for Kyrgyz migrants, who attribute their success in the Russian labor market to superior language skills compared to migrants from Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. This aligns with broader observations on language proficiency as a key resource determining opportunities in the host country and specific advantages in business creation (Cederberg & Villares-Varela, 2018). Additionally, Kyrgyzstan's entry into the Eurasian Customs Union equated migrants, citizens of Kyrgyzstan, in labor rights with citizens of the Russian Federation. Although Russian citizenship becomes almost mandatory for further business development, including the choice of optimal taxation, the analysis of responses indicates that a high level of proficiency in the Russian language continues to be seen as more important for success.

Additionally, the opportunities and constraints are noted to demonstrate generational differences. According to one expert, many migrants from Azerbaijan who established businesses in the early 2000s had a weak language proficiency

and minimal startup capital. Consequently, they adapted in the new country with the support of accessible and understandable ties, primarily through kinship and compatriot relations. Entrepreneurs of the subsequent decade, as a rule, are more educated, possess greater material resources, and consequently, have the ability to interact not only with compatriots but also with the local communities.

A key determinant for the success of a business, at any stage of its existence, is the availability of capital, encompassing not only financial resources but also other forms such as skills, knowledge, migration experience, and support from loved ones. Throughout the post-Soviet era, the socio-economic landscape in Russia underwent multiple changes, resulting in corresponding shifts in structural conditions that influenced the formation of capital, particularly the initial capital of migrant entrepreneurs.

In the 1990s, the characteristics of the Russian market, such as barter and “for consignment” trading, could explain why the early entrepreneurs, especially those from Azerbaijan, established their businesses with minimal start-up capital. Although the overall development of the banking system remained largely unchanged, a different obstacle emerged: most novice entrepreneurs from Azerbaijan and Kyrgyzstan lacked access to bank loans due to factors such as the absence of Russian citizenship or high interest rates. Consequently, some migrants from Kyrgyzstan turned to microcredit organizations, typically established by their compatriots or migrants from other Central Asian countries. The State Bank of Azerbaijan opened a Russian branch with a specialized Azerbaijani department, aiming to provide “*support for Azerbaijani business*” (man, an entrepreneur of Azerbaijan origin).

Nevertheless, it remains a common practice for entrepreneurs from both Kyrgyzstan and Azerbaijan to seek support from their “fellows,” namely relatives and compatriots.

The development of entrepreneurship is intricately linked to the composition and density of kinship and compatriot ties among migrants, extending not only within the country of migration but also across borders, forming crucial components of economic transnational connections between Russia and Kyrgyzstan, as well as Russia and Azerbaijan. A notable portion of migrant businesses relies heavily on this resource, such as passenger and cargo transportation between countries or the sale of products originating from Kyrgyzstan or Azerbaijan. These connections, possessing both institutional and informal characteristics, gain prominence in various situations.

The practice of goods exchange (barter) based on informal connections was distinctive to the Russian economy in the 1990s. Although the significance of barter practices declined as trade networks evolved and expanded, their remnants continue to exist in various forms, often incorporating monetary transactions. For instance, a young entrepreneur of Azerbaijani origin, born in Tbilisi, organized the delivery of food from Georgia to Moscow using a similar principle: “*Some acquaintances send us the goods; we accept them here, sell and give them the money that they rely on, and take the rest for ourselves.*”

The popularity of multi-level marketing among Kyrgyz migrants with minimal startup capital can be largely attributed to close connections with family and

compatriots. Internet technologies and social networks further help entrepreneurs maintain and expand these interconnections, elevating them to a transnational level. As one Kyrgyz entrepreneur put it,

in Odnoklassniki,³ we have 360 thousand people in one group called “Kyrgyz humor.” Those in Kyrgyzstan share some information; in any case, they will have friends among their contacts who are in Moscow. This generally fits in with the Kyrgyz style. (man, a Kyrgyz entrepreneur)

An active segment of entrepreneurs’ networks, rooted in compatriot ties, also includes ethnic and migrant non-profit public organizations. These organizations engage in activities aimed at representing interests and providing various forms of assistance to compatriots, especially recent migrants. Leveraging the institutional resources of these organizations, the most active entrepreneurs serve as hubs for new networks of compatriots. Emerging entrepreneurs seek legal and informational assistance from these organizations, leading to the rise in the number of various business coaches, primarily of Kyrgyz origin. One notable project in this domain is the Tabarman business platform, initiated by the organization “All-Russian Kyrgyz Congress” and several Kyrgyz entrepreneurs. Tabarman serves as the foundation for business forums and training sessions catering to some migrants from Kyrgyzstan. What sets this platform apart is its goal not only to unite “*all entrepreneurs who came to Moscow and would like to realize themselves as entrepreneurs, as businessmen,*” but also to fulfill a mission of

increasing the number of entrepreneurs among our target audience, among representatives of our community, improving their professional skills. Instead of a workforce of hired employees, our compatriots will become entrepreneurs, benefiting not only the economy of Russia but also that of Kyrgyzstan as a whole. (Facebook⁴ post of June 11, 2018)

The majority of our informants believe that ethnicity does not inherently act as a factor influencing the opportunities or constraints for entrepreneurial development. Nevertheless, almost every migrant entrepreneur has a personal narrative illustrating that ethnicity can play either a negative or a positive role depending on the circumstances, impacting both daily life and entrepreneurial endeavors. One of the most challenging impacts of ethnicity in migration is discrimination or, at the very least, prejudice from ordinary individuals as well as regulatory authorities. On the positive side, perceptions of the advantageous role of ethnicity stem from the unique national character and traditions that, according to our informants, set migrant entrepreneurs apart from non-migrants and individuals of other ethnic

³ Odnoklassniki is a Russian social network owned by VK. <https://ok.ru>

⁴ Facebook™ is a trademark of Facebook Inc., registered in the U.S. and other countries. По решению Роскомнадзора, социальная сеть Facebook в России признана экстремистской организацией и заблокирована.

backgrounds, fostering active business development. For instance, Azerbaijanis are characterized by a predisposition toward trade, attributed to cultural and historical factors and an inherent quality termed the “trade spirit.” Entrepreneurs of Kyrgyz origin believe that the Kyrgyz characteristic of solidarity, primarily expressed through mutual support and oversight, is particularly significant in migration, offering both financial and psychological benefits. The business activity of migrants from Kyrgyzstan is further justified by such national qualities as resilience, diligence, patience, determination: *“even in Africa, we will do something together somewhere”* (woman, an entrepreneur of Kyrgyz origin), and a sense of domesticity: *“when we do something, there must be a return, support from me to parents and relatives”* (man, an entrepreneur of Kyrgyz origin).

Characteristics of Migrant Entrepreneurship

The essential components of any business include partners, staff, and the target audience. In the sphere of migrant entrepreneurship from Kyrgyzstan and Azerbaijan, a significant portion can be described as a familial affair as many migrant entrepreneurs, particularly from Kyrgyzstan and Azerbaijan, involve close or distant relatives as partners, and often as employees. This network extends to fellow countrymen, both personal acquaintances from the country of origin and those encountered during migration. According to our survey, a third of Kyrgyz entrepreneurs collaborate with close or distant relatives as partners, with one in five engaging friends or fellow countrymen. Approximately a third of them reported having a mixed composition of personnel, including both “fellow countrymen” and migrants from CIS countries and Russian regions. Entrepreneurs of Azerbaijani origin, along with their compatriots, have a larger proportion of personnel, including migrants from Central Asia and other Russian regions compared to Kyrgyz entrepreneurs.

Informants explain this choice with a combination of rational economic and emotional considerations. The first reason is cost minimization; relatives or fellow countrymen may accept lower pay and are often more understanding in case of delayed wage payments. The primary goal of fellow countrymen, typically newcomers, is to earn money, making them more responsible and less demanding than local hires. This symbiotic relationship benefits both parties, as employees of migrant firms also express the sentiment that *“it is better to work for your own fellow people, even if your wage can be less, but you’ll definitely get it”* (man, an expert in the field, journalist). Second, the focus on cost-effective money-making and shared language fosters better understanding, eases communication, and consequently makes interaction more psychologically comfortable. In sectors like rental, catering, education, and intermediary services targeting Kyrgyz migrants, hiring fellow countrymen as staff aligns with the business profile. Third, the preference for fellow countrymen as partners and staff is rooted in the habit of *“trusting people only from your village”* (man, an entrepreneur of Azerbaijani origin). This habit, rooted not only in ethnic affinity but also in the rational principle of mutual control through family and compatriot networks, is exemplified by the following Azerbaijani entrepreneur’s statement: *“They trust each other; this is a community. If a stranger comes to the country, he cannot*

work with strangers, he does not know them.” However, relying predominantly on fellow countrymen also has its downsides. High mobility and resultant staff turnover can harm the business. Collaborating with friends and acquaintances is not always conducive to effective business management, as it can be more challenging to assert authority among one’s own community. Lastly, this practice can negatively impact business promotion. Yet, as their business experience increases, entrepreneurs gain confidence and are more inclined, when selecting partners, to look beyond relatives or fellow countrymen. When specialized and qualified work is required, the emphasis shifts to recruiting employees with the necessary competencies.

The profile and success of entrepreneurship hinge on the target audience, shaped significantly by two complementary economic factors: supply and demand. While many partners and employees of migrant entrepreneurs are relatives and fellow countrymen, their clientele appears to be more diverse. Depending on the customer profile, we can generally identify three types of migrants’ businesses. Entrepreneurs of the first type work mainly with their fellow countrymen. This type is especially characteristic of businesses such as catering services (cafes and specialized grocery stores), freight and passenger transportation between Russia and departure countries, real estate and entertainment services, mediation, and educational services. Some businesses tailored for fellow countrymen, like intermediary and medical services, also find demand among other immigrants, particularly from Central Asia. This form of entrepreneurship aligns with migrant-oriented infrastructure, vital for any migration (Park, 1984; Sigona et al., 2021; Xiang & Lindquist, 2014). The 2010s witnessed a surge in such entrepreneurship among migrants from Kyrgyzstan due to mass labor migration and the accumulation of group and personal resources. Entrepreneurs of Azerbaijani origin likely established businesses of this kind in the 1990s, but they are presently scarce. Some individuals might opt for entrepreneurship focused mainly on fellow countrymen due to constraints such as limited financial or symbolic capital, or restricted sources for capital formation.

The second type involves services catering to both “fellow citizens” and other consumers, including ethnic cafes, medical clinics, sports clubs, shops selling Kyrgyz and Azerbaijani products, and network marketing. This type serves as a transitional phase, indicating resource accumulation by entrepreneurs, allowing them to progress to the next stage of business development.

The third type encompasses entrepreneurs focused on diverse consumers. While most of the staff may also be fellow countrymen, their industry profile enables them to meet the needs of the entire population. This strategy is evident, for example, among Kyrgyz entrepreneurs involved in the manufacturing and sale of clothing, building materials, repair and finishing work, beauty and hairdressing services. Azerbaijani entrepreneurs, rooted in diverse trade sectors historically, have expanded into such spheres as sewing, investment, and construction. Presently, their primary focus is on serving the broader population.

In a comprehensive analysis of entrepreneurship, group and individual characteristics of migrants both play vital roles. At the individual level, factors like age, gender, education, migration experience, command of the Russian language,

Russian citizenship, and motivation to start a business are significant. Motivations are shaped by personal traits and structural and group conditions. For instance, migrants from Azerbaijan were compelled to pursue self-employment due to factors like the military conflict with Armenia and global economic restructuring, leading to new economic opportunities and labor market positions. Their entrepreneurial strategies in the 1990s often involved goods-for-goods exchange. Azerbaijani entrepreneurs smoothly adapted to the new market environment, drawing on experience and skills acquired through informal economic activities during the Soviet era. The motivation shifted in the early 2000s, driven by a desire for independence and new opportunities. Some were drawn into business at the invitation of relatives or compatriots who had established businesses in the 1990s. By the 2010s, the second generation of migrants made choices influenced by the profile, size, and success of their fathers' businesses. As per one Azerbaijani expert, a son of a small businessman tends to seek employment, while a son of a major one is inclined to continue his father's business.

When analyzing the fundamental characteristics of migrant entrepreneurship at both individual and group levels, it's essential to acknowledge the lack of strict boundaries between these levels in practical terms. They are interconnected and influenced by each other, as well as shaped by the economic and socio-historical context. For instance, the wave of migration from Kyrgyzstan to Russia, distinct from that of Azerbaijan, started in the 2000s amid the transition to a market economic system, economic growth, improved well-being, and the ensuing demand for wage labor. Business interest among Kyrgyz migrants typically arises after fulfilling the essential daily needs of their families in their home country, often prompting the decision to engage in labor migration.

In practical terms, Kyrgyz entrepreneurs embarked on their journey by adapting to the Russian labor market, accumulating experience in specific fields, and acquiring a nuanced understanding of the *"rules, players, competition, and business specifics."* This transition was emphasized in the following way: *"... guys have crossed a certain threshold ... at first they came at that time as janitors, then they received citizenship, afterwards they worked for someone, looked around"* (man, a Kyrgyz expert in the field and journalist). As the number of Kyrgyz migrants was growing in Russia, they gathered both money and influence, which enabled them to move from wage labor to entrepreneurship, shifting from basic trade to production. This transformation, however, occurred about a decade later compared to migrants from Azerbaijan. Unlike entrepreneurs of Azerbaijani origin, Kyrgyz migrants did not solely rely on family and compatriot ties as their primary source. Our observations align with previous studies, emphasizing that the market occupied by migrant entrepreneurs typically features low entry barriers in terms of capital and education, high labor intensity, and low value added (Volery, 2007, pp. 30–41).

Stages of Migrant Entrepreneurship

A comprehensive analysis of the interplay between structural, group, and individual characteristics helps us identify the key stages in the development of migrant entrepreneurship in Russia. Even though this is a categorization of ideal

types, it effectively highlights the main features of Kyrgyz and Azerbaijani migrant entrepreneurs, revealing both similarities and differences between their businesses. One shared feature is the impact of a complex set of structural opportunities and constraints, shaping diverse contexts for entrepreneurship across various stages of Russia's socio-economic and political development. Another common feature is the pivotal role of networks of relatives, fellow countrymen, and compatriots as a key resource in initiating and advancing migrant business activities, particularly in the early stages of business formation. Along with these commonalities, there are also unique entrepreneurial strategies and characteristics resulting from the mutual influence of individual factors such as migration history, socio-demographic traits, and specific socio-economic contexts.

The development of Kyrgyz migrant entrepreneurship in Russia unfolds in three distinct stages. Kyrgyz migrant entrepreneurship emerged in the mid-1990s to early 2000s. Some entrepreneurs from this period were former Soviet Union citizens, which means that they were not migrants in the strict sense of this word, while others were the first wave of labor migrants. The absence of market relations in the socialist system meant that the early Kyrgyz entrepreneurs, like many former Soviet citizens, lacked business experience and primarily engaged in small and wholesale trade. For those with higher education and work experience from the Soviet era, venturing into entrepreneurship was often a compelled step: *"Everyone became a businessman ... because we didn't have money, we didn't have anything, everyone was searching for something outside, went to work at markets, did as best as they could"* (man, an entrepreneur of Kyrgyz origin).

The second stage started approximately at the turn of the millennium, but it reached its peak in the mid-2000s when labor migration from Kyrgyzstan acquired extensive proportions. During this period, Kyrgyz migrants accumulated material and symbolic resources, and the number of entrepreneurs was growing along with the appearance of individual entrepreneurs and small firms involved not only in trade but also in small-scale production. First cottage sewing factories that also appeared during this period in Kyrgyzstan started supplying their products instead of Chinese ones to the Moscow markets to be sold by Kyrgyz migrants. But, as a whole, at that time they adhered to the strategy of spending the money they earned on the family needs in the home country rather than in the development of their business.

The third stage started in 2010, witnessing a significant surge in the personal and group resources of Kyrgyz migrants, leading to an entrepreneurial boom. During this period, enterprises founded by Kyrgyz entrepreneurs, catering primarily to Kyrgyz and other migrants from Central Asia, emerged. The key strategies included venturing into the same economic sector where migrants had been employed, broadening the range of services for both compatriots and the general population, i.e., education, healthcare, transportation, logistics, cosmetology, and hairdressing services, as well as transitioning from services to manufacturing, e.g., garment production or construction materials. Presently, the specialization of Kyrgyz-owned enterprises can be outlined as follows: production for all consumers (garments and certain construction materials) and the service sector, which can be targeted either at compatriots or the entire

population. As Kyrgyz entrepreneurs make progress, they find it necessary to revise their strategies, leading to a shift towards a broader consumer audience or an expanded range of services. For instance, they may open grocery stores, engage in wholesale supplies of fruits and vegetables, or diversify their offerings. Some entrepreneurs, facing challenges in developing businesses focused solely on compatriots, expand their reach to include the broader population of Moscow (beauty parlors, hair salons, etc.). Expert estimates suggest that the maximum share of Kyrgyz entrepreneurs does not exceed 10% of all Kyrgyz nationals working in Russia. The concept of an “ethnic economy” aptly describes the ideal type of migrant entrepreneurship from Kyrgyzstan.

The development of Azerbaijani migrant entrepreneurship unfolds across four stages. The zero stage corresponds to the late socialist era, specifically the late 1970s and the 1980s (Sahadeo, 2019), marked by shadow capitalists (*tsekhoviks*), resellers, and profit-seeking individuals (Romanov & Suvorova, 2003). Moreover, during the 1960s–1980s, a substantial and conspicuous group of immigrants from the Caucasus, including Azerbaijan, engaged in the delivery and resale of fruit, vegetables, and flowers at Soviet bazaars (Dyatlov, 2017, p. 102). The experience and connections formed during this period facilitated the seamless integration of some Azerbaijani entrepreneurs into Russia’s free market after the collapse of the USSR. Notably, this period marked the beginning of the business careers of certain contemporary large entrepreneurs, including owners of significant shopping centers, according to expert assessments.

The first stage spans a considerable period, from the entire 1990s until potentially the early or mid-2000s. This era witnessed the most significant migration from Azerbaijan. During this prolonged period, migrants developed their business skills and entrepreneurial acumen concurrently with the emergence of the modern economic system and the expansion of the labor market. They primarily occupied the niche that was most accessible at the time in terms of entry, that is retail and wholesale trade. Migrants from across the Soviet Union, particularly from Azerbaijan, played a crucial role in the activities and structure of the so-called ethnic markets. These markets, in turn, influenced the economic development of Russia and the economic and social adaptation of migrants (Dyatlov, 2017, p. 110). “Ethnic” businesses also emerged during this phase, predominantly in catering, intermediary services, and transportation.

The second stage spans from the mid-2000s to the early 2010s and was marked by the stabilization of Russia’s political, socio-economic, and legislative landscape, encompassing trade and the labor market. At the same time, with an upswing in the well-being and purchasing power of the population, many Azerbaijani entrepreneurs used the group and personal resources accumulated in the preceding period to diversify their economic activities. Rather than merely selling goods at markets, they transitioned to opening shops, investing in real estate, engaging in general trading and intermediary activities, exploring new economic niches, and establishing manufacturing facilities.

The third stage started in the first half of the 2010s, aligning with the establishment of the modern tax system and the implementation of state regulations and support measures for small and medium-sized businesses. This period sees the modernization

and further development of businesses among some entrepreneurs of Azerbaijani origin. Simultaneously, the financial crisis of 2014–2015 and the expansion of federal retail chains inflicted significant damage on small and medium-sized enterprises dealing in essential goods, where Azerbaijani entrepreneurs held a substantial share since the 1990s. Despite the diverse range of professions in various economic activities among Azerbaijanis, including migrants and former migrants, as noted by Azerbaijani entrepreneurs and experts in our research, the majority (approximately 70–80%) are entrepreneurs primarily involved in trade. Consequently, the concept of “middlemen minorities” aptly characterizes the ideal type of Azerbaijani migrants’ entrepreneurship.

Discussion and Conclusion

This study sought to provide a comprehensive examination of migrant entrepreneurship in Russia, considering both the socio-economic and historical context, as well as the characteristics of migrants that shape the opportunities and constraints for specific entrepreneurial strategies. The complexity and uniqueness of studying migrant entrepreneurship in Russia stem from the fact that it is a relatively new social phenomenon. Large-scale labor migration and the emergence of a new economic system and employment forms began to take shape almost simultaneously after the disintegration of the USSR.

One significant challenge in studying entrepreneurship among Russian citizens, let alone that of foreign migrants, is the lack of uniform and comparable statistical information. Furthermore, over the post-Soviet history, the socio-economic context has undergone multiple changes, leading to alterations in the structural conditions that determine the characteristics of migrant entrepreneurship.

An analysis of statistical data and interviews with migrant entrepreneurs highlights the most pertinent opportunities and constraints imposed by the context of the countries involved in migration, primarily Russia and the sending societies. This includes the general socio-economic and political situation in the stakeholder countries and the world at large. Additionally, it encompasses factors that fundamentally influence entrepreneurship, such as market conditions, supply and demand, norms, and rules governing a specific country’s market. Furthermore, a distinct category of such opportunities and constraints as Russian citizenship and proficiency in the Russian language is also of a certain importance. Among other things, these opportunities and constraints exhibit generational differences.

Analysis of entrepreneurship characteristics of migrants from Kyrgyzstan and Azerbaijan, encompassing business partners, staff, and target audience profiles, reveals distinctive features of migrant business activities in Russia. First a considerable portion can be classified as family-run businesses, where partners and employees are close or distant relatives. This inclination is rooted in cost reduction opportunities and the tradition of trusting “fellow people.” The diversity in the customer profile of migrant entrepreneurs has led to differentiated business profiles and entrepreneurial strategies based on the target audience focus. Three main types of businesses regarding the consumers they target have been identified: the first type of businesses

cater to their fellow countrymen, contributing to a migrant-oriented infrastructure; the second type comprises those offering services to both fellow citizens and other consumers; and the third, those targeting all consumers.

Understanding the nuances of migrant entrepreneurship involves considering personal characteristics such as migration experience, age, gender, education, knowledge of the Russian language, Russian citizenship, and motivation for business. While it is important to analytically separate individual and group characteristics, in practice, there are no strict boundaries; they are interconnected and mutually influenced by economic and socio-historical contexts.

The development of Kyrgyz and Azerbaijani businesses is influenced by the following common factors: (a) the impact of a complex of structural opportunities and constraints, creating varied entrepreneurial contexts in different stages of Russia's socio-economic and political development; (b) the pivotal role of family, fellow countrymen, and compatriot networks as key resources in initiating and advancing business activities; and (c) the main entrepreneurial strategies based on the primary consumer focus. The unique features of entrepreneurship emerge at the intersection of these common factors and individual characteristics such as migration history and socio-demographic traits.

While the presented results contribute to current research on migrant entrepreneurship, there are certain limitations that need to be mentioned. Spatial dimensions were not extensively explored, and a comparative analysis with migrants from other countries could provide valuable insights. Nevertheless, this research holds scholarly importance by expanding theoretical, methodological, and empirical research in migration and sociology, contributing new knowledge to the field of migrant entrepreneurship.

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ARTICLE

Do Personality Traits Play a Role in Supporting Indonesian Islamic State? A Study of Fundamentalist Group Members in Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

This study is aimed at elucidating the role of *Salafi* ideology and symbolic threat as mediating variables in the relationship between the personal trait of openness to experience and support for the concept of Islamic political system. A sample of 325 members of three fundamentalist groups in Indonesia voluntarily responded to four scales to four scales, i.e., the openness to experience scale consisting of three items, the symbolic threat scale (three items), the *Salafi* ideology scale (five items), and the support for an Islamic political system scale (four items). Structural equation modeling was performed to validate the constructed model of mediation. The results showed a good fit for the constructed model. The *Salafi* ideology and symbolic threat fully mediated the relationship between openness to experience and support for an Islamic political system. These findings suggest that openness to experience may

Received 31 May 2023

Accepted 4 December 2023

Published online 27 December 2023

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be a prerequisite for negative political values, thus encouraging the respondents to further support the concept of Islamic political system. Additionally, since openness to experience may lead to negative political behaviors, this controversial and dynamic personality trait warrants further exploration.

KEYWORDS

openness to experience, symbolic threat, *Salafi* ideology, support for an Islamic political system

Introduction

Moderate Moslems are a majority in Indonesia; these people believe that Islam and democracy are not in conflict (Ashour, 2009). Nevertheless, some Moslem groups consider that Islam and democracy cannot be united (Mujani, 2003) and fight to establish an Islamic government and implement Islamic law (Esposito & Voll, 2001). Working to establish an Islamic government is a divine duty for all Moslems to achieve salvation (Wiktorowicz & Kaltenthaler, 2006). The conflict between Islam and the State of Indonesia has been going on for a long time, ever since Indonesia gained independence in 1945 (Barton et al., 2021). The Moslem groups in Indonesia have been recorded to have had a cross-cutting attitude towards the government with various kinds of resistance (Hefner, 2020). The turmoil that occurred in the days of Kahar Muzakkar and Kartosuwiryo is proof that the idea of establishing an Indonesian Islamic state has long been flourishing in Indonesia (Nakamura, 2019; Soraya & Abdurakhman, 2019). The idea of forming an Indonesian Islamic state also did not retreat and remained alive until the post-reformation era, due to the repressive attitude and Islamic deprivation carried out by President Suharto (Zuhri, 2021). After the reforms, the Islamic group re-consolidated itself, including the hardline group. The year 1998 saw the birth of various organizations that would later become the cyclists of terrorist groups in Indonesia, such as *Jemaa Islamiya* (JI)¹ and the Mujahideen Assembly of Indonesia² (Mbai, 2014).

At present, there is a notable proliferation of diverse ideas and sympathies towards an Indonesian Islamic state. The Alvares research Centre (Ali, 2017) found that 17.8% of university students and 18.4% of high school students consider the Islamic government as the ideal government for their country. Consequently, 36.2% of the respondents were young people, which also shows a dynamic diffusion of such ideas among various strata of the society (Arifianto, 2020). Recently, this political thought has become a movement to uphold an Indonesian Islamic state, considering violence as part of its strategy (Putra & Sukabdi, 2014) and generating radical movements and

¹ *Jemaa Islamiya* (JI) has been designated a terrorist organisation and is banned from all activities by the United Nations, European Union, United States, Argentina, Australia, Bahrain, Canada, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, and New Zealand.

² Mujahideen Assembly of Indonesia has been designated a terrorist organisation and is banned from all activities by the United Nations, Indonesia, Malaysia, United Kingdom, United States, South Korea, and China.

terrorism (Muluk et al., 2013; Verhulst et al., 2012). In fact, according to Byman (2015), radical fundamentalist forces in the Middle East brought new jihadist propaganda with a more violent insurgency (see also Gerges, 2016; Winter, 2015). Indonesia has witnessed a series of jihadist terrorist attacks since the Bali bombings in 2002 as the largest terrorist attack here (Pektas, 2021; Solahudin, 2013; van Bruinessen, 2013). On a Sunday morning, a terrorist group supported by *Jamaah Ansharut Daulah* (JAD)³, was responsible for a series of bombing in three churches in the city of Surabaya, killing 13 people and injuring dozens (Kahfi et al., 2018). Most recently, there has been a bombing in Bandung sector police station which was also carried out by the JAD network (Alam, 2023). This bombing claimed 10 victims including nine police officers and one civilian (Wibowo, 2022). All these events raise questions about those who support the concept of Islamic political system and whether a certain type of personality does play a role.

Current studies in the field of psychology are more focused on the issues of terrorism, radicalism, and extremism. At the same time, little information can be found about Islamic political system supporters. Several investigations were carried out by scholars in the field of Islamic studies (Bunzel, 2015; A. M. Hasan, 2018; Pektas, 2021; Rahmanto et al., 2020) and politics (Gerges, 2016; Joobani, 2017; Poirson & Oprisko, 2015). Nevertheless, the idea and sympathy for the Islamic approach is thought to arise from intrinsic human factors (Kaltenthaler et al., 2018). There are various views on the factors that influence support for this idea, such as political attitudes, identity, and even personality (Rifkind, 2020). Individual differences were considered as an antecedent of the political attitudes of political Islam groups; thus, several psychologists agreed that personality traits have a significant effect on political attitudes and behavior (Gerber et al., 2010, 2013; Moss & O'Connor, 2020; Ribeiro & Borba, 2016; Verhulst et al., 2012). The studies carried out over the last two decades indicate that the Big Five personality traits strongly predict political attitudes (McElroy & Dowd, 2007). Kaufman (2013) claims that the broadest domain of the Big Five personality traits is openness to experience. Openness to experience refers to intellectual curiosity and need for novelty (Denissen & Penke, 2008) as the strongest personality correlate of political attitudes (Furnham & Fenton-O'Creevy, 2018; Krieger et al., 2019; Sibley et al., 2012) relates to ten civic engagement models (Mondak & Halperin, 2008), political participation (Vecchione & Caprara, 2009), political intolerance (Brandt et al., 2015), social liberal support, economic policy, and left party voting (Barbaranelli et al., 2007; Gerber et al., 2010).

Psychologists are still debating on how political predispositions are related to personality traits, e.g., the role of openness to experience. High openness to experience was found to be positively correlated to numerous positive qualities or behaviors, and these include creativity (Kandler et al., 2016; Silvia et al., 2009), positive attitude towards immigrants (Gallego & Pardos-Prado, 2014), equal opportunities (Ackermann & Ackermann, 2015), left-wing political orientations (Furnham & Fenton-O'Creevy, 2018), and minimal prejudice against Africans and Afro-Americans (Flynn, 2005). Those who scored low in openness to experience typically stand firm with their

³ *Jamaah Ansharut Daulah* (JAD) had been identified by the United States Department of State as a terrorist organization in 2017. It is also banned by Iraq and Indonesia. It is also listed as a terrorist organization by the United Nations Security Council on 4 March 2020.

own beliefs, need self-closure (Bareket-Bojmel & Shahar, 2011; Webster & Kruglanski, 1994), believe in fundamentalist religion (Carlucci et al., 2011) and authoritarian ideology (Cohrs et al., 2012), adopt conservative positions (Osborne & Sibley, 2015, 2020), and challenge the status quo (McCrae, 1987; 1996; Onraet et al., 2011). Inconsistent results were shown by Swami et al. (2011, 2012) who indicated that high openness to experience has a positive correlation with negative qualities or behaviors, i.e., conspiracist beliefs or intolerance. Swami et al. (2010) also asserted that openness to experience significantly predicted paranormal and extraterrestrial beliefs. Brandt et al. (2015) found that people with both high and low levels of openness are more intolerant of groups whose worldviews conflict with their own.

Psychologists believe that the effect of personality traits on political attitudes is apparently mediated by some variables (Blais & Labbé-St-Vincent, 2011; Gallego & Oberski, 2012). Bakker et al. (2016) also argue that personality alone is not sufficient to predict political attitudes, since political attitudes are an unstable entity. The instability of relationships between personality traits and political attitudes may range depending on the contextual factors affecting the meaning of political stimuli (Gerber et al., 2010). Based on these grounds, Wiktorowicz (2005) stressed the role of openness to experience in shaping radicalization and extremism. Wiktorowicz asserts that openness to new people or novel ideas may encourage acceptance of the norms and standards of other groups, including those sharing radical views.

In the context of Indonesian politics, it was Effendy (2011) who noted that the regime intentionally weakened Islamist political groups during the Old Order (commonly referred to as ORLA, which ruled Indonesia from 1945 to 1965) and the New Order (commonly referred to as ORBA, which ruled Indonesia from 1965 to 1988). These sentiments contributed to dissemination of beliefs in a covert western conspiracy to foment terrorism in Indonesia. These Islamic political organizations resurfaced in 1988 as part of a student-led reformation movement aimed at overthrowing the New Order or ORBA regime (N. Hasan, 2006). According to Bar-Tal (1990) and Pettigrew (2003), the ultimate catalyst for people to abandon democratic norms and support anti-minority policies is their perception of existential threats. This perception exacerbates the symbolic threat, since this reappearance is viewed as a form of protection (Huddy et al., 2007). According to this explanation, the symbolic threat perceived by the Indonesian members of Islamic political groups mediated their openness to experience and support for an Islamic political system as a form of protection for Islamic values.

Since van Hiel et al. (2000) revealed that the correlation between openness to experience and political attitudes is inconsistent, these characteristics require further investigation. In this study, we examine the relationship between openness to experience and negative/positive characteristics or behaviors, confirming Blais and Labbe-St-Vincent's (2011) and Wiktorowicz's (2005) mediating hypothesis regarding this relationship (see also Gallego & Oberski, 2012; Swami et al., 2010). As mentioned above, psychologists agreed that other mediating variables need to be considered to clarify this relationship. The authors of this article suggest that symbolic threat and *Salafi* ideology are the two psychological factors that mediate both openness to experience and support for the idea of an Indonesian Islamic state. Symbolic threat

and *Salafi* ideology as the mediating variables to bridge the relationship between exogenous and endogenous variables seem beneficial in explaining how individuals develop support for the concept of Islamic political system.

Therefore, the following research hypotheses were formulated:

Hypothesis 1: The relationship between openness to experience and support for an Islamic political system is mediated by symbolic threat.

Hypothesis 2: The relationship between openness to experience and support for an Islamic political system is mediated by *Salafi* Ideology.

Support for an Indonesian Islamic State

Daula Islam, according to Bunzel (2015), refers to a former unrecognised quasi-state ISIS⁴. It conceptualizes Islam or Islamic law (*sharia*) as the basic framework of political and state experience (Brown, 2001). This ideology is based on the belief and perspective that Islam is an entire civilization in which religion cannot be separated from the state's affairs (Weinberg & Pedahzur, 2004). Thus, the secular political form separates religion, and the state is not accepted. Therefore, every Moslem should participate in building an Islamic political system and society (Esposito & Voll, 2001), which idea forces people to seek political power to achieve this goal (An-Na'im, 2003).

The struggle to establish an Indonesian Islamic state has a long history. Indonesian people in the form of *Darul Islam* (DI/House of Islam) and *Tentara Islam Indonesia* (TII/ Indonesian Islamic Army) had rebelled since 1949, during the early independence time (Ramakrishna, 2009). However, although DI/TII failed to achieve its political objectives, the ideology survived and evolved into a new organization, namely JI (Solahudin, 2011).

Islamic revivalist activism that demanded the implementation of *sharia* and establishment of an Indonesian Islamic state had emerged since the fall of the Suharto regime in 1998 (Munabari et al., 2020). According to Salim and Azra (2003), post-Suharto political Islamic movements such as *Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia* (HTI)⁵, Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), Majelis Mujahideen Indonesia (MMI)⁶, and Islamic Community Forum (FUI) were characterized by the formalization of Islam, demanding the application of Islamic law. HTI is known for its call for an Islamic caliphate, and its legal entity status was revoked by the government in 2017. MMI is also a movement that calls for the implementation of Islamic law in Indonesia. However, MMI does not demand

⁴ ISIS has been designated a terrorist organisation and is banned from all activities by the United Nations, United States, European Union, Russia, and many others. We condemn all forms of terrorism, particularly this organisation's activities.

ИГИЛ была признана террористической организацией; любая деятельность ИГИЛ запрещена в России, США, Европейском Союзе и многих других странах. Мы осуждаем любые формы терроризма, в том числе деятельность этой организации.

⁵ *Hizb ut-Tahrir* has been designated a terrorist organisation and is banned from all activities in Russia, Bangladesh, China, Pakistan, Germany, Turkey, the United Kingdom, Kazakhstan and "across Central Asia", Indonesia, and all Arab countries except Lebanon, Yemen and the UAE.

Решением Верховного Суда РФ от 14 февраля 2003 г. № ГКПИ 03-116 «Хизб ут-Тахрир аль-Ислами», наряду с 13 другими исламскими организациями, была признана террористической организацией и запрещена в России.

⁶ The Majelis Mujahideen Indonesia (MMI), or Indonesian Mujahedeen Council, is an umbrella organisation of Indonesian Islamist groups. The group has been designated a terrorist organisation and is banned from all activities by the United States on 13 June 2017.

the establishment of a caliphate or an Indonesian Islamic state (Shadiq, 2016), and MMI views elections as permitted by Islam. According to some studies, this situation was influenced by the Arab uprising in 2011 that gave rise to the “official Islam” models (Brown, 2017; Mandaville & Hamid, 2018; Pektas, 2019; Robbins & Rubin, 2017).

The government classifies JI, MMI, and HTI as religious extremist organizations due to their rejection of democratic systems and avoidance of democratic politics to increase their political power (Wibisono et al., 2019), as well as their support of the Islamic political system concept. Munabari et al. (2020) state that this political movement consistently campaigns for Islamic law implementation through collective action, such as protests, mass mobilizations, statements on media platforms, and petitions. Discussions around various economic problems, such as rising petrol prices and others (Wijayanti, 2023), are another method used to highlight the government’s inability to address existing issues while at the same time offering an Indonesian Islamic state as a solution. Therefore, this research was conducted among fundamentalist groups who reject democracy to find out the psychological factors that form the basis of their political attitudes. Psychologists have come to a consensus that openness to experience stands out as the critical trait in explaining group political views (Ribeiro & Borba, 2016).

Symbolic Threat as a Mediator of Support for an Indonesian Islamic State

According to González et al. (2008), a symbolic threat is evident when a group perceives the other group’s norms, values, and beliefs as different from theirs. A symbolic threat is a system of in-group members who perceive the outgroup as threatening since the outgroups have different values. These ideas are viewed as dangerous since they will supersede the way of life of their tribe. The importance of analyzing the factor of symbolic threat is connected with its significant effect on group relations. A high level of symbolic threat is associated with dislike and prejudice towards outgroup members, support intolerant and punitive actions (Huddy et al., 2007), and promote hostility not only towards rival groups but also towards women and homosexuals (Inglehart et al., 2006).

In this study, the relationship between openness to experience and support for the Islamic political system, as mediated by symbolic threat, focused the authors’ attention closely. The justification for this statement comes from Stenner’s study (2005), which indicates that personal threats act as a contextual factor mediating the importance of individual differences in behavior and opinion. Silber and Bhat (2007) expressed a similar view on the role of openness to experience, stating that becoming extreme begins with an openness to new ideas, including religious ones, which stimulates the process of worldview change. According to Wiktorowicz (2005), while openness to experience is a precursor to negative political behavior such as radicalization and support for the Islamic political system, concept, this process must be followed by negative perceptions or negative experiences in order to progress to negative political attributes.

Additionally, Islamic political groups in Indonesia view liberal democracy as a threat to Islamic beliefs and practices. The democratic system of norms, beliefs, and symbols is regarded as incompatible with Islamic values (Fealy, 2004; Ward, 2009). Numerous Islamic political groups in Indonesia seek to replace democracy with a non-

secular political system; they regard democracy as a *shirk* (infidelity to God) system (Chusniyah, 2012). This situation creates fear that other cultures will eradicate Islam's system, values, morality, and way of life (Sageman, 2004), and also threatens the in-group cultural identity (Sniderman & Hagendoorn, 2009). Islamic political groups are motivated by the threat to believe in the critical nature of establishing an Islamic state and regulating Islamic society (Chusniyah, 2016a).

Symbolic threat can mediate the relationship between openness to experience and support for an Islamic political system, a system that the outgroup perceives as posing a threat, being read as a personal grievance owing to openness to experience. Threat as a powerful mediator has received attention in various Indonesian studies, such as in the case of interreligious violence in Indonesia as well as interfaith contacts (Kanas et al., 2015; Setiawan et al., 2021, 2022). Therefore, investigating whether this same threat will lead a fundamentalist to embrace an Indonesian Islamic state is essential. Despite the absence of a theoretical justification for the specific direction of the interactions, the authors wish to test them in an exploratory manner by verifying the following hypothesis: the association between openness to experience and support for an Islamic political system will be mediated by symbolic threat.

Salafi Ideology as a Mediator of Support for an Indonesian Islamic State

In the mid-nineteenth century, some Moslem intellectuals recognized the imperative of renewing the Islamic world and considered establishing *Salafi* ideas (Frey, 2007). *Salafis* believe that since the *salaf* received their education directly from the Prophet or those who knew him, they consequently possessed a pure understanding of Islam. Therefore, all life decisions must be based on evidence from the *Qur'an* and *Sunna*, as recorded in authentic sayings (*hadiths*) by the *salaf* (Wiktorowicz, 2000). Further research on specific aspects, such as *salafis* with certain people, has not been carried out. Early research on *Salafi* Moslems has been conducted, for example, discussing the roots of *Salafi* ideology (Howell & Lind, 2010), violent acts, and cultural resistance (N. Hasan, 2018).

Although purification of religion initiated by the *Salafi* is a personal matter, not a political doctrine (N. Hasan, 2006), all Moslems are required to re-establish Islamic societies and countries to purify Islam. *Salafi* Moslems believe that God will bless their lives if they adhere to the total Islamic system (Chusniyah, 2016a). According to this Islamic political group, Islam can only be implemented through an Islamic political system (Chusniyah, 2016b). The ideal of practicing Islam perfectly and purely as in the time of the *salaf* can only be realized in the absence of a secular government (Chusniyah, 2012). True Islam entails a lack of fear of *kuffar* or anything inconsistent with the Islamic way of life. This spirit of fearlessness towards the *kuffar* motivates *Salafi* adherents to express their faith more concretely by supporting the concept of Islamic government.

In Indonesia, there is a distinction between the *Yamani Salafi* known to be very extreme and the moderate *Haraki Salafi*. *Yamani Salafi* considers the involvement in all practical politics, e.g., elections, as a heresy (everything that is not exemplified by the Prophet), perversion, and thus *shirk*. *Yamani Salafi* like FKAJ and Ja'far Umar Thalib's *lasykar jihad* were also involved in the Ambon and Poso conflicts (N. Hasan, 2006). At the same time, *Haraki Salafi*, such as *Wahdah Islamiyah*, instructed its

members to participate in the election. The PKS (The Prosperous Justice Party) and PBB (Star Crescent Party) are political parties with *Salafi* ideology but enter as parties that contribute to secular democracy (Sila, 2010). According to *Haraki Salafi*, Islam does not have a standard system in the electoral system; hence, it may adopt electoral systems from the West.

This phenomenon can also be attributed to several influential factors, including globalization, democratization, the media, and education. N. Hasan (2018) showed that the growth of *Salafism* experienced significant expansion during the period coinciding with the completion of the Suharto regime in 1998. In mid-1997, before the fall of the Suharto regime, Indonesia experienced a severe financial crisis, which had an impact on the socio-political sector and created multidimensional problems (Djiwandono, 2002). The condition of the country was increasingly chaotic: the people were having difficulty meeting basic needs, eventually losing patience and trust in the government. Furthermore, Djiwandono explained that the weakened society tended to embrace the utopia of *sharia* enforcement. At that time, Islamic activism in Indonesia grew and diversified, with various types of Islamic movements emerging, both peaceful and militant *Salafi* groups (van Bruinessen, 2018).

The development of *Salafism* in Indonesia also cannot be separated from the very ambitious global Wahhabization campaign of Muslims from Saudi Arabia (N. Hasan, 2010). The rapid dissemination of *Salafi* ideology can be attributed to the implementation of the *Salafi* mission by its adherents, as noted by Sedgwick (2018). *Salafism*, as expounded by Woodward (2017), has the potential to incorporate elements of Arab cultural tradition into the everyday lives of Indonesian individuals. However, it is worth noting that *Salafi* adherents may also exhibit resistance towards and disapproval of longstanding Indonesian traditions. The pervasive impact of this ideology has significantly exacerbated the conflict with the predominant population of moderate Muslims in Indonesia.

Mulyadi et al. (2023) have presented another observation, indicating that *Salafism* in contemporary times has undergone significant transformations, adopting a more adaptable form of movement that engages in agonism and exhibits a tendency towards pseudo-nationalism. The ideology of *Salafism* possesses the capacity to empower and transform an individual's identity, as it necessitates a departure from the prevailing culture and a sincere adoption of Islamic principles in order to restore one's identity. As posited by Wiktorowicz (2005), the foundation of any endeavor lies in the willingness to embrace novel experiences and ideas. The likelihood of individuals to accept *Salafi* ideologies is positively correlated with their level of openness to experience and the extent to which they adhere to *Salafi* ideology.

To summarize, when individuals have a high level of openness to experience, they are more likely to be exposed to new information, including *Salafi* ideology. *Salafi* ideology is not merely a belief system; rather, it is a belief system that encourages its adherents to take concrete action to manifest their belief by changing a democratic system they deemed to be *shirk*, which explains their proclivity to support a non-secular political system. Based on that rationale, this study investigates the theoretical hypothesis that

individuals who exhibit a high degree of openness to experience support an Islamic political system when confronted with a context of *Salafi* ideology (as a mediator).

Material and Methods

Data Collection and Participants

Taking into account the sensitivity of the issue under consideration and the closeness of the group under study, data collection was not an easy process. First, the authors approached MMI leaders (i.e., A) in Yogyakarta to help collect data among their groups in the cities of Yogyakarta, Solo, Sragen, Karang Anyar, and Sukoharjo. Second, the authors contacted the *Jemaah Anshorut Tauhid* (JAT)⁷ Surabaya’s leader (i.e., AR) to help collect data in Malang, Surabaya, Solo, Bima, and Jakarta. Third, because HTI as a group had its legal entity status revoked in 2017, the authors contacted the HTI Surabaya and Jakarta social networks (i.e., IY) to help collect data in Surabaya and Jakarta. Before collecting data, the authors submitted an ethical clearance to the college institution. And then, the authors communicated with the congregational leaders to explain the research objectives and provide the questionnaire used for this study. The leaders played a role in conveying the research objectives that had been explained by the authors to the members and assisting in collecting questionnaires. The participants took part in this research voluntarily without rewards, which was confirmed by the informed consent they signed. Data collection was assisted by the leaders of JAT, MMI, and HTI by distributing questionnaires to their group’s leaders, members, and sympathizers. The study enrolled 325 male leaders, members, or sympathizers of JAT, MMI, and HTI groups. Data were collected based on the subject’s identity as a leader, member, or sympathizer of the group. Sympathizers are defined in this study as those actively involved in the group’s activities such as attending the preaching, without being a member. Initially, 385 participants were included in this study. However, 60 participants were excluded during data analysis due to their scores being considered outliers. The following are some sample details: JAT has 123 leaders, members, and sympathizers; MMI has 127 leaders, members, and sympathizers; and HTI has 75 leaders, members, and sympathizers. Data on demography of the participants are shown in Table 1.

Table 1
Sociodemographic Characteristic of Respondents

Characteristics	N	%
Age	16–23	10.8
	24–35	53.8
	36–47	27.7
	More than 47	7.7

⁷ *Jemaah Anshorut Tauhid* (JAT) is a splinter cell of the *Jemaah Islamiyah* (JI), which is designated a terrorist organisation and banned from all activities by the United Nations and the United States.

Table 1 Continued

Characteristics		N	%
	Primary school	7	2.2
	High school	179	55.0
Educational level	Undergraduate	115	35.4
	Graduate	8	2.5
	Doctoral	16	4.9

In this correlational investigation, all variables were quantified on a scale rather than using vignettes or other experimental techniques. The selection of participants was carried out based on convenient sampling that relies on the participant's willingness to participate in this research. The study utilized four measures: one as a predictor, two as mediators, and one as a dependent variable. For measurements, a 4-point Likert scale was used. All latent variables underwent confirmation factor analysis. We will go into further detail about the fit measure results for each measurement model.

Support for an Islamic political system. The authors designed a measure as an indicator of an individual's belief about the importance of establishing an Indonesian Islamic state as absolutely important. Confirmatory factor analysis was performed to measure the measurement model fitness. This measure consists of six items. Four of the factor loading results were valid, which showed standardized factor loading values ranging from .584 to .848. Two items showed a below standard factor loading, which resulted in this item being dropped from the model measurement. This measurement model goodness of fit indicates an absolute fit (chi-square $p = .307$), average value explained (AVE) is .526, composite reliability (CR) is .814 (no need for additional fit index since the goodness of fit showing the chi-square result is above .05 which means it is an absolute fit).

Openness to experience. The authors measured openness to experience adopted from the Big-Five scale of McCrae (1996). Confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was performed to assess the measurement model fitness. The measure consisted of four items. Three of the factor loading results were valid, showing standardized factor loading values ranging from .476 to .780. One item showed a below standard factor loading value of $-.060$, which resulted in this item being dropped from the model measurement. This measurement model goodness of fit indicates an absolute fit ($p = .250$), AVE is .354, CR is .608 (no need for additional fit index since the goodness of fit showing the chi-square result is above .05 which means it is an absolute fit).

Symbolic threat. The authors used the factor of symbolic threat for this research to indicate an existing system considered a threat to Islam. This measure indicates an absolute fit ($p = .175$). It consisted of three valid items, with a factor loading value ranging from .645 to .875, AVE is .578, CR is .844 (no need for additional fit index since the goodness of fit showing the chi-square result is above .05 which means it is an absolute fit).

Salafi ideology. The authors developed a measure of *Salafi* ideology to indicate the level of an individual's belief in the practice of Islam. This measure indicates a good model fit ($p = .009$, comparative fit index, CFI = .976, Tucker–Lewis index, TLI = .960, root-mean-square error of approximation, RMSEA = .069). It consisted of five valid items among six items, which showed standardized factor loading values ranging from .518 to .795. One item showed a below standard factor loading of only $-.206$, resulting in this item being dropped from the model measurement; AVE = .498 CR = .829 (no need for additional fit index since the goodness of fit showing the chi-square result is above .05 which means it is an absolute fit).

Data Analysis

The authors used structural equation modeling (SEM) to conduct the analysis using JASP statistical software. The model's fit is seen from the chi-square significance and goodness of fit index. Further, to see the mediating role of mediating variables in the relationship between exogenous and endogenous variables, the authors assessed the total, direct, and indirect effects. This step is used to determine whether the mediating variable acted as a full mediator or partial mediator.

Results

We performed a principal component analysis with Promax rotation and with all items included for each scale in order to check whether different scales measured different concepts. The results of this analysis included four components or factors, which were loaded above .6. Four items which were predicted to belong on the same scale were loaded strongly on the same factor. These were openness to experience, symbolic threat, *Salafi* ideology, and support for an Islamic political system. Initial eigen values generated values of 5.27 (32.95% of the variance) for the first factor, 1.97 (12.28% of the variance) for the second factor, 1.59 (9.93% of the variance) for the third factor, and 1.198 (7.49% of the variance) for the fourth factor.

Furthermore, in the bivariate correlations, all variables were shown to be significantly correlated to one another (see Table 2.). The mean score of *Salafi* ideology was 3.77 ($SD = 0.36$); openness to experience was 2.93 ($SD = 0.53$); symbolic threat was 3.52 ($SD = 0.65$); support for an Islamic political system was 3.52 ($SD = 0.54$).

Table 2
Descriptive Statistics and Correlations Among Variables in This Study

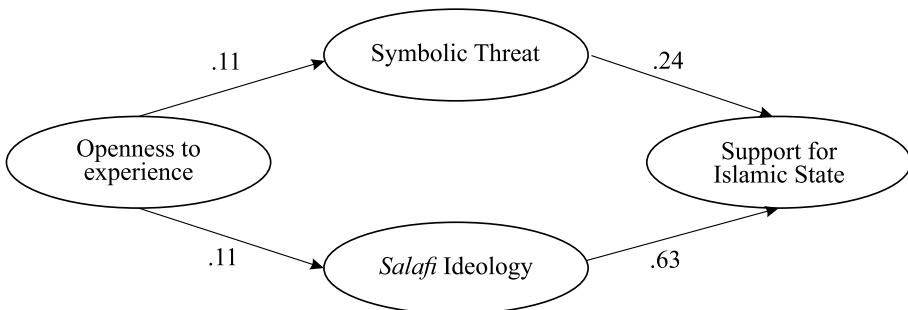
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Salafi ideology	Openness to experience	Threatening system	Islamic state
Salafi ideology	3.77	0.36	–	.14**	.39**	.51**
Openness to experience	2.93	0.53		–	.20**	.14**
Threatening system	3.52	0.65			–	.38**
Islamic state	3.52	0.54				–

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

The proposed structural model exhibits a high degree of fit: goodness-of-fit index (GFI) = .955; adjusted goodness-of-fit index (AGFI) = .932; comparative fit index (CFI) = .973; normed fit index (NFI) = .935; RMSEA = .04, thus indicating that it is suitable for explaining the relationship between variables. The path coefficient indicates a significant positive relationship between openness to experience, symbolic threat, and *Salafi* ideology, as illustrated in Figure 1. It indicates that an increase in an individual's openness to experience leads to an increase in symbolic threat. It also applies to *Salafi* ideology, where the more openness to experience an individual possesses, the more open their *Salafi* ideology becomes. Additionally, the symbolic threat has a significant positive relationship with support for an Islamic political system, indicating that the more a system is perceived as a symbolic threat, the more support an individual has for an Islamic state. *Salafi* ideology and support for an Islamic political system have the highest correlation coefficient. It demonstrates that the more individuals agree with *Salafi* ideology, the more Islamic state supporters they are.

Figure 1

Diagram Model With Standardized Coefficient



The authors decomposed the total effect into direct and indirect effects to examine the mediating role of symbolic threat and *Salafi* ideology. Table 3 demonstrates that there is no direct link between openness to experience and support for an Islamic political system, which implies that symbolic threat and *Salafi* ideology can serve as a complete mediator between openness to experience and support for an Indonesian Islamic state. This finding supports the first and second research hypotheses: that symbolic threat mediates the relationship between openness to experience and support for an Islamic political system and that *Salafi* ideology mediates the relationship between openness to experience and support for an Islamic political system.

Table 3
Decomposition of Unstandardized and Standardized Direct and Indirect Effects on Support for an Islamic Political System

Variables	Total Effect		Direct Effect		Indirect Effect	
	Unstan- dardized	Stan- dardized	Unstan- dardized	Stan- dardized	Unstan- dardized	Stan- dardized
Openness to experience	.144	.111	.000	.000	.144	.111
Symbolic threat	.198	.239	.198	.239	.000	.000
Salafi ideology	1.015	.734	.866	.626	.149	.108

Discussion and Conclusion

Our findings indicate that the relationship between openness to experience and support for an Islamic political system is mediated by both symbolic threat (Hypothesis 1) and *Salafi* ideology (Hypothesis 2). This empirical finding corroborates the Swami et al. (2010) study, which demonstrated that openness to experience could result in an unfavorable political attitude/behavior. This finding also agrees with Blais and St-Vincent (2011), Gallego and Oberski (2012) that the influence of personality on political attitudes is indirect, which is why a mediator is required. More precisely, symbolic threat and *Salafi* ideology act as mediators in this study, mediating the effect of openness to experience on support for an Islamic political system. Individuals affiliated with Islamic political groups and more receptive to experience may support and fight for an Islamic state when they embrace *Salafi* ideology. When they consider other values a symbolic threat, they are more likely to support the concept of Islamic political system. The mediation hypothesis in this study is also consistent with the finding by Gerber et al. (2010) that the relationship between personality and political attitude varies according to the political and social context (i.e., symbolic threats and *Salafi* ideology).

The findings related to Hypothesis 1 indicate that members of Islamic political groups more receptive to experience will support an Islamic state mediated by symbolic threat. The symbolic threat is a perception of another group's norms, values, and beliefs as being distinct from their own and posing a threat to their norms, values, and beliefs (González et al., 2008). The symbolic threat means having a negative attitude towards a particular object; hence, it can be viewed as a grievance. The openness to experience trait combined with a complaint, according to Wiktorowicz's (2005) argument, leads to an unfavorable political attitude. Due to the current state of the world, secular lifestyles are perceived as a threat to the integrity of the Prophet Muhammad's teachings (Sageman, 2004). Some of them regard democracy as an incompatible political system with Islam (Ward, 2009). Democracy jeopardizes the religion, values, belief system, ideology, philosophy, morality, and worldview of Islam. Sedgwick (2018) elucidated why this threat is imminent for Moslems, stating that a Moslem's life is not centered around great questions of theology or law, but rather

around more immediate daily concerns, such as cultivating piety and appropriate habits. Fair and Shepherd (2006) also discovered that the predominance of national and secular identities over Moslems in technological and cultural realities contributed to the emergence of perceptions that Islamic values were under attack. According to Islamic political organizations in Indonesia, the perception of threat has evolved into a sense of Islam's global weakness and defeat.

The results obtained with regard to Hypothesis 2 explain why individuals belonging to Islamic political groups who are highly receptive to experience will support an Islamic state mediated by *Salafi* ideology. According to McCrae and Costa (1986), individuals with a high level of openness to experience are imaginative, curious, receptive to new ideas, thus being ready to reassess values. Islamist political organizations in Indonesia view the *Salafi* doctrine as a new interpretation of the religion's beginnings (Mujani, 2003), which makes its members who are receptive to experience to become curious and search for additional information. According to McCrae (1987), a high level of openness to experience makes people more confident and adaptable when acquiring new information or ideas.

According to Wiktorowicz (2005), people are initially motivated by a cognitive opening that makes previously held ideas less specific. Once individuals are open to new ways of thinking and worldviews, a cognitive opening help facilitate possible receptivity to joining a movement and engaging in activism. A crisis or psychological discomfort can be addressed and resolved using people's current belief systems. However, individuals may be receptive to alternative viewpoints where this appears insufficient. The particular crisis that triggers a cognitive opening is unique to each individual. Based on an individual case study of Kamel Daoudi, Basmisirli (2017) stated that he views his search for *Salafi* as an intellectual process of unraveling new ideas in an example that demonstrates an openness to experience. When an individual's identity is entwined with religion or derives its meaning from religion, a cognitive opening may result in "religious seeking," a process by which an individual seeks a satisfactory system of religious meaning through which to interpret and resolve their dissatisfaction.

Interestingly, individuals with a high degree of openness to experience have been shown to value unusual or unique ideas, being intellectually curious and highly imaginative. As a result, they are exposed to a wider variety of information. Openness to experience is greatly influenced by the information being fed to individuals (Flynn, 2005), making negative attribution when such people receive new destructive information.

DiGiuseppe et al. (2014) explained that *Salafi* ideology can be considered an inferential belief in this case because members of this group infer reality based on their perceptions. When members seek to implement Islamic principles in their daily lives, they tend to view democracy as an impediment. This perception leads them to believe that democracy threatens their norms and values, which is why they support the concept of Islamic political system. This ideology fueled the Islamic state movement in the Middle East and has developed into a new area of study and political knowledge for Islamic political groups in Indonesia (Sila, 2010).

For Islamic political groups with a high level of receptivity to experience, the most critical issues are Islamic authority to purify the religion, re-manage Moslem community behaviors following Islam (Frey, 2007), and apply Islamic law in all spheres of life. These can only be obtained through political power consolidation (An-Na'im, 2003). The pure Islamic state is prepared to accommodate Moslems in Indonesia's new ethical, social, and political perspectives. Support for an Islamic political system from Islamic political groups with a high level of receptivity to experience and *Salafi* ideology also becomes the antithesis of what is considered a deviant Islam practice (Chusniyah, 2016a).

According to Wibisono et al. (2019), Islamic extremism in Indonesia has a political dimension that advocates for a caliphate or an Islamic state. These people believe that political norms should be strictly followed to alter the current system, since all aspects of life are already prescribed in the *Qur'an* and *Hadith*. The symbolic threat experienced by this group also reflects the social dimension of extremism, as they view democracy as a system that jeopardizes their practice of the Islamic way of life.

The conducted study presents interest in terms of socio-demographics, since 64.5% of the research sample were young people aged 16–35 years and 97.8% were high school or university graduates. It shows that young adults are a group that is vulnerable to being affected by radicalization and violent extremism at various levels (Maunah, 2022; Winter et al., 2017). *Salafi* groups spread their messages using the Internet and social networking sites. In Indonesia, Internet user penetration is 143.26 million people, with 66.2% of them belonging to the 13–34-year age group (Affan, 2018). This is also in line with Alizadeh et al. (2017) who screened over 355,000 Twitter⁸ messages from followers of nonviolent organizations, comparing them to random users, followers of apolitical celebrities. Extremist followers were found to be more open than non-extremists. In addition, personality profiles characterized by a high level of openness can be the basis for political radicalization, as these individuals quickly spread their opinions.

It can be concluded that the developed mediation model makes theoretical sense and that the empirical evidence presented here provides preliminary support. This study established that openness to experience can significantly affect the tendency of individuals to support an Islamic state when mediated by symbolic threat and *Salafi* ideology. The contextual nature of the relationship between openness to experience and support for an Islamic political system is emphasized. When individuals perceive the current system as a symbolic threat or are exposed to *Salafi* ideology, openness to experience has a more significant influence. Through symbolic threat and *Salafi* ideology, this study also examines the relationship between openness to experience and support for an Islamic political system. It can be concluded that the Big Five factor of openness to experience, which has generated considerable controversy, is a dynamic and intricate personality trait requiring further exploration. Complex relationships between this trait and other human qualities, behaviors, abilities, and attitudes deserve deeper consideration.

⁸ Twitter® is a trademark of Twitter Inc., registered in the U.S. and other countries. По решению Роскомнадзора, социальная сеть Twitter полностью заблокирована в России как организация, занимающаяся распространением запрещенного контента.

Despite the above, the present study is not devoid of limitations, which consisted in the difficulty of accessing closed sample groups. As a result, the authors were not able to retrieve the data directly, but had to rely on the leaders of each group under study. As a result, caution should be exercised when generalizing and applying the findings. It is recommended that the theoretical models used in this study be validated among mainstream Moslems to determine whether the results are consistent. Consequently, policymakers can strengthen law enforcement to combat the spread of *Salafi* ideology and increase the dissemination of democratic content to expose citizens to a high level of openness to experience. Additionally, the government can increase the intensity of dialogue with members of Islamic political groups to persuade them in the compatibility of democracy and Islam.

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ARTICLE

Putting Fame and Celebrity in a Psychosocial Framework: A Scientific Analysis

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ABSTRACT

In many cultures, reaching fame and celebrity is the most desirable goal and/or fantasy for the majority of society; and this is primarily fueled by the media. Consequently, a multitude of psychological studies have been performed in this field, although a comprehensive psychological theory has yet to be formulated. This article provides an extensive analysis of the bibliography of all psychology articles published in the Scopus database from 1928 to 2022. For accomplishing this, the VOSviewer software tool was used. A total of 1,987 psychology articles were found in the Scopus database, revealing an increasing trend of research in recent years. The fact that most of these articles belong to the field of neuropsychology shows the gap between important research and theory in theoretical psychology. While the number of psychological studies in the field has increased, there have been no bibliometric studies on the state of research and its process. This survey, drawing on the scientific map in the field, will attempt to identify areas that remain neglected.

KEYWORDS

fame, famous, celebrity, psychology, bibliography

Introduction

“Wherever there are people, there is celebrity” (Hammond, 2014). This statement reflects the pervasive nature of fame as a global phenomenon. Throughout history and across cultures, fame has held a prominent position, and many advancements in various fields have been motivated by the desire for recognition

Received 26 July 2023

Accepted 10 December 2023

Published online 27 December 2023

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(Braudy, 1997). It is speculated that even notable figures like Sigmund Freud were driven by their longing for enduring fame when developing their theoretical speculations and innovations (Yalom, 1980/2020). In the contemporary world, the pursuit of fame has become a widespread trend, with almost everyone seeking their moment in the spotlight. As the 21st century began, fame emerged from obscurity like a phoenix rising from the ashes (Rowlands, 2014). Consequently, the intense desire for fame has become one of the most profound cultural phenomena of our time.

Renowned figures and celebrities play a crucial role in this phenomenon, as research suggests that people's desire for fame is often influenced by these prominent individuals (Young & Pinsky, 2006). For instance, in 2006, when children under the age of 10 were asked to write their wish list for International Children's Day, becoming a celebrity ranked the highest (Johnson & McSmith, 2006). In modern culture, fame seems to offer a pathway to symbolic immortality, akin to the iconic photographs and works of athletes, musicians, artists, actors, singers, and scientists such as Bob Roth, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Claude Monet, Marilyn Monroe, Frank Sinatra, Albert Einstein, etc. Through its symbolic defiance of death, fame ensures enduring renown even after an individual's passing (Greenberg et al., 2010).

Comparatively, when examining highly desired values (fame, power, spirituality, and fitness) fame reached the highest rank in 2007, despite being the least desired value in the previous decade. The exponential growth in the desire for fame can be directly attributed to the explosion of communication technologies since the 1990s (Uhls & Greenfield, 2011). Social technology platforms have become fertile ground for cultivating interest in fame, as individuals employ various strategies and exposure methods to share media content and actively compete for audience attention (Rui & Stefanone, 2016). Consequently, becoming a famous person, once seen as unattainable for the average individual, has now become achievable through participation in television programs (Maltby et al., 2008).

In today's world, fame and its associated concepts, such as "celebrity," "star," and "influencer," have a significant impact on human life. These components determine many different aspects of human life, to the point that the death of a famous person or celebrity is referred to as a "celebrity supernova" (Boyce & Dove, 2022). Researchers have identified famous people and celebrities as the focus of their audience's desires, ideals, and fears (Mercer, 2013). The importance of fame is such that ordinary people, especially young people, use it as a means to validate their existence (Holmes & Redmond, 2010). As Leo Braudy notes in his historical study of fame, even a small moment of media exposure "promises acceptance, even if we commit the most heinous crime because that's how people will finally know you." This way, we are saved from the living death of being unknown (Braudy, 1997).

In recent years, academic research on celebrity has expanded significantly (Turner, 2010). From a psychological perspective, some believe that the need to be seen is strong and primal (Greenwood et al., 2013). This is evident in the fact that most people imagine themselves in scenes of fame, such as those seen on television, in theaters, and in movies, as part of their daily lives (Rockwell & Giles, 2009). However, becoming famous is no longer considered unattainable for ordinary people. Many

individuals can easily achieve fame by participating in a television program (Maltby et al., 2008). The growing dependence on the digital realm has given rise to a new category of public figures known as social media influencers (SMIs), who are also referred to as micro-celebrities, YouTubers, Internet-famous individuals, and Instafamous personalities (Shabahang et al., 2022). Celebrities are prominent figures in the public eye and enjoy significant public recognition. In today's media landscape, female celebrities are often featured prominently and embody the prevailing standards of beauty within media culture (Brown & Tiggemann, 2022).

From the perspective of the relationship between psychology and fame, fame can have various effects on mental health. Reputation and fame issues are prominent in many acute psychological problems that include body satisfaction (Grabe et al., 2008; Groesz et al., 2002; Tiggemann, 2011), bipolar disorder (Johnson et al., 2012), certain personality disorders, e.g., narcissistic (Greenwood et al., 2013) and histrionic personality (Ferguson et al., 2013), mass shootings (Allwinn et al., 2022; Bushman, 2018; Langman, 2018; Silva & Greene-Colozzi, 2019; Wills, 2019), and even suicide (Brewis, 2008). On the other hand, an important discussion has emerged about why humans are attracted to celebrities and how celebrities and famous people have a significant psychological impact on individuals. Some believe that we are attracted to celebrities because they serve as a counterpoint to our own psychological deficiencies (Rojek, 2001). Indeed, this issue has significant effects on the daily lives of ordinary individuals as well. For example, the overwhelming desire for fame has reached an intensity whereby ordinary individuals, on their way to work, imagine themselves on the stage of a show (television, theater, cinema, etc.) every day and feel afterward downcast when such illusion evaporates. For instance, most American people feel upset simply because they are not well-known (Rockwell & Giles, 2009). Nonetheless, there is a shortage of psychological research in this area, and this theoretical paucity can be explained by two major reasons. Firstly, it is roughly impossible to empirically account for people's interest in fame; secondly, it is quite difficult to conceptualize fame as a construct (Maltby et al., 2008).

Despite the fact that fame has become a critical phenomenon that influences everyone in contemporary society, there is no coherent theory on fame in the field of psychology. This is surprising given that the primary objective for many individuals in the new generation is to achieve fame.

The importance of developing a scientific map in the field of psychology has increased significantly. Research conducted in 1999 investigated the field of psychology from 1950 to the end of the 20th century by analyzing the most frequently used terms. This research aimed to provide explanations for crucially important questions such as "Where has psychology been?", "Where is psychology now?", and "Where is psychology going?" (Flis & van Eck, 2018). Through the collection and analysis of bibliometric data, this research provided insight into item structure area, social networks, and interesting thematic presentations.

Due to the dramatic increase in the number of scientific studies in recent years, researchers find it increasingly difficult to monitor the current literature in their field. In order to properly analyze such a huge amount of data, quantitative bibliometric methods are necessary (Župič & Čater, 2014). These methods can increase the

objectivity of literature reviews by allowing researchers to base their judgments on the collected opinions of scholars working in the field (Župič & Čater, 2014). Bibliometric methods have two main applications: performance analysis and scientific mapping. Performance analysis evaluates the research and publication performance of individuals and institutions, while scientific mapping reveals the framework and dynamics of scientific fields. This information about structure and development is useful when investigating a particular line of research (Cobo et al., 2011). Mapping studies aim to explore research trends, such as publication trends over time and topics covered in the literature, and provide an overview of a specific area that allows for the discovery of research gaps and trends (Petersen et al., 2008, 2015).

Based on the content presented, the aim of this research is to examine scientific gaps by providing an overview of research trends in the field of celebrity psychology, in terms of research topics and methods used. Bibliometric analysis is a popular method used to visualize trends in various fields, including celebrity psychology (Schuengel et al., 2019; Stopar & Bartol, 2018; Zyoud et al., 2018). This method creates a general visual representation of frequently used terms in the relevant domains (van Eck & Waltman, 2011). To achieve this goal, commonly used keywords across all research in the field will be extracted, which is one of the most popular bibliometric methods (Krauskopf, 2018; Moscoso et al., 2018; Sweileh et al., 2016; Yu et al., 2018). The objective of this research is to provide a comprehensive map and bibliometric analysis of terms and frequent domains in the field of celebrity psychology, which can offer insights into previously studied topics and potential areas for future research.

Method

Undoubtedly, the formulation of research questions is of utmost importance in any study. For this study, the following main research questions were identified:

- A. How has fame been psychologically analyzed in the past?
- B. How is fame currently studied?
- C. What trajectory will fame assume in the future?

Additionally, the research aims to explore why such an important phenomenon as fame has not been theorized in psychology. These questions will be thoroughly discussed in the Results and Discussion sections of the research to provide a more precise understanding of the findings.

The data for this study were obtained from Scopus,¹ a comprehensive citation database covering journals in technical, medical, and social sciences from 1928 to 2022. Scopus is larger than other databases, e.g., PubMed² and Web of Science³; moreover, it offers various features that facilitate bibliometric analysis, including author

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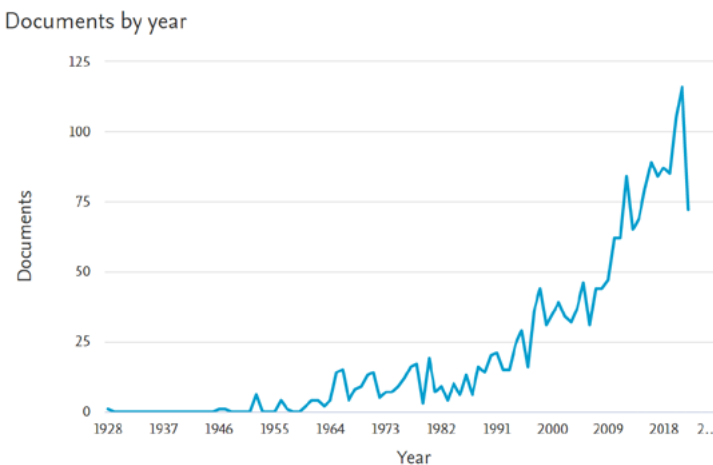
contribution, country and affiliation information, citation analysis, and performance based on source type (Anglada-Tort & Sanfilippo, 2019; Falagas et al., 2007). To visualize and create bibliometric maps, the VOSviewer⁴ software tool was utilized. VOSviewer is widely used in the field of scientometrics and offers an integrated framework for mapping and clustering (van Eck & Waltman, 2010). Not only has it been used by the specialized scientometrics community, but also by researchers in other scientific fields, making it a popular choice among researchers interested in scientometrics-based mapping (Li et al., 2021).

For this research, English-language articles in the field of psychology were selected if they contained the words “famous” or “celebrity” in their titles, abstracts, or keywords. The selected articles encompassed various subfields of psychology, including general psychology, miscellaneous psychology, applied psychology, clinical psychology, developmental and educational psychology, experimental and cognitive psychology, and social psychology. A total of 1,987 articles met these criteria. The collected data were then analyzed based on several characteristics, including the year of publication, the main journal, institutions, and countries. Additionally, keywords that appeared at least 10 times in the articles were identified and included in the scientific map for further analysis.

Results

The present study provides a bibliometric analysis of psychological research on the topic of reputation from its inception until the present day. The number of articles on this topic has been steadily increasing since 1928 (Figure 1). The number of articles is projected to reach 116 in 2021, and that excluding articles that may be published during the remainder of the year.

Figure 1
Annual Number of Publications Related to Fame



⁴ <https://www.vosviewer.com>

The trend of citations for the considered articles has been increasing in recent years (Figure 2). Notably, there was a significant jump in 2021, with 4,188 citations compared to 3,254 citations in the previous year. This sudden increase in citations indicates the development and growing impact of work in the field of reputation research.

Figure 2
Citations Trend From 2008 to 2022

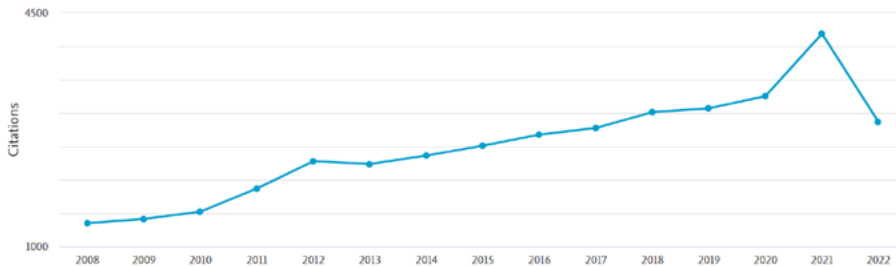
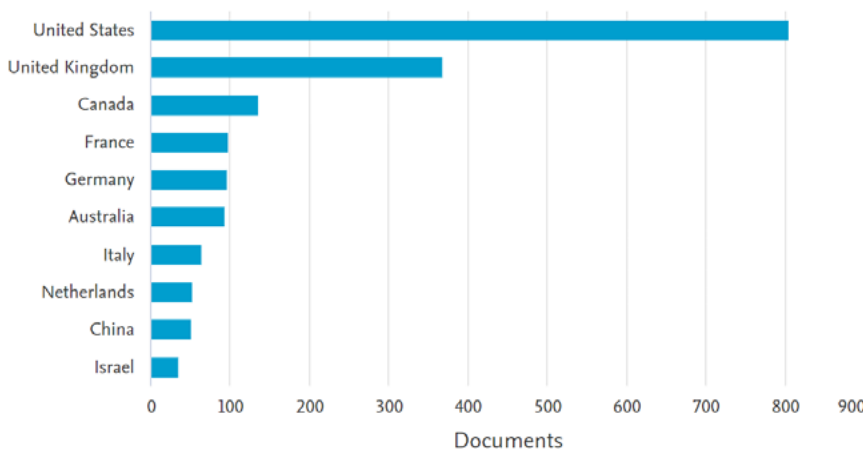


Figure 3 presents the number of published articles on the topic of reputation based on country of origin. The top three countries in this field are English-speaking countries, with the United States leading with 803 articles, followed by England with 367 articles, and Canada with 134 articles. One possible reason for the United States' significant lead in published articles could be the increased importance placed on the issue of reputation in this country (Bushman, 2018; Lankford, 2016, 2018; Meindl & Ivy, 2017; Silva & Greene-Colozzi, 2019).

Figure 3
Top 10 Most Productive Countries



The most active institutions in the field of reputation research are listed from 1 to 10 based on the number of published articles in Figure 4. According to this analysis, England has four institutions, the United States has three institutions, Canada has two institutions, and Scotland has one institution in the list of most active institutions.

Figure 4

Top 10 Most Productive Institutes

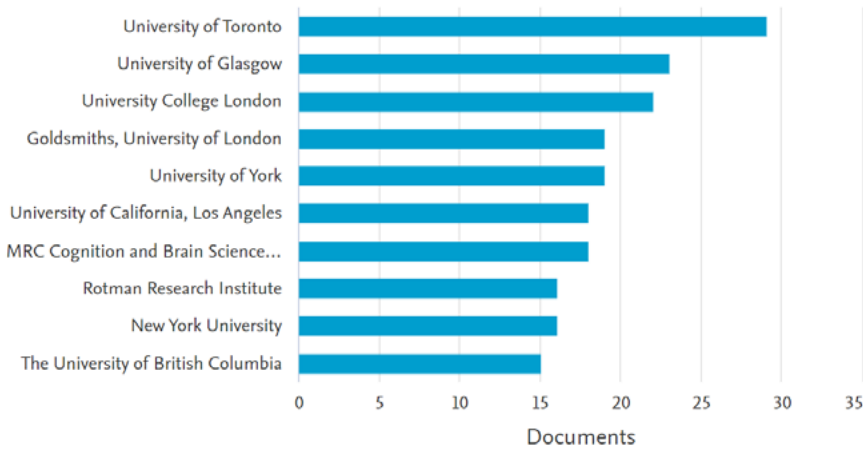


Figure 5 presents the authors with the highest rate of producing articles in the field of fame and celebrity are depicted. Many of these authors are experts in the field of cognitive psychology and neuropsychology, and they have contributed diverse and intermittent work in this area.

Figure 5

Top 10 Most Productive Authors

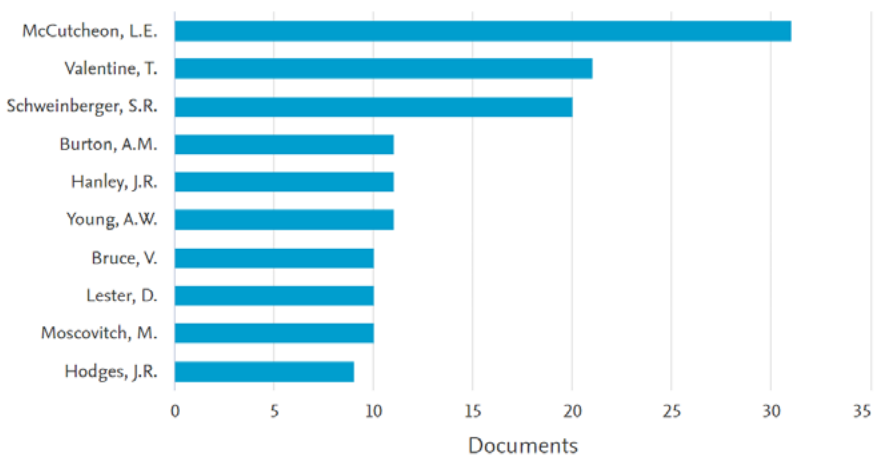


Figure 6 illustrates the process of publishing articles in five prolific journals in the field of reputation research from its inception until the present day. The increasing trend in the number of articles and journals in this field indicates the growing importance of this topic across various scientific disciplines.

Figure 6
Five Most Active Journals According to the Number of Publications

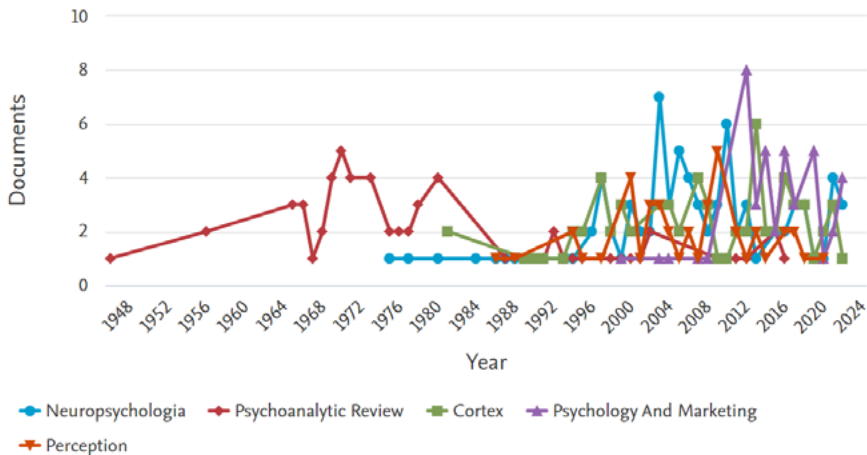


Table 1 shows the most cited articles in the field of reputation research, and all of them have more than 400 citations. It is worth noting that the three most cited articles deal with different topics, and the issue of fame and celebrity is not their primary focus. Nevertheless, these highly cited articles have made significant contributions to the broader field of psychology.

Table 1
Most Cited Articles in the Field of Reputational Research

Title	Author	Year	Journal	Citation
Are humans good intuitive statisticians after all? Rethinking some conclusions from the literature on judgment under uncertainty	Cosmides, L., Tooby, J.	1996	Cognition	704
On the tip of the tongue: What causes word-finding failures in young and older adults?	Burke, D.M., MacKay, D.G., Worthley, J.S., Wade, E.	1991	Journal of Memory and Language	687
Structural encoding and identification in face processing: ERP evidence for separate mechanisms	Bentin, S., Deouell, L. Y.	2000	Cognitive Neuropsychology	521

work may be one of the reasons that have hindered the large-scale production of theories in this area.

Figure 8

A Cloud of Nodes Associated With Co-Authors Having Contributed at Least Five Articles in the Field of Reputation Research



As shown on the scientific map, there have been relatively few collaborative efforts among experts in the field of reputation research. It may be necessary to encourage more group work in this area to facilitate future endeavors and promote the development of new theories and approaches.

Discussion

The aim of the current study is to provide a comprehensive overview of research conducted in the field of fame and celebrity psychology. This review can offer extensive information on the production process of articles and their topics. Therefore, this article focuses on a bibliographic review of articles published in Scopus related to reputation psychology. The findings indicate a tangible increase in research in this field, and it is predicted that this trend will continue due to the expansion of media (all types), the Internet, and the culture of celebrities and semi-celebrities. This trend highlights the growing importance of this phenomenon globally. The academic community has used various terms to describe this situation, such as “pandemic” (Marshall, 2010), “celebrity culture” (Cashmore, 2014; Driessens, 2013), and even “celebrity diplomacy” (Cooper & Frechette, 2008; Wheeler, 2016). Evidently, this particular issue becomes more and more important in academic and university environments around the world, thus providing valuable insights into trends in this field.

As mentioned before, the pursuit of fame has significant negative impacts on various aspects of human life. In the context of mass killings, researchers have demonstrated that a desire for fame is often a primary motive for perpetrators of such events (Lankford, 2018; Pew et al., 2019; Sanford, 2014; Wills & Lankford, 2019). Additionally, the desire for fame has been studied in relation to suicide, with findings indicating that some suicides occur as a means to gain attention and achieve fame (Brewis, 2008). The topic of fame is also connected to psychological disorders, particularly narcissistic personality disorder (Aabo et al., 2022; Gentile, 2011; Young & Pinsky, 2006). In the current media landscape, there is a growing saturation of images depicting fame and celebrities, with television, magazines, websites, and blogs constantly exposing individuals to the glamorous lifestyles of others (Greenwood et al., 2013). The expansion of the internet and social media has further fueled the desire for fame and provided a more accessible pathway to gaining attention (Choi & Berger, 2009). The increasing trend of internet usage, particularly on social media platforms such as Instagram,⁵ Facebook,⁶ Twitter,⁷ and others, has made it easier for individuals to gain fame and become celebrities (Marshall, 2010). To describe famous individuals in various fields, different terms have been coined, such as "Internet celebrity," "YouTube⁸ stars," "Web stars," and "Internet famous" (Gamson, 2011; Lange, 2007; Marwick, 2013; Senft, 2008; Snickars & Vonderau, 2009; Tanz, 2008). Studies suggest that individuals with narcissistic personality disorder may engage in various behaviors, both in the real world and on social media platforms, to attain fame and seek attention from others (Bushman, 2018; Jabeen et al., 2020). In recent years, the rise of influential individuals in the virtual space known as "influencers" has grown exponentially; moreover, these individuals are gaining followers by sharing textual and visual narratives about their personal lives on social media platforms (Abidin, 2016).

The findings suggest that the growing phenomenon of fame and celebrity's potential link to mass murder has attracted the attention of various institutions and countries. The United States is the leading producer of articles in this field, which may be due to the serious harm that fame and celebrity can pose in relation to mass murder. A study reported 909 mass murders in the United States during the 20th century, emphasizing the risks associated with this issue (Duwe, 2004). The research need for the psychology of fame and celebrity is globally recognized, thus stimulating the organization of seminars and conferences in many countries. Numerous universities and institutes are also conducting research in this area (see Figure 4 for universities and institutes in developed English-speaking countries active in research in this area).

⁵ Instagram™ is a trademark of Instagram Inc., registered in the U.S. and other countries. По решению Роскомнадзора, социальная сеть Instagram полностью заблокирована в России как экстремистская организация.

⁶ Facebook™ is a trademark of Facebook Inc., registered in the U.S. and other countries. По решению Роскомнадзора, социальная сеть Facebook в России признана экстремистской организацией и заблокирована.

⁷ Twitter® is a trademark of Twitter Inc., registered in the U.S. and other countries. По решению Роскомнадзора, социальная сеть Twitter полностью заблокирована в России как организация, занимающаяся распространением запрещенного контента.

⁸ YouTube™ is a trademark of Google Inc., registered in the U.S. and other countries.

Not only do these countries have globally influential celebrities, but there is also a deep scholarly understanding of celebrity culture (Brockington, 2015; Holmes et al., 2019).

The study's findings reveal a gradual increase in research on fame and celebrity from 1928 to the end of the 20th century, indicating a growing recognition of its significance over time. The number of articles published in this field was initially less than 25 per year but has now exceeded 100 articles per year. This steady growth suggests that various aspects of this phenomenon have been explored, addressing the question about the current status of fame. Furthermore, the citation rate of these articles has significantly increased, highlighting the importance of this topic today. In 2021, there was a notable spike in citations, with approximately 4,500 citations, indicating a significant rise compared to the previous year. This ongoing growth indicates that multiple facets of fame and celebrity have been investigated, providing insights into its present state.

Regarding the future of fame, the analysis reveals a gap in psychological research, particularly in terms of theoretical exploration. Keywords such as "map" and "theory" are noticeably absent, indicating a need for more cohesive works to develop theories in this area. It is expected that psychology will focus on producing research that delves into theoretical frameworks, both at the micro and macro levels, to further understand and analyze the phenomenon of fame.

There are various factors contributing to the phenomenon of limited theoretical exploration in the field of fame and celebrity. One possible factor is the lack of collaborative efforts among experts in this field, as indicated by the authors' collaboration map. Additionally, insufficient interdisciplinary work may hinder researchers from gaining a comprehensive understanding of the topic. Therefore, one of the objectives of scientific advancement in this field should be to encourage interdisciplinary investigations, particularly across different countries and cultures, which can greatly contribute to knowledge development (Franssen, 2020). Celebrity studies is a developing interdisciplinary field that utilizes diverse theoretical and methodological frameworks to investigate celebrity cultures and the range of perspectives surrounding the topic. This interdisciplinary approach has the potential to provide a more comprehensive understanding of fame and its impact on society (Xu et al., 2021).

Conclusion

The research process in the field of psychology of fame and celebrity is expanding and deepening day by day, as is evident. For scientific societies around the world, that is essential as it contributes to the scientific findings in this field. The findings of our research can provide valuable insights for future studies and serve as guidance for researchers and professionals. For instance, future research is expected to focus more on social media, given the significant impact it has on human life.

However, it is important to acknowledge certain limitations in this article. Firstly, the review only includes articles from the Scopus database, potentially overlooking important works from other databases. Therefore, it is recommended to consider

additional sources to gain a more comprehensive perspective on the subject. Secondly, the increasing number of articles published in this field may be attributed to the overall rise in scientific publications across various domains. This trend highlights the growing importance of bibliographic research in different scientific fields.

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ARTICLE

The Concept of the Dark Triad: Effect on Organizational Outcomes and Navigating Strategies

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes the Dark Triad (DT) personality concept and its impact on workplace behavior. All the DT components—Machiavellianism, narcissism, and psychopathy—are analyzed as well as their effects on organizational outcomes. This paper is conceptual, thus proposing a model linking the Dark Triad, organizational outcomes, and strategies for managing these outcomes. Also, it considers the impact of the Dark Triad on organizational outcomes, particularly counterproductive workplace behavior, organizational citizenship behavior, creativity and innovation, and work group/team outcomes and processes. Further, ways to combat the Dark Triad in the workplace are discussed. Finally, strategies that organizations can implement to manage these complex workplace behaviors are provided. The closing section suggests new directions for future research.

KEYWORDS

Dark Triad, personality traits, organizational outcomes, counterproductive workplace behaviors, organizational citizenship behavior, strategies

Introduction

For every organization to grow, they need to create a positive work environment. Not only is a positive atmosphere beneficial for individual employees but also for the organization as a whole. The creation of a positive workplace enhances productivity, innovation, and employee retention (Khan, 2020). In addition, the balance between work and personal life, growth and development is achieved through a supportive culture (O'Donovan & McAuliffe, 2020). Whereas negative work environments are characterized by a toxic culture that fosters blame, backstabbing, and gossip (Ashkanasy & Härtel, 2014). Employees may feel insecure while trust may be lacking among colleagues. A high level of stress is present as a result of unrealistic expectations, lack of resources, and poor management practices in the environment. This can result in burnout and decreased well-being. In addition, personal accomplishments may go unnoticed, leading to underestimation due to lack of support and cooperation among employees. Organizations can establish their own standards about the environment they would like to see in the organization (Cialdini et al., 2021), while the organization's employees create that environment. Taking this into consideration, Erikson (2020) explains in his book that the personalities of some employees are wolves disguised as sheep. In case you are a shepherd, you want to keep an eye on the wolves you come across because they can attack the sheep at any time and take what they need. However, some wolves that dress up as sheep, will masquerade as sheep until they attack as wolves.

Individuals with high level of the Dark Triad can foster a toxic culture. They are known for manipulating others and creating a hostile work environment. These people are characterized by such traits as a lack of empathy and a focus on themselves. This can lead to an atmosphere of distrust and rivalry, negatively affecting communication and teamwork in the workplace. People with these traits use manipulative tactics, such as spreading rumors or sabotaging others to promote their own position. These disturb the team's function and create mistrust between the employees. It will result in a decrease in productivity and cohesion in the organization. The Dark Triad was also shown to have a greater likelihood of unethical behavior. An individual who is high in these traits may be more likely to commit dishonesty and steal (O'Boyle et al., 2012). Moreover, higher turnover rates and the presence of Dark Triad individuals in the workplace can contribute to increased turnover rates. Therefore, negative behaviors and toxic influence can drive away valued employees who seek a healthier and more supportive work environment (LeBreton et al., 2018).

Drawing from Dark Triad (DT) literature, this article attempts to contribute to our understanding of the links between organizational outcomes and strategies to overcome challenges faced by DT in organizations. The model proposes a path that links DT to organizational outcomes particularly, counterproductive workplace behaviors, organizational citizenship behaviors, creativity and innovation, and workgroup/team outcomes and processes to strategies, such as hiring and selection processes, training, etc. The study of DT has several implications for management in organizations and deserves significantly more research attention. For example, the

ability to know about DT and what strategies can help to overcome its challenges in the workplace is a powerful resource.

In what follows, first, the article will discuss more thoroughly the concept of the Dark Triad in the workplace. Then, it will examine the impact on the organizational outcome in the following areas: counterproductive workplace behaviors, organizational citizenship behavior, creativity and innovation, as well as the outcome and process of workgroups and teams. Further, the article aims to explain the work strategies needed to work with Dark Triads to manage them along with their organizational outcomes in the workplace. Finally, a model linking Dark Triad, organizational outcomes, and strategies for managing these outcomes is proposed.

Literature Review

Effective management is a key determinant of an organization's success and productivity. Managers influence the working environment, team relationships, and overall organizational outcomes by acting as a link between employees and senior leadership (Appelbaum et al., 2015). While some managers are excellent at what they do, bringing out the best in their people and creating a pleasant work atmosphere, others may fall short, which can have some negative effects, e.g., disengagement and unhappiness (Jiang et al., 2012). The three components of a leader are qualities, behaviors, and decision-making. It involves the leader's capacity for moral behavior and how the organization and its members view this behavior. For managers, there are three areas where their modesty may be evaluated: their function as role models, their communication of ethical ideals, and their use of a system of rewards. In order to assure adherence to ethical norms, they must effectively convey ethical ideals, encourage ethical behavior, and apply disciplinary measures. Managers encourage and support ethical conduct through their acts, communication, and reward systems, whereas humble leaders' model ethical behavior and beliefs (Trevino et al., 2000).

On the other hand, a bad leader can consciously or unconsciously destroy the organization from the inside and affect the organization as a whole (Cialdini et al., 2021). Bad managers affect the organization's culture and practice unethical behavior. Toxic leadership can cause employees to perform poorly and commitment to the organization to decrease. Research have shown that toxic leaders do not realize their negative impact on employees (Kılıç & Günsel, 2019; Strand, 2021). They might lack effective communication skills, setting unclear expectations and feedback, which would leave their team members feeling confused and frustrated.

The Dark Triad is a trio of negative personality traits: Machiavellianism, narcissism, and psychopathy (Muris et al., 2017). Paulhus and Williams (2002) coined the term "Dark Triad personality" in their original article. The study clarified the issue of personalities that are aversive but fall within the range of normal functioning, although characterized by lack of empathy, egocentrism, and manipulative behaviors. These individuals are often rude, self-centered, and spiteful when interacting with others. The complex and dynamic history of DT and other dark traits prevents a clear and dominant conceptual definition (Schreiber & Marcus, 2020). Recently, there has

been a growing body of literature on the Dark Triad due to increasing interest in the concept (e.g., Furnham et al., 2013). The Dark Triad, while sharing most of the same characteristics, is different from others. Therefore, in the next section, we define Machiavellianism, narcissism, and psychopathy.

Machiavellianism features a person who tends to manipulate others for personal gain. This personality type has universally recognized traits that constitute its core. The traits of Machiavellianism consist of a lack of empathy, emotional reactivity, a strong focus on achieving one's own goals at the expense of others, and an unconventional ethical viewpoint. A negative result of Machiavellianism is that members of this type are likely to retaliate against others and lie to their loved ones to gain what they want (O'Boyle et al., 2012). In the workplace, individuals with high levels of Machiavellianism put their own interests and financial gain above the overall goals of the organization, thereby employing such behaviors as backstabbing, using others as leverage to advance their careers, and even eliminating colleagues for personal gain (LeBreton et al., 2018).

Narcissism personality is defined differently on a variety of theoretical frameworks from areas including clinical psychology, personality psychology, and applied psychology. These models have similarities and shared traits, even if there could be some discrepancies. Most models concur that those who exhibit greater degrees of narcissism frequently exhibit the following characteristics. Narcissistic individuals often have a grandiose sense of self, and they believe that they are superior to others. They also have the tendency to have an excessive need for attention and admiration from others they will seek validation and recognition from anyone they meet. Further, people who are narcissistic may conduct behaviors that are exploitative by taking advantage of others in order to fulfill their needs and objectives. When they conduct this mischievous behavior, they usually demonstrate a lack of empathy and they tend to be less concerned about the feelings and the well-being of others (see Paulhus & Williams, 2002; Wright et al., 2013).

Psychopathy, the last of the Dark Triad, is distinguished by a pronounced lack of empathy, limited emotional expression, and a tendency toward impulsive and destructive behavior. Psychopaths callously disregard the rights and well-being of others, they often lie, manipulate, and even commit crimes without feeling guilty. They manage to use social contacts to their advantage due to their outward charm and ability to imitate any emotions (Vize et al., 2018).

Discussion

Impact of Dark Triad on Organizational Outcomes and the Model Proposed

Dark Triad encompasses the negative personality traits possessed by individuals in the workplace as well as in social circles (Volmer et al., 2016). Machiavellian, narcissistic, and psychopathic individuals tend to affect the way employees relate with one another in the workplace. Personality traits refer to a person's natural inclinations and influence different contexts and therefore determine different behaviors. As the Dark Triad is a negative personality trait, it affects organizations.

The negative outcome of narcissism is that when their egos are threatened, they frequently exhibit violent behavior and frustration, and they are notorious for cheating on their partners (Miller et al., 2010). In the workplace, narcissists create a desire to self-promote and engage in attention behaviors. They will struggle with empathy and they will have a hard time understanding other people's viewpoints, they could put their own needs first while ignoring the emotions of others. It will result in conflict and unsatisfactory collaboration between team members (LeBreton et al., 2018).

Psychopathy is a set of various behavioral, emotional, and interpersonal characteristics that are used to describe psychopathy as a personality disorder. Psychopaths frequently lack empathy, remorse, and conscience as well as engage in manipulative and antisocial behaviors (Miller & Lynam, 2015). People who are psychopathic have trouble comprehending and experiencing other people's feelings, and points of view. They frequently show heartless manners and disregard the feelings of others. Psychopaths often possess charming and charismatic behavior to deceive others into manipulating others. Further, psychopaths tend to engage and impulsive reckless behavior. The behavior they engage in gives them immediate gratification and they have difficulty considering the long-term consequences of their actions. So, they have a lack of remorse and guilt for their harmful action they might not take responsibility for their behavior, and they would justify their action without genuine feelings of regret.

The negative outcome of psychopathy is that they relate to a variety of criminal activity, including murder and sexual assault (Megargee, 2009). Furthermore, psychopaths enter the organization using manipulation strategies in interviews and tests. They use artificial charm to achieve their own goals (Khan et al., 2020). If a psychopathic person occupies a leadership position, they might utilize their cunning to take advantage of subordinates, put personal gain ahead of organizational objectives, and foster a climate of intimidation and terror. As a result of manipulative tendencies, psychopathic can cause a problem in the team function, that they might sabotage collaboration, teamwork, and effective communication which results in creating a toxic workplace environment.

Psychopathy is associated with a lack of obedience behavior and deliberateness (DeShong et al., 2015). Some personality characteristics are more strongly associated with narcissism or psychopathy than others. For instance, narcissists are associated with humility and directness, whereas psychopathy is linked to diligence and deliberateness (Furnham et al., 2013). Moreover, Miller et al. (2010) examine the Big Five personality test on aspects facets of the Dark Triad. The Big Five became the Five-Factor Model (FFM) of personality, a hierarchical model of factors, with facets being narrow traits (see, for example, Baber et al., 2024; Costa & McCrae, 2008; Fanea-Ivanovici et al., 2023). It has been found that when there is a low level of straightforwardness and modesty is highly associated with narcissism. When considering the components of conscientiousness, narcissism is most strongly associated with the desire for success and competence. Further in this paper, based on the given literature review we proposed a model linking the Dark Triad, organizational outcomes, and strategies to manage the outcomes.

The Dark Triad traits of narcissism, Machiavellianism, and psychopathy can have a prominent impact on organizational outcomes. The section below analyzes the impact of the Dark Triad on counterproductive workplace behavior, organizational citizenship behavior, creativity, and innovation, as well as team outcomes and procedures.

Counterproductive Workplace Behaviors

Counterproductive workplace behaviors refer to the actions and behaviors that are displayed by employees to sabotage the goals, functioning, and well-being of the organization (DeShong et al., 2015). These behaviors are typically to withdraw the overall productivity, harmony, and effectiveness of the work environment. The counterproductive workplace behaviors include absenteeism, tardiness, incivility, workplace aggression, gossip and rumor spreading, and deviance. This kind of behavior comprises organizational standards and guidelines. Also, these behaviors can be insensitive and disrespectful towards supervisors and colleagues which may take the form of verbal insults and humiliation towards others. Counterproductive workplace behaviors are intentionally performed actions by individuals to harm and exploit the interests of others or organizations. Behaviors like theft, callous action, sabotage, insult, bullying, and offensive acts indicate varying levels of narcissism, Machiavellianism, and psychopathy. It results in adverse outcomes like reduced work productivity, decreased job satisfaction, toxicity in the work culture, and increased turnover (Cohen, 2016). The presence of a negative work climate adversely impacts the mental and physical health of employees due to a lack of empathy and a sense of accountability (Baka, 2019). Additionally, spreading false information and engaging in workplace gossip can destroy trust. As a result, it can have a serious psychological and emotional impact on the individuals, thus creating a toxic work environment (DeShong et al., 2015). O'Boyle et al. (2012) found the reduction in the quality of job performance when linked to the increase of Machiavellianism and psychopathy. They also found an increase in counterproductive workplace behaviors.

Another study discovered that leaders with psychopathic traits can contribute to organizational deviance and influence negative psychological safety in the workplace. It also found that the effect of the psychopathic leader on the organization's deviance varies according to how much the employees detach themselves from ethical standards (Erkutlu & Chafra, 2019). O'Boyle et al. (2012) used meta-analysis to assess the impact of the Dark Triad personality traits of Machiavellianism, narcissism, and psychopathy on the performance of work and counterproductive workplace behaviors. The researchers used a sample of 245 respondents to extract the connections between Dark Triad characteristics and behaviors. These reports were published between 1951 and 2011. This study found that counterproductive workplace behaviors were linked to increases in all three components of the Dark Triad and also that increases in these components correlated with declines in the quality of work performance.

Organizational Citizenship Behaviors

Organizational citizenship behaviors (OCB) refer to voluntary behaviors and actions that employees work on without being required by their job descriptions but benefit the organizations' efficiency and effectiveness. Organizational citizenship behaviors contribute to the overall effectiveness, productivity, and success of organizations. These behaviors promote cooperation, build a healthy work environment, and improve organizational performance (Szabó et al., 2018, 2021). OCB accounts for acts performed by the workers beyond the job demands for the betterment of the organization, i.e., supporting team members, displaying positive behavior, and volunteering to assist other colleagues. Dark Triad traits are contrasting with it based on their self-centered nature and high disregard towards ethical norms and collective interests. The manipulative and exploitative nature disrespects the cooperation and well-being of others (Szabó et al., 2018). The examination under the Big Five personality trait model investigates aggressive and accusatory actions of low levels of agreeableness and confrontational behavior indicating neuroticism. It damages OCB due to a lack of cooperation, agreeableness, and acceptance toward other colleagues (Webster & Smith, 2019).

Individuals possessing traits of the Dark Triad exaggerate their creativity and innovation skills due to narcissism and Machiavellianism. This high level of confidence makes them inconsiderate and unacknowledged of the skills and innovation possessed by other members of the staff. Therefore, manipulating the creative and artistic efficacy of others (LeBreton et al., 2018). Due to self-grandiosity narcissistic managers tend to disrespect or devalue the instrumental actions meant for personal gain. Their propensity for manipulation and strategic thinking could cause them to operate in ways that serve their personal interests rather than the interests of the company (Schyns et al., 2022).

Creativity and Innovation

Studies have found that workplace bullying by abusive supervisors inhibits employee creativity and reduces organizational productivity and innovation (see, for example, Khan et al., 2020). Psychopaths engage in antisocial behaviors which leads to being less productive in engaging in creative behaviors (Khan et al., 2020). Moreover, Steinert et al. (2017) claim that psychopath is unwilling to share their success with others because of their antisocial behaviors and are considered less creative. Individuals with the psychopathic character have the tendency of impulsive and lack self-control which may undermine creative cognitive needs by limiting attention and encouraging eagerness to achieve (Khan et al., 2020).

Narcissism was linked to self-perceived creativity and confidence in one ability. Studies showed that narcissistic individuals may possess a strong belief in their own creative ideas, which can drive them to take risks to pursue their innovative ideas (Jonason et al., 2012). Narcissistic individuals prioritize their own self-interests and seek recognition rather than generate new ideas. They might steal the ideas and work on them. Their need for validation may lead to an unwillingness to collaborate with others as a result which will limit the potential for collaborative creativity and innovation.

However, Machiavellianism prioritizes personal gain over collective creativity and innovation they are more engaged in sabotaging other ideas or manipulating the situation to maintain control to further their own interest which can delay creative processes (Jonason et al., 2012) positive qualities like leadership potential, creativity, and devotion to their work (Zettler et al., 2011).

Workgroup and Team Outcome and Process

Most members of the Dark Triad are self-centered with manipulative behaviors that can lead to decreased trust, increased conflict, and create dysfunctional team dynamics. Dark Triad individuals are disinclined to contribute to teamwork and share information. They prioritize their subordinates' personal innovative achievements, which leads to unevenness, unfairness, and unjust behavior.

The comprehensive assessment indicates lower efforts for a collaborative environment due to the presence of a Dark Triad. The toxic dynamics undesirably influence the team contributions and also devalue the diversity present within the teams (D'Souza & de Lima, 2015). Organizational success is dependent on cohesion and a shared sense of purpose that remains unachievable due to the presence of a Dark Triad that brings disengagement among members. Due to Machiavellian traits of character, employees' reputations are sabotaged and their ideas are rejected. Deceptive tactics are practiced to achieve personal goals while turning a blind eye to recognizing the values of others (Goncalo et al., 2010). All of these discourage creativity, sharing of ideas, and exploration of diverse ideas and perspectives. Further, considering the positive side, some studies claim that it is important to consider the positive parts of the Dark Triad qualities as well. In fact, they are frequently linked to specific leadership traits and markers of professional success, such as high job satisfaction, quick promotion, and high remuneration (AL-Abrow et al., 2020; Volmer et al., 2016). These characteristics, as well as the conception, dissemination, and application of innovative concepts, have been connected to creativity. The components of the Dark Triad can be advantageous even when viewed separately. For instance, narcissism, which is distinguished by bravery, originality, a love of freedom, and a desire to challenge expectations, is closely related to emerging leaders (AL-Abrow et al., 2020). In the workplace, narcissistic people can also be highly creative and successful at persuading others. Similarly, it has been discovered that charisma and presentation are positively correlated with psychopathy (Babiak et al., 2010). High degrees of workplace dedication have been linked to Machiavellianism. To put it simply, the Dark Triad characteristics can have both good and bad implications.

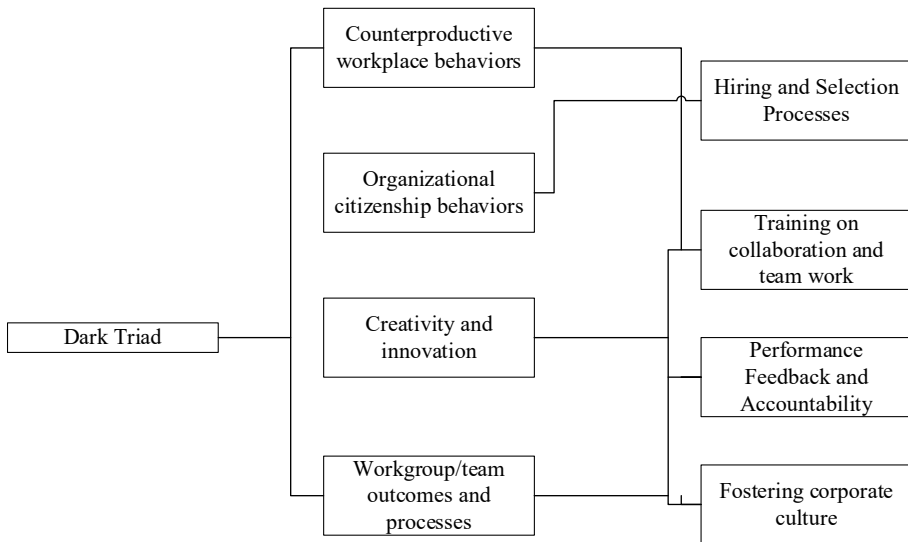
For example, they might have goals over collective objectives. Moreover, when it comes to communication narcissists would like to dominate the talks and demand attention. Psychopaths would not understand people's viewpoints and social because of the lack of empathy. LeBreton et al. (2018) observed that if many team members are psychopathic with high aggression, poor team performance, lower commitment, and weaker team cohesion will be manifested. Psychopaths being devoid of the feeling of connectivity, support, and collaborative engagement enjoy assertiveness and dominance. This made members feel organizational culture is toxic where trust

and respect are not valued and highlighted the need to address positive and negative emotions (Tims & Parker, 2020). However, Machiavellians would take advantage of communication to serve their needs (Schyns et al., 2019).

Navigating Strategies to Overcome Dark Triad

Every organization has employees with different personalities, values, and preferences which creates deep-level diversity in the workplace (Phillips & Loyd, 2006). Among traits, there are negative traits (Dark Triads) that might have a negative impact on organizational performance and outcomes. Organizations have to find ways of dealing with these personalities within the workplace (Figure 1). In doing so, organizations need to find ways to value and respect individual differences (Manning, 2017).

Figure 1
Proposed Model Linking Dark Triad, Organizational Outcomes, and Strategies to Manage the Outcomes



Note. Source: authors.

Hiring and Selection Process. It requires the implementation of rigorous screening methods that take into account both technical skills and psychological attributes. Validated personality tests or scheduled interviews should be used to identify candidates with a significant number of Dark Triad traits to ensure that such individuals are not selected or appointed to positions where their behavior could negatively impact the business (Morgeson et al., 2007). Proper selection processes can encourage organizations to have employees with high OCB, which enhances the productivity of the organizations and to assist in preventing Dark Triad practices and building a culture of justice and integrity (Boddy et al., 2015). For an organization

to grow, it must implement clear organizational values and ethical standards. The organization will communicate its ethics and standards of behavior that everyone must follow. The standard will encourage the work culture to value honesty, integrity, teamwork, and empathy. By emphasizing these values, the organizations will provide a foundation for:

Leadership Development. Initiatives that emphasize moral leadership, emotional intelligence, and empathy should be provided. Such initiatives can assist leaders in recognizing and managing the negative components of the Dark Triad qualities, hence promoting a healthy and ethical business culture (Furnham & Treglown, 2021). In contrast, in a study examining how and why Dark Triad personality traits are related to entrepreneurial initiation and outcomes, narcissism was found to be positively related to entrepreneurial intentions and entrepreneurial outcomes, while psychopathy was positively related to entrepreneurial intentions and negatively related to entrepreneurial outcomes (Brownell et al., 2021). This can be seen as a framework for identifying what motivates and elicits the leadership of certain entrepreneurial capabilities.

Training on Collaboration and Teamwork. Training programs should be provided that emphasize the value of cooperation, teamwork, and productive communication. Such initiatives can help employees improve their ability to collaborate, share information, and settle disputes, therefore minimizing the detrimental impacts of the Dark Triad qualities on group dynamics as well as productivity (Treadway et al., 2013). Webster and Smith (2019) argue that Dark Triad behaviors can be minimized by providing awareness programs and trainings with assessments of behaviors, personality types, and work culture dynamics. To increase the effectiveness of these trainings, conducting pre and post trainings and awareness assessments can help management to examine the success rate of these trainings and the level of knowledge about the Dark Triad among employees. The organization should carry out trainings for individual employees to stimulate their personal development and self-reflection. In addition, managerial trainings should be held to develop ethical leadership. Human resources may offer training courses to increase staff comprehension of the Dark Triad qualities, their potential repercussions, and mitigation techniques. Workshops on ethical conduct, emotional intelligence, dispute resolution, and cultivating great work relationships can be a part of this. Creativity and innovation can also be enhanced by proper training and collaboration.

Performance Feedback and Accountability. It is necessary to create a feedback and achievement evaluation system that holds people accountable for their behavior and actions. In addition, unambiguous requirements, as well as linking incentives to moral behavior and good teamwork can bring good results. Most Dark Triads affect the psychological safety of the workplace, leading to a toxic work environment that can be full of conflicts and an inability to express an opinion. As a result, this can produce a culture with low morale, high turnover, and fear (O'Donovan & McAuliffe, 2020). Therefore, HR should constantly monitor the workplace environment and take appropriate action to resolve disputes, unethical behavior, or any other bad effects brought on by the Dark Triad features. Also, organizations should provide support for the victims of abuse and make the right decision to ensure justice. Further, they can

offer employee assistance programs, which offer counseling and support for workers who may be adversely affected by people who exhibit Dark Triad qualities, accessible through Human Resources. These programs can assist staff members in navigating challenging circumstances and overcoming obstacles they might encounter at work. The HR should implement policies and procedures to discourage unethical behavior in the workplace. They should supervise the manager and the subordinates, by carefully monitoring the supervised behavior interaction with their subordinates. When people feel that they are monitored they will focus on exhibiting and showing the right behaviors at work. Evaluations of ethical conduct, cooperation, and collaboration can be incorporated by human resources into performance evaluations. Human resources may encourage desirable behaviors and discourage those linked to the Dark Triad qualities by linking performance reviews to desired behaviors.

Fostering a Corporate Culture That Promotes Integrity, Openness, and Moral Conduct. This may be accomplished by developing a code of conduct, building strong leadership, and enacting rules and processes that prohibit unethical activity. A culture of confidence and transparency can help mitigate the harmful effects of the Dark Triad features (Mayer et al., 2009). Encourage collaboration and team-building activities to promote healthy positive relationships and teamwork. By creating opportunities for cooperation, organizations can reduce the likelihood of individualistic and manipulative behaviors. The organization must foster an open policy approach to encourage reporting for individuals to express concern about problematic behaviors in a safe and confidential atmosphere that is both healthy and productive may be maintained with this proactive approach which can contribute to healthy work and team processes and outcomes.

Conclusion

The Dark Triad characteristics of narcissism, Machiavellianism, and psychopathy present challenges and problems in the workplace. Although these characteristics are frequently linked to undesirable results including unproductive behavior, unethical behavior, and skewed team dynamics, there may also be possible benefits that need to be taken into consideration. Human resource departments are crucial to efficiently managing the Dark Triad qualities. It is possible to lessen the negative effects and promote a positive organizational culture by using strategies like screening and selection procedures, training and development programs, the establishment of ethical policies and conduct codes, leadership development initiatives, performance management systems, and creating a supportive workplace. HR must monitor the workplace, step in when required, and help any workers who may be impacted by those who exhibit Dark Triad qualities. By doing this, businesses may foster an atmosphere that promotes moral conduct, teamwork, and worker well-being. It is critical to find a balance between acknowledging the possible benefits and dealing with disadvantages when negotiating the complexity of the Dark Triad qualities. Organizations may encourage a healthy work environment, maximize their personnel, and achieve

sustained success by comprehending and skillfully managing these attributes. In future research, the proposed model can be tested empirically, even exploring links between each variable individually can be an interesting avenue of future research. Finding links between DT and strategies to overcome its challenges spanning a wider range can be an opportunity for future research. Indeed, future research may unearth other, possibly more powerful variables. We hope that these findings will open up new avenues for research and lead to a broadening and deepening of our understanding and management of the Dark Triad.

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ARTICLE

Environmental Imaginaries of the Arctic in the 21st Century Travel Writing

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ABSTRACT

Contemporary travel accounts engage with the ecocritical agenda, examining the global environmental crisis caused by human actions. In contrast to earlier narratives that presented the Arctic as a territory to be “claimed,” today’s travelers predominantly view it as a territory to be preserved. Amid the dialectic of destruction and preservation, new environmental imaginaries emphasize the interconnectedness of nature and human history, employing literary techniques to convey this interdependence. William E. Glassley in his book *A Wilder Time: Notes From a Geologist at the Edge of the Greenland Ice* (2018) adopts a “trans-scalar” perspective for narrating his Arctic journeys, seamlessly shifting between microscopic and macroscopic views of the planet, its elements and inhabitants. Glassley’s imaginary of the Arctic as an “indivisible whole” draws from geological and biological sciences. As a geologist, he underscores the unity of Earth’s substances, highlighting the entanglement of geo- and lifecycles. The Arctic, devoid of history during travelers’ presence, reveals its story through geological analysis of collected specimens. Ice, as an archive of planetary history, surpasses human records. Travel literature thus contributes to crafting an environmental imaginary rooted in substantial temporal interconnectedness, addressing the Anthropocene’s challenges.

KEYWORDS

travel writing, Arctic imaginaries, environmental imaginaries, Anthropocene

Received 25 September 2023

Accepted 6 December 2023

Published online 27 December 2023

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Introduction

In 2020, the polar ice caps receded second worst after the beginning of the regular measurements (Global warming, 2020). Climatologists have little doubt that these processes are the consequences of human activities and that many of these effects, such as more frequent droughts, typhoons, fires, and the increasing water acidity, bode ill for the humankind's habitation on the planet. The geological agency or the capacity to affect changes of the planetary scale that the humankind has recently acquired led to the damage to the food chains and to the mass extinction of species, which predated humankind by millennia. As Dipesh Chakrabarty (2009) argues in his seminal *The Climate of History: Four Theses*, "anthropogenic explanations of climate change spell the collapse of the age-old humanist distinction between natural history and human history" (p. 201). In literary studies, the ecocritical approach stems from the recognition that "the environmental crisis involves a crisis of the imagination" and that some alternatives to organizing our human and natural history are needed for humanity to survive imminent environmental transformation (Buell, 1995, p. 2).

Reflecting on the challenges of climate change one cannot disregard the fact that trust in the potential of politics to offer any solutions is waning. In their analysis of the recent political attempts to set a joint global policy on emissions reduction, Mota and Wagner (2019) show to what extent present arrangements reproduce former power asymmetries. As the authors argue, "societies that had been confined to the 'not yet' during colonization and the hegemony of modernization discourse are now condemned to a 'never.' If so, in this respect, historical injustice could no longer be remedied in the future" (Mota & Wagner, 2019, p. 14). Whichever bargain might be struck by the politicians, past histories make any today's political solutions ultimately unjust to one or the other member of the global community. Ironically, trust in the entrepreneurial genius of capitalism, which will find technological solutions and through private initiative will save the day, may be shared only in the Global North. The Global South will have to pay for the ingenuity. Capitalism commodifies all initiatives: "fair trade", "organic food" and "eco-" real estate are sold to the wealthy, while eco-activism is marketed through the profiteering media and eco-"merch." Ecotourism is "promoted as a form of travel that brings only benefits to the host societies, because ecotourists are thought to be culturally aware 'ethical travelers' who are keen to reduce negative impacts on the environment" (Duffy, 2016, p. ix). But in Kenya, for example, tens of thousands of Maasai people have been dispossessed of their homes through the allocation of game reserves for tourists and others are "compelled to commoditize their local culture for tourist consumption" (Duffy, 2002, p. 2). The logic of capitalism and the progress of modernity cannot be undone. However, the study of alternative imaginaries might give us an opportunity to reshape current conceptual asymmetries in our relation to our environment.

Chakrabarty (2009) lamented that "geological time and the chronology of human histories remained unrelated" and that this gap is a fatal flaw in our theoretical reasoning about and practical approach to human relation to nature (p. 208). It is, however, utterly untrue with respect to a vast array of narratives outside the academic

domain and unfair with respect to recent studies of what might be called “elemental imaginaries” such as *What is Water? The History of a Modern Abstraction* (2010) by Jamie Linton who distinguishes various ways of imagining water: in hydro-engineering, in economic geography, etc.

Linton (2010) argues that certain “ways of imagining, representing, and materializing water might be considered hegemonic when alternative kinds of water are made out to be less real or less legitimate, or when they become so overshadowed that they are made invisible” (p. 11). The practices of modern science, industrial modernization, and state-building were premised on the idea of human emancipation through the domination of nature, but, Linton shows, perception of water depended on the ability to “dominate.” Consequently, advances in hydro-engineering and state economic planning resulted in “modern water ... that ... is not complicated by ecological, cultural, or social factors” (Linton, 2010, p. 8). Water as an abstract calculable resource for energy supply, water supply, and irrigation was

a remarkable accomplishment, one that can be traced through the history of relations between water and people, including the myriad uses to which water has been put, the attachment of various meanings to water, the social differences and conflicts that have been mediated by water, and the ways that water has been made known to (and by) philosophers and scientists. (Linton, 2010, p. 8)

Thus, in Linton’s account, water is “de-naturalised”; in the plurality of its cultural significations, water’s interconnectedness with human history is recovered.

Recent transdisciplinary approaches to elemental imaginaries¹ advance environmental cultural history that aims at “reading not just the dependence of human society on geography and climate, but the ways in which human identities are intimately and creatively interdependent with natural forces that are also key agents of transformation” (Costlow & Rosenholm, 2017, p. 2).

Travel writing, to take further example, provides a diverse and rich repository of narratives, in which our relations to nature are spelled out in a more nuanced and interdependent way. The Arctic’s exceptional position as the “last terra incognita on Earth” (Laruelle, 2014) feeds the imagination of fiction and non-fiction writers, but unlike elemental imaginaries, imaginaries of the Arctic have to bind all the elements together.

Imaginaries of the Arctic in Travel Literature

There have been several major shifts in the way the Arctic was imagined: starting from the legendary Ultima Thule, “a place lying between the worlds of gods and men” (Kavenna, 2005), to “an empty space to which outsiders are entitled” (Hanrahan, 2017), a frontier, wilderness, wasteland, a “spot on the world’s fringes,” which made a perfect

¹ See, for example, *Arctic Ice in Arctic Archives: Ice, Memory and Entropy* (Frank & Jakobsen, 2019) or *Meanings and Values of Water in Russian Culture* (Costlow & Rosenholm, 2017).

background for hunting and whaling stories (Jonsson, 2016) where a “white Englishman in a white space” (Hill, 2008) struggled with the elements. The representations of the Arctic were constructed in contrast with the Orient, on the one hand, and the “dark continents”, on the other, the former being but an empty, unpeopled and “pure” space or, as Jen Hill puts it, “a blank space on which to map white deeds” (Hill, 2008, p. 9). Traditional “Arctic Imaginary removed the people and reduced the place to a passive space upon which the white, male hero could act upon” (Brode-Roger, 2021, p. 507). There is also considerable ambiguity regarding the question of what territories the Arctic exactly encompasses, depending on the country and the region (for more on this, see Steinberg et al., 2015).

The twentieth century gave rise to new, post-colonial visions of the Arctic, although there is a view that the prevailing way of imagining the Arctic even today remains colonial (Jonsson, 2016). An important development was that more regard started to be given to the indigenous perspective that is the vision of the Arctic as a homeland. Interestingly, as Barry Scott Zellen (2009) argues, due to the impacts of global warming and in particular the shrinking Arctic Sea ice, the old view of the Arctic as “cold and forbidding” is now gradually giving way to that of “a greening Arctic,” “industrial Arctic,” and “a new and accessible Arctic.”

Contemporary travel literature deploys complex narrative constructions, reinterpreting some of the old tropes (e.g., the Arctic as an empty, pure, and ever-silent no-man’s land) and introducing new ones (e.g., from the Arctic as a frozen cornucopia of exploitable resources to the Arctic as the last refuge from the corruption of modernity). The Arctic is “a prominent scene of identity negotiations” (Gremaud, 2017, p. 98), “an arena of connections” (Steinberg et al., 2015, p. 7) and conflicting discourses. In fact, there have been identified several significant kinds of imaginaries of the Arctic co-existing in the public sphere such as “a resource frontier ... for states, corporations, and individuals”; “terra nullius, an unclaimed but potentially claimable space”; “a unique space of new and different opportunities”; indigenous imaginaries; and environmentalist imaginaries (Steinberg et al., 2015). The Arctic has also come to play a crucial role in the global geo-political and environmental agenda. As a popular quote from travel writer Sara Wheeler goes, it has become “the lead player in the drama of climate change”, with polar bears as its “poster boys” (Wheeler, 2010, Chapter 1).

Although the history of polar exploration occupies a significant place in recent travelogues, the authors, while giving their due to the explorers such as Dezhnev, Bering, and Franklin at the same time admit the meaninglessness of much of the polar discovery, which Wheeler aptly describes as “a prolonged orgy of shoe-eating and death” (Wheeler, 2010, Chapter 8) and Bill Streever as “one long accident report mixed with one long obituary” (Streever, 2009, pp. 3–28). Norwegian travel writer Erika Fatland (2020) ironically observes, “the atlas is full of the surnames of courageous European men who set sail in small, unsafe vessels to discover what had already been discovered long ago” (Chapter 1). On the other hand, the dangers and hardships of polar travels in the past are contrasted with the ease it can be done nowadays:

These days, if you have the money, you can go on a cruise to the North Pole, eat caviar, drink champagne and take selfies in the frozen wilderness before getting back on the icebreaker and treating yourself to a drink at the bar to celebrate your accomplishment. (Fatland, 2020, Chapter 1)

The inadequacy of Western travelers' language, its inability to communicate the scale, dimensions, and, above all, the totality of the Arctic world renders this world profoundly unintelligible: "Out there was another world that perhaps required another language" (Keenan, 2004, Chapter 13). Brian Keenan, in his account of the travel across Alaska, compares the Arctic to a haiku to emphasize its ability to defy cognition: its essence can only be grasped in a kind of spiritual epiphany: "a colossal haiku, obscure yet profoundly coherent ... transcendent with a kind of power that elevates all of life" (Keenan, 2004, Chapter 24). The usual ways of comprehending the natural world (e.g., maps) are shown as lacking or inadequate. Rationalized human divisions and constructs are opposed to the boundlessness and fluidity of the natural world:

Lines on maps suggest boundaries, and boundaries shape expectations and provide limits; they simplify and categorize, making it easier to react without thought. The natural world, though, is flow and process, not limits. What we place on a map is an approximation, at best, a way of saying that things here differ from things over there. If we were truly to understand the place we wandered through, sampling and measuring and recording, we needed to respect the implication that boundaries are simply another form of illusion. (Glassley, 2018, Impressions I: Mirage)

The only way to gain at least some semblance of understanding is to get immersed in this landscape ("boundaries ... dissolve into opportunities" [Glassley, 2018, Introduction]), discover it on its own terms, experience it, and sense it rather than try to observe it from the outside or rationally analyze it. Any attempts to dissect nature following the "human, city-bound logic" (Keenan, 2004) are rendered futile by the Arctic's incessant variability and changeability.

Environmental Imaginary of Interconnectedness

Buell (1995) introduces the notion of environmental imagination to highlight the perceptual shift in regard with nature in contemporary literature. On the one hand, the natural world features as a presence rather than as a frame in the narratives Buell studied. On the other hand, this perceptual shift reflects various entanglements of the human and natural worlds such as ethical commitment to environment, historicity of non-human realm, and, in fact, shared stories of human and non-human beings (Buell, 1995). We prefer the more commonly accepted concept of the "imaginary" to the term "imagination." We will further focus primarily on William E. Glassley's travelogue *A Wilder Time: Notes From a Geologist at the Edge of the*

Greenland Ice (2018), which challenges the “hegemonic” imaginaries of the Arctic as either a space to conquer or an ecosystem to protect.

While giving due regard to both of these imaginaries, exploitation and protection, Glassley builds his own imaginary of the Arctic. Firstly, Glassley re-weaves temporal and spatial dimensions in our perception of the environment by underlining the unity of substance behind transmutations—of liquid and solid aggregate states—of ice and water, rock and lava in the Arctic. Secondly, Glassley introduces a “trans-scalar” perspective by highlighting the entanglement of geocycles and lifecycles stretching from the microlevel to planetary level.

In the way characteristic of the contemporary genre of travel writing, Glassley fuses different literary forms: travel account, fieldwork report, autobiographical ruminations, philosophical reflection, and poetic intervention. In contrast to most narratives about the Arctic, however, Glassley succeeds in producing a trans-scalar perspective which enables the readers to “move cognitively across spatial and temporal scales: for instance, from small to large, from the individual to the collective, and from the present to the future” (Slovic, 2017, p. 11). Analyzing modern abstractions of water, Linton (2010) highlights that our “knowing of water” hinges on fixations “like the identity of water as a resource for producing hydroelectricity” (p. 13). These fixations are the products of both material practices, social relations, discursive formations, and representations. The perceptual shifts between different scales of space and time that are instrumental in Glassley’s “trans-scalar thinking” are possible because of his perspective of a geologist who collects samples of minerals. Mineral samples are indicators of geological layers and periods, of other times and places. Different stories of cosmic spaces and past eras are then rewoven into the narrative of discovery and human history.

Arctic’s Greenland, in Glassley’s account, often features “as an object of southern gaze” (Jørgensen & Langum, 2018, p. 6). At the beginning of his travel, Glassley describes how hot water boiling in the pot stirs his memories of the civilized world—coffeeshops in Copenhagen—and contrasts its “normalcy” with the exceptionality of the Arctic’s “wilderness.” He then, however, goes on to point out the blurring of the boundaries between his former perception of normalcy and the new perception of normalcy of living in the Arctic. This experience is described as the dissolution of the boundaries “between what is external and what is internal to the soul”: “Now, isolated from the rest of the world, removed from everything a ‘normal’ day would bring, the meaning of normal became ambiguous” (Glassley, 2018, Impressions I: Silence); “the noise of cities receded into dim memories, and self became a part of the landscape” (Glassley, 2018, Preface).

Dolly Jørgensen and Virginia Langum (2018) emphasize that the relativity of the North and the South and the relative boundary between them do not hinder the clustering of notions, in which the North is defined as remote, cold, uncivilized, and wild.² The trope of wilderness, which has long dominated the discourse on the

² “For Defoe, the north of Yorkshire was a wild but fruitful landscape; Scotland as north in contrast was a barren and sparse wilderness. Authors mapped these geographies onto people so that northern English were described as happy in spite of strange and quaint customs, whereas Scots were depicted as poor, lazy, and spiritually deficient” (Jørgensen & Langum, 2018, p. 8).

Nordic regions (Körber et al., 2017, p. 11), is among the many tropes that Glassley reproduces and interprets. The trope of wilderness is briefly summed up by William Cronon as “a place of freedom in which we can recover the true selves we have lost to the corrupting influences of our artificial lives”, “the ultimate landscape of authenticity” (Cronon, 1995, p. 11). In travel literature, as was mentioned, the Arctic is frequently described as an empty and alien territory: for example, Keenan writes about the Alaskan wilderness as “just another desert, and like the desert it is an environment of extremes. In substance and in form it is alien and austere, inimical to human presence” (Keenan, 2004, Chapter 2). For Glassley, the Arctic landscape

was a panorama that defied comprehension. There was nothing familiar there. The absence of trees, of houses or streets, of cars or people, the lack of movement of any kind—all contributed to a sense that I was walking alone in an alien world, not of Earth, but of some planet where forces and processes played out their dramas according to different rules. (Glassley, 2018, Impressions I: Silence)

The encounter of the opposites is epitomized in the “burning cold” of the narrator’s direct, sensory contact with the cold waters:

Taking a deep breath, I quickly undressed and plunged in. To say that it took my breath away is an understatement—the gasp that escaped my lips was probably heard back at camp. A sharp, stinging wave of intensely burning cold exploded from every inch of skin as I shuddered and writhed. (Glassley, 2018, Impressions II: Ptarmigan)

Glassley (2018) delves into the etymology of the word *wilderness* (“the place where only wild animals live” in the Old English), pointing out that in its original meaning, this word signifies “the place where humans may be prey” (Preface), which is also evocative of the experience described by Val Plumwood in her seminal essay *Human Vulnerability and the Experience of Being Prey* (1995). The wilderness in Glassley’s narrative challenges what Plumwood refers to as the “dualistic vision of human mastery in which we humans manipulate nature from the outside, as predators but never prey” and the human “illusion of invulnerability” (Plumwood, 1995). At the same time, Glassley (2018) adds, wilderness is “an ambience for wandering humanity from the time of our origins” (Preface), the original context of human existence. The arrival of the Anthropocene, therefore, signifies the imminent “retreat” and disappearance of wilderness and thus the loss of “the primordial heart of what we conceive of as souls,” “a version of home,” “the only reference point we have for the significance of mind in the universe” (Glassley, 2018, Preface). In the beginning of Glassley’s narrative, the Arctic engenders the recognition of the gap between the natural and human worlds:

Time fractures, languishing in some backwater of perception. Viewing ice, somnambulant fjord waters, rocky defiles, and tundra plains becomes a repeated experience of confronting the incomprehensible, each thing expressing a subtle essence of existence that can be known only by being present. The gulf that exists between the prejudiced expectations derived from urban life and the bedrock purity of that wild landscape is nearly unbridgeable. (Glassley, 2018, Preface)

But there is an underlying unity in the Arctic because the Arctic itself is water in its different aggregate states, fresh and salt waters,³ incising the coastlines and bedrocks, liquid cold waters, waters solidified in ice and frozen in snow: “Greenland ... is a place defined by water. As one becomes sensitive to that reality, unexpected perspectives present themselves. The extent to which water and rock are consanguineous must be addressed” (Glassley, 2018, Impressions II: Clear Water). In Glassley’s narrative, the Arctic presents itself as the eternal dialectic of solid and liquid, sky and sea, composition and decomposition. And water in its various states is at the core of this dialectic:

Water encourages unities and pairings; it facilitates the necessity of elements to become molecules, and molecules to form the most complex construct the moment might allow. But water, too, is the catalyst for decay and dissolution. Water decomposes rock just as surely as it encourages reconstruction. It is that process of relentless reconstruction that made us. (Glassley, 2018, Impressions II)

A geologist’s perspective that Glassley chooses for his narrative allows him to step beyond the “south-centric” and binary perception of the Arctic because his trans-scalar description showcases the underlying similarity of water, ice, and rock. This similarity is based on two fundamental characteristics: *transmutability* of aggregate states and *interconnectedness* in the cycles of natural history.

The first—transmutability—refers to the laws of thermodynamics: hot temperatures make everything liquid; cold temperatures freeze and crystallize. The deeper we go inside the planet, the more liquid its rock will be: “That rock can flow always astonishes, but revealed in those outcrops are patterns that imagination could never conjure, proving beyond doubt that the continental heart is barely less fluid than water” (Glassley, 2018, Preface). The cold, in contrast, consolidates substances, it fixates movements and flows. Therefore, Glassley likens the cold waters of the Arctic

³ “The bay was the outlet of a small stream that ran behind our camp. Water babbled over stones and wended through grassy stretches, soaking up what warmth it could from the sun and land surface. The water of the bay was icy cold. When the stream entered the sea, it floated as a freshwater tongue on the cool density of salt water. The result was a layer of fresh water several inches deep flowing across the bay on the back of the sea. The interface between the fresh water and the salt water was a boundary of contrasting densities, mixing in small gyres and tiny internal waves. The difference in temperatures and compositions of the fluid masses bent the light reflected from the bottom, distorting the patterns, twisting the colours” (Glassley, 2018, Impressions II: Clear Water).

to the glass. Cold waters are “glistening,” “translucent,” “frigid,” “crystalline,” and “mirror-like”: “the water like glass under an overcast sky” (Glassley, 2018, Impressions I: Silence). The mirror glass of cold waters reflects the northern skies. Reciprocal reflections of waters and skies create a labyrinth of mirrors where an unaccustomed traveler can easily slide into a daydreaming and fall prey to mirages. These seeming motionlessness and solidity, however, are contrasted with the fluidity of the underwater world, “a world of shimmering kinematic magic”: “everything there—the seaweed-encrusted stones, fish, shellfish, and cobbled seafloor—shimmered and flowed, causing a feeling of vertigo”; “a collection of hundreds [small comb jellies], moving in a slow ballet with the gentle current” (Glassley, 2018, Impressions II: Clear water).

Glassley’s Arctic is not monotonous, desolate or barren but diverse and brimming with life, both on land and in water. Among other things, he describes the “soft, undulating blanket of vegetation” (Glassley, 2018, Impressions I: Falcon), “pillowed banks of deep green mosses,” “moths, spiders and huge bumblebees” (Glassley, 2018, Impressions I: Silence), Arctic wrens protecting their nests, “thousands of sea urchins” (Glassley, 2018, Impressions II: Clear Water). While in popular imagination the Arctic is often associated with winter and snow and thus presents itself as chillingly white and frozen (Chartier, 2018; Mrozewicz, 2020), Glassley’s travelogue depicts the place as abundant in color:

Farther down the fjord, a thick horizontal blade of sharp turquoise blue cut across the land, as though a giant painter had saturated a brush and slashed the ground with it. The blue was brilliant and intense, a pure distillation of colour. It seemed to stretch hundreds of feet into the air and was painted across the land for miles. Within that absolutely horizontal turquoise stripe floated vertical columns of white, grey, tan, and green, looking for all the world like skyscrapers in a city mile away—a shimmering blue Oz resting on the frigid waters of the fjord. (Glassley, 2018, Impressions I: Mirage)

Another attribute of the Arctic which is commonly mentioned in travel writing is *the absence of sound* and Glassley’s account is no exception in this respect:

The gentlest breeze brushed my face, but there was nothing to hear. The distant rivers flowed, their shimmering surfaces vaguely vibrating with motion, but no sound emanated from them. I turned in every direction, listening for anything, but there was nothing. (Glassley, 2018, Impressions I: Silence)

As an epigraph to her travelogue about the Arctic, Sara Wheeler chose a quote from Fridtjof Nansen describing the “endless silence” of the polar regions and she herself mentions the silence that “hung heavily,” “unmoving silence,” and “crisp Arctic silence” (Wheeler, 2010). These descriptions are echoed in Keenan’s account: “Time, it seemed, had stood still. I could cope with the everlasting light but the silence was something different. Somehow it seemed to exaggerate the bigness of the place” (Keenan, 2004, Chapter 2). The silence of the Arctic may be perceived as oppressive

and disturbing by some but for Glassley, it reflects “the beauty of the wild world ... empty of affection” (Glassley, 2018, Impressions I: Silence). This magic territory where sky, ice, waters, and rock merge in serene silence and mingle in unearthly colors of the mirage, inspires a nearly ecstatic awe of the sublime:

For long moments, I lived in a fantasy that no other person existed, that the lone human soul in all the world stood on that ridge, mesmerized by the bewildering wildness of everything surrounding him. ... it was a quiet longing for things humanity has no words for, but with which wilderness settings overflow. (Glassley, 2018, Impressions I: Silence)

The travel narratives, marveling at the Arctic landscapes, “lands and seas governed by forces that could not be grasped by the human mind,” tend to reproduce the old trope of the Arctic as a “*theatre of the sublime*” (Brazzelli, 2014). Quite in line with the traditional tropes of the sublime in travel literature, Glassley’s experience of the incomprehensible brings about the revelation of the unity of the world:

For the first time in my life, I felt as though I understood, to the extent I was capable, how utterly incomprehensible that world was for me. Nothing existed separate from any other part of the whole, and the whole was the entirety of the universe, from its very beginning. And there, in the quiet of that Arctic valley, one manifestation of that unity resided. (Glassley, 2018, Impressions I: *Cladonia Rangiferina*)

This sensation of the world’s unity goes hand in hand with the revelation of timelessness. Subjective human time perceptions and conventional divisions no longer apply in this place:

Time did not exist. The only difference between past and future is the interceding mind, which contemplates and describes and details differences, identifying species, speaking as though they are fixed in time and separate, when, in fact, they are incessantly, furiously changing—temporary, creative, individually unique and yet part of an indivisible whole. (Glassley, 2018, Impressions I: *Cladonia Rangiferina*)

This experience of the universal whole and of timelessness, which is called ecstatic experience in religious idiom, culminates in the renewed sense of harmony and beauty of the Arctic landscape:

And yet, in that great loneliness, the world was saturated by the beautiful. What surrounded me was stunning in its newness and harmony. Colour, texture, form, and pattern flowed from one expression to another without incongruity. There was nothing familiar except the grossest of concepts (rock, water, air, cold). (Glassley, 2018, Impressions I: *Cladonia Rangiferina*)

Unlike mystical and poetic epiphanies of universal unity, however, Glassley's "indivisible whole" is informed by geological and biological sciences. The Arctic's silence and immobility in his narrative turn out to be not something that this land is intrinsically lacking but an indication of what the humans are lacking: their own inability to hear the sound of the Arctic or to see its unending flow of life. Silence of the Arctic's "Crystal Palace" turns out to be, in fact, the noise of time, only of an unimaginably long time:

The silence of wilderness is not just the absence of sound. It is a storm of voices we cannot hear because we lack the organs to hear them. In the vastness of that space rests the clatter of unfulfilled possibilities, living and not, animate and still—the echo of the dinosaurs, the mumbling of trilobites, the whoosh of pterodactyls on the wing. (Glassley, 2018, Impressions III: Tide)

Things immovable and solid, if seen from the geological temporal scale, become fluid processes, they become water whose molecules are captured in the crystals:⁴

The bedrock, backbone to the landscape, shapes impressions and guides the winds. Tidal flow is constrained by it; the ice rests on it. It is impenetrable. We break off samples with ringing hammers and nothing flows out, but in that crystalline scaffolding, water resides. The water is inherited from the time the rocks were little more than mud sludge on the ocean floor. Slowly buried and recrystallized, the atomic lattices of evolving new minerals capture the water molecules in systematic arrangements, preserving them for future considerations. (Glassley, 2018, Impressions II: Clear water)

Thus, the unity of substance, which changes its appearance in consolidation and liquification,⁵ is at the same time the universal involvement in the cycles of planetary life, of natural history:

Within the water upon which we ride, atoms that had once been part of the rock enclosing the sea were scraped from surfaces by pounding boulders, thereby released to float freely with the tides. In a dialogue framed by simple thermodynamics, they mingle with other atoms whose origins were wind-blown dust, interstellar particles, dissolving dead animals, and decaying plants. (Glassley, 2018, Impressions III: Tide)

⁴ See also: "Brilliant blue tourmalines decorate thick white lenses of once-molten rock, attesting to the presence of boron and other elements from ancient ocean water trapped in crystals formed during the collision of tectonic plates" (Glassley, 2018, Impressions III: Ice).

⁵ See also: "Now, after slowly migrating a few inches per year, the frozen ice was exposed in the cliff in front of me, sunlight once again shining on the molecules of water that would soon be freed to flow in rivers to the sea and repeat the cycle. The booming, snapping, and popping was the voice of that frozen water as it scraped over the land, internally cracking into crevasses and fissures, preparing to be released" (Glassley, 2018, Impressions III: Ice).

Finally, to drive his point home, Glassley emphasizes that we, human beings, are part of the same unity and of the same processes: “We are the result of water insinuating itself into the latticework of crystalline forms, of its persuasive discourse with the elements that reside there to run to the sea” (Glassley, 2018, Impressions II). Thus, in Glassley’s narrative of connecting the geo- and bio-cycles, water is filtered down, in the end, to represent the basic element of planetary substance inherent in all fundamental processes of planetary life.

However, the experience of a traveler who observed the choreography of “water on water” in an expanse of crystalline Arctic wilderness is continued when a scientist back home begins to analyze the collected samples. The trans-scalar thinking in Glassley’s story takes us from a travel account to a scientific report and brings us from the vastness of the cold waters and icebergs to the atoms. The samples taken from the ice and rock of the Arctic preserved the history of tectonic uprisings and collisions, of oceanic ebbs and flows, of hot and cold ages of the planet. The wilderness of the Arctic had no history while travelers were there, it was glassy blank, silent, immense; but once its pieces were brought home and studied, its history, along with the history of the planet, was reconstructed. Ice, in fact, is a better archive of the planetary history than the human records:

While stone receives only very old layers, ice and earth preserve younger layers giving information not only about geological, but also about historical facts. The storage medium ice allows an extremely precise dating and it preserves in a protective way. ... ice can preserve life almost in the form it had during its lifetime. (Frank & Jakobsen, 2019, pp. 9–10)

The Arctic is no longer an object of human action, but its witness, its archivist. It preserves histories of the geological process and the evolution of life, including humankind, on the planet.

Conclusion

Contemporary travelogues challenge the more conventional imaginaries of the cold and the Arctic, where cold was surrounded with “negative connotations representing a denial of life and progress” and where snow was perceived as an enemy and the accomplishments of the polar explorers, as a “moral triumph over the snows” (Hansson & Norberg, 2009, p.7). The environmental threats that loom over the Arctic come to the fore in contemporary travel literature—the climate change (warming sea temperature, ice melting, etc.); the destructive effects of industrial activities (e.g., mining, oil extraction), and the effects of POPs (persistent organic pollutants) on wildlife and indigenous communities. Some of the travel narratives mention the environmental problems as part of the “paradise lost or, to be more precise, paradise-all-but-lost” discourse or the apocalyptic discourse: the Arctic, which is the bearer of some quintessential “truth” about the humanity and the whole living world, the “site of experiential authenticity” (Huggan, 2016), will soon be lost forever. It, therefore, needs

to be protected from short- and long-term effects of human activities as well as from humans themselves: like a sacred temple, it should remain intact and off-limits to humanity (with the only possible exception of indigenous peoples or maybe individual travelers and scientists).

Yet another way of raising the reader's awareness of the urgency of the threat is to present the Arctic as a harbinger of doom, in other words, to point out that what awaits the Arctic in fact awaits the whole of Earth. As Rune Graulund puts it, as a liminal place, "the Arctic is particularly well suited as an indicator region of the broader, planetary trend of the Anthropocene" (Graulund, 2016, p. 3). The Arctic lays bare the deficiencies of the mankind and the Global North in particular:

Just as the Arctic shows what we are good at—individual endurance, initiative, and dogged demonstration as demonstrated by Watkins, Courtauld, Dibb, and the others—it also reveals what we are bad at, which is collective, preventative action. I do not think one could stay long in the Arctic without concluding that the present way of the world is unsustainable and that many chickens will race home to roost in the lifetime of our children, if not in our own. Like the Viking chieftains, we in the developed world might find that we have merely bought ourselves the luxury of being the last to starve. (Wheeler, 2010, Chapter 5)

In other words, the Arctic seen through the contemporary travelers' eyes is no longer a territory to be "claimed" as in the 19th and 20th-century travelogues but the territory to be preserved and protected. Thus, travel narratives basically go the same way as climate change narratives, which aim to show how "the waning ice links excesses of modern consumer society and industrialism to disastrous impacts on the innocent original populations" (Sörlin, 2015, p. 327). In the twenty-first century, from something to be explored and conquered, ice has largely turned into "something to be preserved" (Hansson & Ryall, 2017, p. 3).

The melting of the polar ice has come to become the main sign of global climate change. Our mastery over nature that the exploration and conquest of the Arctic were supposed to prove has resulted in the ecological crisis that undermines our confidence in the safety and stability of our natural environment globally. Thus, the change of the role that the polar ice caps played in our imaginaries, highlights the fact that nature can no longer be regarded as immutable, hierarchical, with humanity at its top and, therefore, providing a secure backdrop for human activities. Nature is dynamic, its history is entwined with human history, and human action causes transformations of the natural environment on the global scale.

As Glassley (2018) observes, "the gentle fall of interstellar particles, the collisions of comets and meteors and frozen water, gave rise to our planet in a rush of cosmic artistry just over four-and-a-half billion years ago" (Epilogue). This trans-scalar thinking that shifts between microscopic and macroscopic view of our planet and foregrounds the unity of substance of all its elements and inhabitants can help bridge the "unbridgeable" divide between human and natural histories.

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ARTICLE

Exploring the Factors Influencing Tourist Destination Loyalty: A Case Study of Homestay Entrepreneurs in Thailand

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ABSTRACT

This research aims to explore the image of the homestay entrepreneurs through service marketing mix, tourist satisfaction, and tourist loyalty toward homestay entrepreneurs and find their tourist destination loyalty model. The data were collected from 440 tourists and were analyzed using descriptive statistics and inferential statistics consisting of confirmatory factor, path, and structural equation modeling. The results showed that the image of the homestays in Samut Sakhon province, service marketing mix, tourist satisfaction, and tourist loyalty toward homestay entrepreneurs in Samut Sakhon province were mostly at

Received 10 July 2023

Accepted 2 November 2023

Published online 27 December 2023

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high levels. Moreover, confirmatory factors analysis showed that the image of the homestays in Samut Sakhon province has the highest in the “Impression,” the service marketing mix has the highest in “People,” tourist satisfaction has the highest value in “Service quality,” and tourist loyalty toward homestays entrepreneurs has the highest value in the “Repeated use of the service.” Furthermore, it is revealed that the image of the homestays and the service marketing mix have direct and indirect influences on tourist loyalty toward homestay entrepreneurs. With continuous improvement in service quality, affordability, and customer relationship management, homestay entrepreneurs can create positive experiences, enhance value for money, cultivate customer loyalty, and benefit from positive word-of-mouth recommendations, ultimately driving the growth and success of their businesses.

KEYWORDS

tourist loyalty, entrepreneurs, homestays, marketing mix, Thailand

Introduction

The tourism industry plays an important role in Thailand's economy (Soh et al., 2021). Annually, it brings Thailand a significant income. In addition, the industry positively affects the overall economic system of Thailand by providing employment opportunities in the country (Soh et al., 2021; Wattanakuljarus & Coxhead, 2008). This contributes to the growth and prosperity of rural areas, as well as the creation of infrastructure and many convenient facilities to accommodate incoming tourists (Sudsawasd et al., 2022). According to information from the Secretariat of The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), Thailand was the most popular place to visit in ASEAN in 2019 (Tubtimtong, 2020). Most visitors came because of the low cost of living, the beautiful scenery, the culture, and the unique food. The Thai government has developed policies to promote and support the tourism industry, thus emphasizing its prominence in boosting Thailand's economy (Wattanacharoensil & Schuckert, 2016). Furthermore, the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTCC) estimates that the tourism industry will increase Thailand's GDP by 5.6% annually to reach 28.2% of GDP by 2028 (Tubtimtong, 2020).

Thailand has many tourist attractions that are targeted for sustainable tourism development. Nowadays, the tourism trend focuses on “resource conservation travelers,” who are interested in eco-travel (Srisawat et al., 2023). The term “resource conservation travelers” refers to tourists who go on their trips with the intention of reducing their impact on the environment and helping to preserve natural resources. They are ecologically sensitive and make an effort to travel to new places while minimizing the impact that they have on the local ecosystem (Baloch et al., 2023). In addition to this, eco-travel (also known as ecological travel or eco-tourism) represents a distinct form of sustainable tourism. Ecotourism is the practice of visiting natural regions and participating in activities that are designed to have minimum impact on

the environment (Zainol & Rahman, 2023). Eco-tourists support the initiatives aimed at conservation of nature, the adoption of environmentally sustainable practices, and the promotion of local communities (Samal & Dash, 2023). One of them is the “homestay” style tour, which is a popular lifestyle and cultural experience (Chakraborty, 2020). A residence manager is appointed in the community and is responsible for setting up and organizing the residents’ homes into hotel rooms for tourists. The homeowners then need to give their consent and willingness to host tourists and provide them with services (Forno & Garibaldi, 2015; Srisawat et al., 2023). This scheme enables a process of learning about ways of life together between communities and tourists. It creates knowledge and understanding of community life, creating a positive attitude toward the community (Chin et al., 2014). Moreover, homestays are often linked to environmentally friendly tourism because they encourage real cultural experiences and can help local economies (Janjua et al., 2023). In contrast to major hotels, the energy and water consumption of typical homestays is lower because they are smaller and locally operated (Tsai et al., 2014). Thus, homestays reduce their environmental impact by adopting eco-friendly habits including recycling and using low energy consumption equipment (Noor & Kumar, 2014).

Samut Sakhon province has its distinctive features, cultural heritage and natural attractions that make it appealing for tourists (Muangmee, 2020). According to the Samut Sakhon Sightseeing Information Center, the province has a number of notable tourist spots that are highly recommended to visit. For instance, visitors can explore Wat Chong Lom, which offers stunning views of estuaries, and its rear side provides a beautiful view of the Tha Chin river (Tourism Authority of Thailand, n.d.). Wat Luk Si Raja Samosorn serves as the principal temple within the city, accommodating the highly venerated Buddha statue of Samut Sakhon. Wat Pa Chai Ransi is characterized by its architectural resemblance to ancient rock palaces discovered in cities of the northeastern region (Muangmee et al., 2021). The Pan Thai Norasing Historical Park is home to the Pan Thai Norasing temple and provides nature trails for individuals who wish to engage in the study of the indigenous mangrove ecosystem (Tourism Authority of Thailand, n.d.). In Samut Sakhon province, homestays play an important role in attracting tourists and contributing to the local economy (Yiamjanya, 2016). Therefore, homestay owners need to know what makes tourists stay with them more than once and accordingly improve the quality of their services, accommodation facilities (Sekorarith, 2016). This ability of homestay owners to adjust their services in line with the needs and tastes of tourists makes homestay more preferred by tourists than other options (Leung et al., 2021). Therefore, enhancing tourist loyalty has the potential to boost the economic prosperity of these communities, granting them a sustained means of financial support and empowerment (Nitikasetsoontorn, 2014).

Nevertheless, the factors influencing tourists’ loyalty to homestays in the region have yet to be sufficiently identified and explored. Current literature on destination loyalty focuses on hotels and resorts while overlooking the unique characteristics and challenges faced by homestay entrepreneurs (Muangmee, 2020). Therefore, this study aims to develop a comprehensive Tourist Destination Loyalty Model specifically for homestays in Samut Sakhon province, identifying the key determinants of tourist loyalty and providing

actionable recommendations for homestay entrepreneurs to enhance visitors' satisfaction, loyalty, and repeat visitation. Homestays have become an increasingly popular form of accommodation among tourists seeking unique experiences (Chakraborty, 2020).

Keeping in view the objectives of this study, the data is collected from 440 homestay tourists in Samut Sakhon. To ensure the reliability of the questionnaire, it underwent thorough validation and was subjected to further SEM modeling. The primary objective of this study was to ascertain the fundamental factors that contribute to the loyalty of tourists within the homestay sector. The findings of this research could be utilized as a valuable framework for comparable enterprises in various geographical areas, extending beyond the limits of Samut Sakhon. This research provided valuable insights for entrepreneurs, researchers, and policymakers in the international academic community who are interested in enhancing their understanding and enhancing the visitor experience in diverse tourist accommodations. Globally, hosts and guests of homestays and other accommodations can benefit from the study's practical ideas and techniques. The following are the research hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1 (H1): The image of the homestays in Samut Sakhon province and tourist satisfaction has direct and indirect effects on tourist loyalty toward homestay entrepreneurs in Samut Sakhon province.

Hypothesis 2 (H2): The service marketing mix and tourist satisfaction have direct and indirect effects on tourist loyalty toward homestay entrepreneurs in Samut Sakhon province.

Methods

Study Area

Samut Sakhon is a popular tourist destination and one of Thailand's most well-known coastal provinces. The fishing and sea salt manufacturing sectors are the backbone of this province's economy (Jiaratham et al., 2020). The province is located in the lower part of the central region, at approximately 13° north latitude and 100° east longitude (Muangmee, 2020). The topography of the province is a coastal plain at an elevation of about 1.0–2.0 meters above sea level. The Tha Chin river, which is about 70 kilometers long, flows from north to south into the Gulf of Thailand at Mueang Samut Sakhon (Tourism Authority of Thailand, n.d.). A network of more than 170 interconnected rivers and canals is spread throughout the area, making the soil fertile and suitable for growing various types of crops. The lower part of the province in Mueang Samut Sakhon district adjoins 41.8 kilometers of coastline. Moreover, the province is rich in cultural attractions, such as temples, historical sites, and Benjarong Village, providing opportunities for tourists to learn about the local culture, history, and way of life (Muangmee, 2020).

Sampling

Recognizing the fundamental importance of exploring the factors that influence tourist loyalty, with a specific focus on understanding what contributes to repeat customer behavior in the context of homestay accommodations, we carefully designed our sampling method to align with the research objectives. The target population was the tourists who visited homestays. The sample was selected to be representative of

this diverse group, encompassing a variety of demographic characteristics, travel preferences, and geographic diversity. Additionally, the sample was designed to meet the minimum requirements for the use of structural equation modeling, or SEM (Rathachatranon, 2018). The appropriate sample size should be at least 20 times the number of variables in the structural equation when analyzing data using SEM. In this research, the sums of observed and latent variables were 22; therefore, we collected data from 440 tourists by a convenient sampling method. The study has adopted data analysis using multivariate statistics following the concept of Lindeman et al. (1980).

Research Instrument

The data were collected through questionnaires. To collect data from the tourists in the study area, a questionnaire was divided into five parts: (a) general information of the respondents, (b) the image of the homestays, (c) service marketing mix, (d) tourist satisfaction, and (e) tourist loyalty. The questionnaire was structured to include variables specifically designed to capture insights into repeat customer behavior and its implications for tourist loyalty. These variables were chosen to address our research objectives comprehensively, ensuring that the study was equipped to analyze the elements contributing to tourist loyalty, including the impact of repeat visitation.

In order to make this study most efficient, the researchers wrote a letter to the hotel operators in Samut Sakhon province asking for their cooperation in distributing the questionnaires. The researchers then traveled to the field themselves to collect the questionnaires according to the locality as well as to check the completeness of the questionnaires and to count the number of completed questionnaires as planned. The questionnaire was converted into preliminary statistical values and further analyzed using statistical methods. As a result, from April 2022 to February 2023, data were collected from 440 tourists.

For validation of the data collection instrument, three experts in the field reviewed the questionnaire using the item objective congruence (IOC) technique, which assesses the alignment of each item with the research objectives. This validation step serves to ensure that the questionnaire accurately and effectively measures the intended constructs. Furthermore, the reliability of the research instrument was assessed through a pre-testing of 30 participants who were representative of the target population. The purpose of the pre-testing was to evaluate the internal consistency and reliability of the questionnaire. The results of the pre-testing indicated a high level of reliability as evidenced by a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .962. The Cronbach's alpha coefficient is a commonly used measure of reliability, indicating the extent to which items within a scale or questionnaire are consistent in measuring the same construct. The high value of Cronbach's alpha coefficient suggested that the questionnaire used in the study has strong internal consistency and reliability. This indicated that the items in the questionnaire were closely related and consistently measured the constructs of interest.

Statistical Analysis

When the questionnaires were returned, the researcher manually checked the accuracy and completeness of each questionnaire. The questionnaires were then coded and

processed using a readymade program for further descriptive statistical analysis. We used structural equation modeling (SEM) to analyze the relationships between repeat customer behavior and tourist loyalty and to examine the factors contributing to these variables. This approach provides a robust and in-depth examination of these critical aspects of our study.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

According to the results of statistical analysis, tourists have a positive perception of homestays in Samut Sakhon province in terms of their overall image (Table 1). The marketing mix of services provided by hotels in Samut Sakhon province was rated as similarly (high level, mean value of 3.52). This indicates that tourists perceive the services provided by homestays as high quality and meeting their expectations. The service marketing mix includes various elements of service delivery such as product, price, place, promotion, people, process and physical evidence. In addition, the tourist loyalty towards homestay entrepreneurs in Samut Sakhon province also reached a high level (mean value of 3.96). This indicates that tourists are loyal to homestays and are most likely to return or recommend them to other tourists. A check on skewness and kurtosis, both measures of data distribution, reveals that all the variables have values within the acceptable range. So, the distribution of the data is relatively symmetrical and fits a normal model, making it suitable for further analysis using structural equation modeling (Angsuchot et al., 2011).

Table 1
Average and Standard Deviation of Tourist Information (N = 440)

Observable variables	Mean	SD	Sk	Ku	Interpretation
The image of the homestays	3.98	0.62	-.237	.455	High level
Believe	3.71	0.59	-.342	.427	High level
Attitude	4.01	0.67	-.328	.377	High level
Impression	4.23	0.54	-.231	.645	High level
Service marketing mix	3.82	0.63	-.239	.423	High level
Product	3.90	0.61	-.149	.562	High level
Price	3.88	0.53	.549	.160	High level
Place	3.65	0.64	-.064	.651	High level
Promotion	4.04	0.55	-.311	.569	High level
People	4.14	0.49	-.445	.311	High level
Process	3.61	0.81	-.154	.350	High level
Physical evidence	3.56	0.67	.199	.319	High level
Tourist satisfaction	3.52	0.69	-.138	.454	High level
Service quality	3.88	0.66	.069	.823	High level
Value for money	3.81	0.65	.061	.552	High level

Table 1 Continued

Observable variables	Mean	SD	Sk	Ku	Interpretation
Atmosphere	3.68	0.72	-.233	.332	High level
Clean	3.14	0.80	-.089	.254	Medium
Safety	3.08	0.77	-.235	.012	Medium
Tourist loyalty	3.96	0.64	-.189	.475	High level
The repeated use of service	4.10	0.55	-.001	.712	High level
Frequency of repeat visits	3.88	0.64	-.036	.245	High level
Suggest and tell	3.92	0.67	-.339	.581	High level

Note. Sk = skewness; Ku = kurtosis.

Confirmatory Factors

The results of the confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) for the four latent variables—the image of the homestays, service marketing mix, tourist satisfaction, and tourist loyalty—are presented in Table 2. The observed variables and their corresponding factor loadings, which indicate the strength of the relationship between the observed variables and the latent variables are reported. The R^2 values represent the proportion of variance in the observed variables that are explained by the latent variables. For the latent variable “The image of the homestays” the observed variables of belief, attitude, and impression have high factor loadings ranging from .69 to .81, indicating a strong relationship with the latent variable. Similarly, for the latent variable “Service marketing mix” the observed variables of product, price, place, promotion, people, process, and physical evidence all have high factor loadings ranging from .65 to .80. The latent variable “Tourist satisfaction” is measured by the observed variables of service quality, value for money, atmosphere, clean, and safety, all of which have high factor loadings ranging from .70 to .79. Lastly, the latent variable “Tourist loyalty” is indicated by the observed variables of the repeated use of service, frequency of repeat visits, and suggest and tell, all with high factor loadings ranging from .71 to .82. The goodness-of-fit indices, such as chi-square (χ^2), degrees of freedom (df), p -value, standardized root mean square residual (SRMR), and root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA), indicate the overall fit of the model. In this case, the chi-square test is not statistically significant ($p = .11$), suggesting a good fit for the model. The SRMR and RMSEA values are also low (.04 and .01, respectively), further indicating a good fit.

Table 2
Results of the Confirmatory Factors

Latent variables	Observed variables	Factor loadings	R^2
The image of the homestays	Believe	0.75**	.44
	Attitude	0.69**	.55
	Impression	0.81**	.49

Table 2 Continued

Latent variables	Observed variables	Factor loadings	R ²
Service marketing mix	Product	0.74**	.55
	Price	0.70**	.53
	Place	0.76**	.62
	Promotion	0.69**	.53
	People	0.80**	.57
	Process	0.73**	.48
	Physical evidence	0.65**	.44
Tourist satisfaction	Service quality	0.79**	.57
	Value for money	0.74**	.55
	Atmosphere	0.72**	.53
	Clean	0.70**	.52
	Safety	0.73**	.54
Tourist loyalty	The repeated use of service	0.82**	.56
	Frequency of repeat visits	0.75**	.55
	Suggest and tell	0.71**	.54

$\chi^2 = 39.39$; $df = 33$; $p = .11$; SRMR = .04; RMSEA = .01

Note. ** significance at 1%.

The results indicated that the image of the homestays in Samut Sakhon province has both direct and indirect influences on tourist loyalty toward homestay entrepreneurs. Similarly, the service marketing mix also has direct and indirect influences on tourist loyalty. These findings are illustrated in Figure 1, while Table 3 provides the statistical analysis of the relationships and influences between variables. The coefficients represent the total influence (TE), indirect influence (IE), and direct influence (DE) of the event variables on the result variables. The values in the table indicated the strength and direction of these influences. The variable “The image of the homestays” has a significant direct influence (0.61**) on tourist satisfaction. Similarly, the variable “Service marketing mix” has a significant direct influence (0.59**) on tourist satisfaction and a significant direct influence (0.38**) on tourist loyalty. Furthermore, tourist satisfaction has a significant direct influence (0.39**) on tourist loyalty. The R-squared values in structural equation modeling indicate that the model explains 75% of the variance in tourist satisfaction and 64% of the variance in tourist loyalty.

The goodness-of-fit indices including chi-square (χ^2), degrees of freedom (df), p -value, comparative fit index (CFI), Tucker-Lewis index (TLI), standardized root mean square residual (SRMR), and root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) provide an assessment of the overall fit of the model. In this case, the model shows a good fit as indicated by the non-significant chi-square test ($p = .11$) and the satisfactory values of CFI (0.99), TLI (0.99), SRMR (.05), and RMSEA (.01). The results suggested that the image of the homestays and service marketing mix have significant direct and indirect influences on tourist satisfaction and tourist loyalty. Tourist satisfaction, in turn, has a significant influence on tourist loyalty.

Table 3
Statistics, Analyze Relationships, and Influence Between Variables

Result variable	Tourist satisfaction			Tourist loyalty		
Event variables	TE	IE	DE	TE	IE	DE
The image of the homestays	0.61	–	0.61	0.71	0.24	0.47**
Service marketing mix	0.59	–	0.59	0.61	0.23	0.38**
Tourist satisfaction						0.39**
<i>R</i> ² structural equation modeling		0.75			0.64	

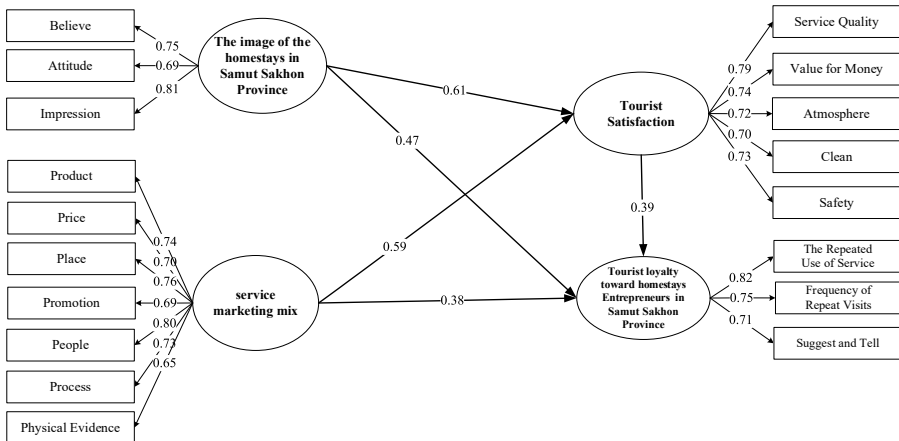
$\chi^2 = 39.39$, $df = 33$, $p = .11$, $CFI = .99$; $TLI = 0.99$; $SRMR = .05$; $RMSEA = .01$

Note. TE = total influence; IE = indirect influence; DE = direct influence. ** $p < .05$.

Hypothesis Testing Results

Based on the results and analysis, we can conclude that Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2 are both accepted. The image of the homestays in Samut Sakhon province and tourist satisfaction have direct and indirect effects on tourist loyalty toward homestay entrepreneurs in the province. Similarly, the service marketing mix and tourist satisfaction also have direct and indirect effects on tourist loyalty.

Figure 1
Construct Model Displaying the Effect Values Between Variables



Discussion

The image of homestays, service marketing, tourist satisfaction, and tourist loyalty to homestay entrepreneurs in Samut Sakhon province were mostly at high level. The results of the study indicate that the aspect of “Impression” has the strongest influence among the different components that constitute the image of homestays

in Samut Sakhon province. This means that the overall impression or perception that tourists have towards the homestays significantly influences the formation of their attitudes and beliefs towards these homestays. The components of “Beliefs” and “Attitudes” also contribute to the overall image, but to a somewhat lesser extent. These results are consistent with the theoretical framework proposed by Tarik and Moussaoui (2009) emphasizing the significance of impressions, beliefs, and attitudes in influencing tourists’ perceptions and evaluations of accommodation facilities. In addition, they also agree with Mechinda et al. (2010) who found that Impression has a positive effect on image.

The factor loading indicates the strength of the relationship between each component and the overall construct being measured. In this case, the higher factor loading for “People” suggests that it had the strongest impact on the overall effectiveness or perception of the service being analyzed. The other components, such as “Place,” “Product,” “Process,” “Price,” “Promotion,” and “Physical evidence,” also had significant but comparatively lower factor loadings. All the components of the service marketing mix found to be in line with the concept and theory of Lovelock and Wirtz (2007) stating that people, product, price, place, promotion, process, and physical evidence are important components of service marketing. The findings also are in line with (Muangmee & Meekaewkunchorn, 2022) who found that “People” have a positive effect on the sustainable marketing factors of Sufficiency Economy Philosophy.

Among the factors examined, “Service quality” demonstrates the highest factor loading, indicating that it has the strongest influence on tourists’ satisfaction. This suggests that the quality of services provided to tourists, such as accommodation, transportation, dining, and hospitality, plays a critical role in determining their overall satisfaction levels. Ahmad et al. (2019) examined service quality and customer satisfaction in the context of Small and Medium-Sized Hotels (SMSHs) in the United Arab Emirates and then reported that service quality affects tourist satisfaction. A high factor loading for service quality implies that improvements in service delivery can have a significant positive impact on tourists’ satisfaction levels. Following “Service quality,” “Value for money” shows the second-highest factor loading. That implies that tourist’s perception of what they get for their money from products or services has a strong influence on their satisfaction. Lee et al. (2007) revealed that restaurant managers should prioritize delivering value to customers in order to attract and retain them. By offering competitive prices, quality food and service, and a positive overall experience, restaurants can enhance perceived value and meet customer expectations. Emphasizing value for money can help restaurants differentiate themselves in a competitive market and build customer satisfaction and loyalty.

The factor loading for “Atmosphere” suggests that tourists’ perceptions of safety and security significantly contribute to their overall satisfaction. Creating a safe and secure environment, implementing effective safety measures, and addressing concerns related to personal safety and well-being are crucial for enhancing tourists’ satisfaction and fostering positive experiences. Perceptions of safety and security are essential factors that can shape tourists’ overall experiences and determine their satisfaction with a destination or tourism service. On the other hand, if tourists feel

insecure or have concerns about their well-being, this can significantly reduce their overall satisfaction. Yüksel and Yüksel (2007) reported that the safety and security of a shopping location play a vital role in shaping tourists' decision-making and willingness to engage in shopping activities. If tourists perceive a location as unsafe or perceive significant risks associated with shopping, it can deter them from exploring the shops and making purchases. Lastly, "Clean" demonstrates a factor loading that indicates its importance in determining tourists' satisfaction. Clean and well-maintained environments including attractions, public spaces, accommodations, and facilities contribute to positive perceptions and enhance tourists' overall satisfaction (Bhuiyan et al., 2021; Rauch et al., 2015).

The results of the research on the components of tourist loyalty towards homestay entrepreneurs in Samut Sakhon province showed that "Repeated use of service" has the highest factor loadings. The finding implies that tourists who repeatedly use the homestay service are more likely to develop loyalty toward the homestay entrepreneurs in Samut Sakhon province. This providing a positive and satisfactory experience during the initial stay can encourage tourists to return and use the service again in the future. The repeat usage of the homestay service signifies a level of satisfaction and trust in the service provided by the entrepreneurs. The high factor loading for "Repeated use of service" highlights the importance of cultivating customer loyalty through delivering consistent and memorable experiences. By focusing on providing exceptional service, personalized attention, and meeting the needs and expectations of tourists, homestay entrepreneurs can encourage repeat visits and foster long-term relationships with their customers. The "Frequency of repeat visits" and "Suggest and tell" components are in line with the concept and theory of Schiffman and Kanuk (2007) which stated that the loyalty of tourists is an act of "Repeated use of service", as well as corresponding to the research of Helgesen and Nettet (2007) who found that "Repeated use of service" and "Frequency of repeat visits" had a positive effect on loyalty (Muangmee and Meekaewkunchorn, 2022). In addition, it was found that the image of homestays in Samut Sakhon province has both direct and indirect effects on tourist loyalty to homestay entrepreneurs in Samut Sakhon province. This is consistent with the concept and theory of Schiffman and Kanuk (2007) who argue that image has a positive effect on loyalty, as well as aligns with the studies of Helgesen and Nettet (2007) and Muangmi et al. (2021).

Service marketing mix has both direct and indirect effects on tourist loyalty toward homestay entrepreneurs in Samut Sakhon province. The service marketing mix referred to as the 7Ps (product, price, place, promotion, people, process, and physical evidence), encompasses various aspects of the service offering and its marketing. Each element of the marketing mix can contribute to the overall customer experience and subsequently influence customer loyalty. Direct effects of the service marketing mix on tourist loyalty imply that specific elements directly affect tourists' perceptions, satisfaction, and loyalty toward the homestay entrepreneurs (Wu & Li, 2018). For example, a well-designed and appealing product (homestay accommodations and services) attracted tourists, created positive experiences, and led to repeat visits, ultimately fostering loyalty. Similarly, competitive pricing,

effective promotional activities, and convenient location (place) directly influenced tourists' decision-making and their likelihood to choose and stay loyal to a particular homestay entrepreneur. The indirect effects of the service marketing mix on tourist loyalty indicated that the elements indirectly influence loyalty through such factors as customer satisfaction and perceived value. For instance, a well-trained and customer-oriented staff ("People") enhanced customer satisfaction, which, in turn, can foster loyalty. Effective service processes, including smooth check-in/check-out procedures and responsive customer support, can contribute to a positive customer experience, leading to higher satisfaction and increased loyalty. Moreover, the physical evidence, including the physical environment and tangible elements associated with the homestay experience, influenced tourists' perceptions and satisfaction, indirectly affecting their loyalty. Attention to clean, comfort, and aesthetics of the accommodations and facilities contributed to positive perceptions and enhanced the overall experience, thus indirectly influencing loyalty. Islam et al. (2013) revealed that it is important for entrepreneurs to regularly assess and adapt their service marketing mix strategies based on customer feedback, changing market dynamics, and evolving customer preferences. By continuously improving and aligning the marketing mix elements with tourists' needs and expectations, entrepreneurs can build strong and sustainable relationships with their customers, leading to increased loyalty and positive business outcomes (Davari & Strutton, 2014). These findings highlighted the key factors that influence tourists' satisfaction and provide insights for tourism industry stakeholders and policymakers.

Study Limitations

The data collected in this study was self-reported measures of survey responses from tourists. Self-reported data are subjected to biases, such as social desirability bias, where respondents provided answers they believe are more socially acceptable rather than reflecting their true perceptions or behaviors. Factors such as cultural differences, regional characteristics, and economic conditions of Samut Sakhon province may effect the results and limit the generalizability of the findings to other locations or contexts.

Conclusion

The study highlights the factors influencing tourist loyalty. The importance of positive image, service quality, and the emphasis on repeat usage of services have strong implications for homestay entrepreneurs to promote sustainable tourism in Samut Sakhon province of Thailand. The findings shed light on the significance of these factors and their impact on the overall tourism experience and loyalty of tourists. The analysis revealed that the overall image of homestays in Samut Sakhon province was at a high level, with the "Impression" component having the strongest influence on the overall image. This emphasizes the importance of creating positive impressions and perceptions among tourists to shape their attitudes and beliefs toward homestay

establishments. A positive image not only attracts more tourists but also aligns with sustainable practices, as tourists who have a positive perception of an accommodation provider are more likely to support and appreciate their efforts in maintaining eco-friendly and sustainable practices. Additionally, the service marketing mix elements such as people, place, product, process, price, promotion, and physical evidence were found to significantly contribute to the overall effectiveness and perception of the service. Tourist satisfaction was influenced by various factors, with “Service quality” having the highest impact, followed by “Value for money,” “Atmosphere,” and “Clean.” Sustainability practices, like safety measures and responsible resource management, are integral to preserving the environment and ensuring long-term tourist satisfaction. These findings reveal the importance of delivering high-quality services, offering competitive prices, providing a safe environment, and maintaining cleanliness to enhance tourist satisfaction levels. Regarding tourist loyalty toward homestay entrepreneurs, the study found that the “Repeated use of service” was very important. This suggests that repeat usage of the homestay service is a strong indicator of tourist loyalty. More investment in service quality will create positive experiences for tourists and increase their likelihood of returning and recommending the homestay service to others. The findings of the study showed the importance of delivering consistent, high quality, and memorable experiences to create positive impressions and secure customer loyalty, which, in turn, contributes to the sustainable growth of the industry.

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BOOK REVIEW

Thomas F. Remington (2023). *The Returns to Power. A Political Theory of Economic Inequality*. Oxford University Press

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research was supported by the Russian Science Foundation's grant #23-18-00851 <https://rscf.ru/project/23-18-00851/>, the project is anchored at the Ural Federal University (Yekaterinburg, Russia).

Thomas Remington, currently a Visiting Professor of Government at Harvard University and Professor Emeritus of Political Science at Emory University, has been studying economic causes and political outcomes of inequality over many years. This volume is a comprehensive overview of the research on inequality that covers, in fact, all—economic, social, political, psychological, and philosophical— aspects of the problem. Some chapters can be used in the classroom, while other chapters can be central to discussions in academic conferences or political debates. It is hard to give justice to all the richness of this book, I shall focus only on the main argument and those matters that I find personally interesting.

Remington ties economic inequality to social conflicts such as growing polarization and extremism, and consequently is concerned that inequality threatens democracy. The COVID pandemic only exacerbated the trend towards rising inequality. As the author shows, “in the United States (as in Russia and China) nearly all of the rise in income inequality in the last 40 years has come about because of the dynamics of income from work; only a small share of people at the very top (roughly, the top 1%) derive a majority of their income from capital—real estate rents, capital gains, and the like” (p. 14).

While China, Russia, and Germany have their own chapters of the book, they are seen from the United States perspective and matter only as a background for comparison. The author argues that “the current wave of rising inequality

flows directly from the turn toward market deregulation and liberalization that began in the late 1970s and accelerated in the 1980s” (p. 3), there is little discussion why it became such a global trend, though, and had to be implemented all over the world, including the post-Soviet Russia and Germany after its unification. In the case of the latter countries, it is hard to accept that these policies were endemic developments.¹ The comparative analysis shows that in the United States, Russia, and China, “one outcome of these reforms was to foster opportunities for rent-seeking by the largest business corporations from increased market and political power following an initial burst of competition and entrepreneurship” (p. 87). On the other hand, Germany stands out as a “social market economy” where market liberalization does not have to result in an antidemocratic oligarchy (p. 4).

Some important distinctions are made to elucidate the complex nature of inequality such as a distinction between wealth and income, pre-tax and post-tax income. Methodologies of measuring and explaining inequality are also discussed in detail: the Gini index and its accuracy, hidden income, spatial distribution of inequality, including within and across countries. I would recommend using Chapters 2–4 in the class because they are eminently readable and clarificatory. The latter highlights the fact that instead of expected economic convergence (“tendency for regional growth differentials across and within national economies to fall”, p. 52), another kind of convergence occurred—alliance of wealth and power.

After discussing some justifications of inequality²—both in moral terms and in statistical terms such as the power law distribution—Remington concludes that “in a hierarchically ordered society, where power at the top is granted by birth, prestige, or connections or is seized by force, rather than won through free and fair competition, the wage returns to power differentials will follow a power law distribution. It is tempting, therefore, for those who benefit to justify their good fortune by attributing it to ability and effort and to try to persuade those around them to do so as well. Therefore, we cannot accept pure market explanations for top-end pay levels” (p. 47–48). Delving into the explanations of what causes as well as what reproduces and reinforces inequality, Remington provides a thorough analysis of how deregulation gave an edge to early winners; how winners in the market tend to ally themselves with politicians and an alliance of market power and political power consolidates itself in securing the rents and rent-sharing. The concentration of wealth and power at the top drains the middle class and pushes ever more down the low-end strata resulting in spatial—and political—homogenization. The surprising example of spatial distribution of inequality is the access to healthcare and well-being. For instance, the

¹ Cf.: “Unleashing market forces in societies so profoundly marked by hierarchies of status and power would free everyone to participate as equals in the marketplace was an ideological presumption convenient to its sponsors but unsupported either by evidence or common sense” (p. 315).

² Cf.: “Assumptions that market forces are the main factor explaining inequality then spread out more broadly into public opinion and shape theories of “the knowledge economy” and the “rise of meritocracy.” But as the evidence presented in this book shows, power relations in society shape the way economic forces work” (p. 314).

average life expectancy at birth varies by 40 years: in the Adair, Oklahoma, it is 56.3; in the impoverished coal region of Logan County, West Virginia, it is 56.9. By contrast, in Charlotte, North Carolina, in the Research Triangle region, life expectancy at birth is 97.5. As differences in the levels of income, education, and opportunity widen across neighborhoods, their effects become mutually reinforcing, systematically locking in differences in advantage and disadvantage. More generally, as neighborhoods become more homogeneous by income and race, the inequalities between them grow wider. (p. 51)

Careful to avoid oversimplification (and conspiracy theories), Remington explains the mechanics of such an alliance between business and political elites in the following paragraph:

To use terms such as alliance or union in the case of the American political system is to simplify a far more complicated set of relationships. On both sides are multiple actors with their own interests, often competing with one another, and often contending over issue positions, but sharing a set of broadly congruent interests. Their relationships can be individual or collective, small scale or broad, formal or informal. No single overarching organization unites all politicians or all corporations, although wealthy right-wing interests do work hard to pool the resources of donors, policy experts, legislators, and others and channel them for political influence ... Rather than a formalized statement between two sides, alliance refers to a wide range of efforts aimed at achieving an understood set of ends. The term “alliance” helps to underscore two points: first, that the relations between the economic groups benefiting from the current arrangements and the political officials that maintain those arrangements are based on reciprocity and exchange, rather than a one-sided takeover by big business. Second, the partners in this alliance share an interest in excluding challengers. (p. 155)³

I deemed it worth citing in full because this paragraph clearly and fully describes class interest and class relations as it would be exemplary for any Marxist analysis. However, time and again the author distances himself from both Marxism as a theory and socialism as a political program. It is ever more surprising when the reader peruses the policy recommendations at the very end of the book. These policies include public investment in infrastructure, in life-long education, and child allowance; progressive taxation; antitrust laws (“competition must be protected before it is suppressed”, p. 322); measures countering financialization; healthcare (universal mandate) and labor (organized labor) market reforms. The author insists that these reforms should be implemented “to achieve the goal of stimulating growth of the kind that raises incomes in the middle band rather than pressuring low-end

³ Another important caveat is that “even though as individuals, owners and executives are vulnerable to arbitrary state repression, as a group, the regime depends on them for economic growth, investment, and revenues. In turn, business cannot do without maintaining personal, privileged, and often corrupt exclusive relations with those in power” (p. 245).

wages downward and concentrating income gains from rents at the top” (p. 323) and regards them as opening the market and protecting the fair competition, that is, *not* as (revolutionary) redistribution. Yet, one is left to wonder what political force would be interested in pursuing these policies against the self-conscious and organized class interests of allied market and state power as they were described above. The political ideal that sustains Remington’s aspirations —“the ideal of political equality is always threatened by hierarchies of social power. Therefore, it can only be protected in a society that ensures that all individuals have *necessary opportunities to exercise their rights*” [emphasis added] (p. 319)—goes far beyond the liberal equality of opportunity and highlights the fact that capabilities indispensable for that equality are to be something more than a (false) promise.

This is the key question for the whole argument because Remington refers to rent-seeking practices (resource rents, innovation rents, administrative rents), curtailed competition (monopsony, natural monopolies, etc.), and power concentration as “market imperfections” (p. 185), while his meticulous analysis demonstrates that these are the natural outcomes of market economy: Germany is an outlier, while the United States, China, and Russia are mainstream⁴. In addition, the nations that feature as successful in keeping market economy under control in the book such as Germany, Taiwan, South Korea (p. 245) happened to have, to use the term from behavioral economics, a “supposedly irrelevant factor” of enjoying decades of strong United States military presence. Thus, the hope for a socially oriented market economy needs a clear vision of who and why would enforce it.

There is a fundamental tension in the argument between the commitment to the market, which is regarded as a mechanism of economic redistribution, and the market-produced inequality, which is dangerous to the commitment to political ideals of equality and democracy. The attempt to solve this tension is presented in the final chapter that aspires to offer “alternative public philosophy” (p. 315). Among the sources of this philosophy, German Ordoliberalism, American Progressives (L. Brandeis), and “Constitutional Framers” (J. Madison, J. Adams) are cited. Political equality that entails consent to be governed by the leaders of one’s choice can be undermined by economic inequality that results in polarization, extremism, and, to use a Marxian term, alienation (from fellow citizens, common good, and ultimately oneself). However, Remington believes that

political equality can be reconciled with political and market freedom so long as neither political or market power is too concentrated. The best solution to checking the tendency by those gaining political and market power to claim rents and fortify their positions by curbing competition, therefore, is to encourage

⁴ “The freely clearing markets for labor, land, and capital taken by neoclassical economists as assumptions for models of how a capitalist economy works are, in fact, historically rare” (p. 293). Cf. also “To imagine that the working of markets is ‘natural’ ignores how they are shaped by the distribution of resources in which they operate. To assume that market liberalization will open opportunity equally to all to realize the fruits of their talents reflects a willful blindness to evidence. Without deliberate efforts to ensure some fairness in the opportunity to participate in a market economy, market liberalization will result in a deepening of inequality” (p. 315).

the competitive pursuit of material self-interest as a vital social interest in itself while preventing the pursuit of rents by those with power ... As the early winners argument described in this book show, the greatest threat to political and economic freedom is not the latent risk that the masses will exercise their democratic rights and rise up to demand redistribution by curbing property rights. It is the reality that those with market power will always prefer to ally themselves when they can with those with political power to suppress competition in both the market and political arenas. (p. 318)

The conclusion that follows, in my view, from this argument allows no equivocations and can be summed up in “Workers of all countries, unite!” It should be noted that this aspiration cannot be achieved nationally, at least for long, but requires an international movement because, as already happened, rent-seekers are apt to operate on the international market and have a tremendous talent for meddling in other countries' affairs and corrupting their institutions.

This book is a timely exploration of the causes and potential remedies for human development in countries, which are ravaged by inequality and where conflicts—both social and political—result in the rise of authoritarianism and extremism. However, the avoidance of international dimension of current dynamics of inequality and the feasibility of the proposed measures could be explored in the next book.



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Not in English	<p>Doutre, É. (2014). <i>Mixité de genre et de métiers: Conséquences identitaires et relations de travail</i> [Mixture of gender and trades: Consequences for identity and working relationships]. Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science/Revue canadienne des sciences du comportement, 46, 327–336. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0036218</p> <p>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/cpsol/roman.html</p>
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Multivolume works	
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A single volume from a multivolume work	Nash, M. (1993). Malay. In P. Hockings (Ed.), <i>Encyclopedia of world cultures</i> (Vol. 5, pp. 174–176). New York, NY: G.K. Hall (place of publication is optional). In text, use (Nash, 1993).
Journal	
One author	Author, A. A. (2011). Title of the article. <i>Title of the Journal</i> , 22(2), 123–231. https://doi.org/10.1080/xxxxxxxxxxxxxx Volume numbers in references should be italicized, but do not italicize the issue number, the parentheses, or the comma after the issue number. 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 the article. <i>Title of Journal</i> , 22(2), 123–231. (The website name) https://www.w3.org
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Three authors	Author, A. A., Author, B. B., & Author, C. C. (1987). Title of the article. <i>Title of the Journal</i> , 22, 123–231. https://doi.org/xx.xxxxxxxxxx
More authors	Include all names up to twenty. If there are more than twenty authors, list the first nineteen authors, followed by an ellipsis and the last author's name.
Organization as author	American Psychological Association. (2003). Title of the article: Subtitle of the article. <i>Title of the Journal</i> , 22(1), 12–23. https://doi.org/xx.xxxxxxxxxx
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Article in journal supplement	Author, A. A. (2004). Title of the article. <i>Title of the Journal</i> , 42(Suppl. 2), p–pp. https://doi.org/xx.xxxxxxxx
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 the paper. <i>Paper presented at the meeting of Organization Name</i> , Location.
Poster	Presenter, A. A. (2012, February). Title of the poster. <i>Poster session presented at the meeting of Organization Name</i> , Location
Thesis	Author, A. A. (2012). <i>Title of thesis</i> (Unpublished doctoral dissertation or master's thesis). Name of the Institution, Location.
Unpublished work	
Manuscript	Author, A. A., Author, B. B., & Author, C. C. (2008). <i>Title of the manuscript</i> . Unpublished manuscript. Author, A. A., Author, B. B., & Author, C. C. (2012). <i>Title of the manuscript</i> . Manuscript submitted for publication.
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Reports	
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Working paper	Author, A. A. (2012). <i>Title of work</i> (Working Paper No. 123). Location: Publisher. Author, A. A. (2012). <i>Title of work</i> (Working Paper No. 123). (The website name) https://www.w3.org
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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]. (<i>The website name</i>) https://www.londonmapping.co.uk/maps/xxxxx
Act	<i>Mental Health Systems Act</i> , 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 (place of publication is optional). Author, A. (Producer). (2009, December 2). <i>Title of podcast</i> [Audio podcast]. (The website name) https://www.w3.org Producer, P. P. (Producer), & Director, D. D. (Director). (Date of publication). <i>Title of motion picture</i> [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. <i>Title of the Journal</i> , 8(3). Retrieved February 20, 2003, from the PsycARTICLES database.
Dataset	Author. (2011). <i>National Statistics Office monthly means and other derived variables</i> [Data set]. Retrieved March 6, 2011, (<i>The website name</i>) 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). <i>Title of program</i> (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.

Social media	
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Facebook citation (page)	Community of Multiculturalism. (n.d.). <i>Home</i> [Facebook page]. Facebook. Retrieved October 14, 2020, from https://www.facebook.com/communityofmulticulturalism/ Parenthetical citation: (Community of Multiculturalism, n.d.) Narrative citation: Community of Multiculturalism (n.d.)

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

Изменяющиеся общества и личности

2023. Том 7, № 4

Печатается ежеквартально

Основан в 2016 г.

Учредитель и издатель:

Федеральное государственное автономное образовательное
учреждение высшего 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. 7, No. 4, 2023

Дизайн А. Борбунов
Технический редактор *Н. Мезина*
Компьютерная верстка *А. Матвеев*

Дата выхода в свет 22.01.2024.
Формат 70 × 100 100/16. Бумага офсетная.
Гарнитура Helvetica.
Уч.-изд. л. 13,4. Тираж 300 экз. Заказ № .

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
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