Ural Federal University

Volume 2 No.1 2018

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

Changing Societies & Personalities

Changing Societies & Personalities

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

2018, Vol. 2, No. 1

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

Founder and Publisher:

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

Journal contact information:

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

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

Aims and scope:

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

Topics of interest include, but are not limited to

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

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

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

CONTENTS

Changing Societies & Personalities, 2018
Vol. 2, No. 1
http://dx.doi.org/10.15826/csp.2018.2.1.026

EDITORIAL

The current issue includes papers, which analyze the roots of transformations in various spheres: in the art of dance in the 20th and 21st centuries; in mass attitudes in the Nordic countries; in the model of management in China; and in the perception of the canonical philosophical texts.

In the paper *Philosophical Pursuits in Dance Practice of the 21st Century: Body Concepts*, Maria Kozeva & Galina Brandt stress that each time has its own dance culture with its own content, form, and ascribed meaning, and explore transformations in the art of dance in the 20th century in parallels with the philosophy of body. They explain the shifts in the form and content of the dance as radical change in understanding of the dancing body itself. The authors refer to the theories of prominent philosophers Friedrich Nietzsche, Sigmund Freud, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Gilles Deleuze, Jean Baudrillard, and Michel Foucault who radically changed philosophical discourses concerning the nature of the body, conceiving it "as a dynamic existential unit participating in a socio-cultural context and subject to various influences and interactions". Kozeva and Brandt argues that in modern dance originated in the USA the body is neither an ideal image for the expression of abstract humanistic ideas, "but rather that of a real person living in modern reality, trying to understand, define and express itself within this reality". The authors observe several radical reforms in the art of dance in the 20th century, and conclude that today dance provides a body the freedom to express itself in every possible way.

Olga Iakimova in the paper *Exploring the Dynamics of Xenophobia in the Nordic Countries* notes that since the 1990s, xenophobic, deeply conservative, and extreme right-wing political movements have emerged as increasingly strong electoral forces in much of Europe. At the same time, the Nordic countries have a long reputation of the most tolerant countries in the world. Nevertheless, recently, xenophobic and anti-European parties has won a large share of the vote. At the same time, immigrants are widely perceived as an "outgroup". Iakimova stresses that today xenophobia departs from the behavioral norms of civilized society, in which people are expected to relate with one another with respect and dignity, and raises a question: "Why do people engage in xenophobic behavior even in the world's richest countries in times largely free of armed conflicts, natural disasters and poverty?" In the search for an answer, she observes various theories, which provide interpretations of xenophobia,

Published online 3 April 2018

stepanova.elena.a@gmail.com

explains the reasons to prefer the particular theory, and checks its relevance to the analysis of the roots of xenophobia in Nordic countries.

Larisa Piskunova & Lu Jia Jin in *Confucianism as the Axiological Basis for China's Management Model* reflect on the problem of organisational culture paying special attention to its socio-cultural and national factors. They explore the influence of Confucian and Neo-Confucian ideals and values as the basis of the Chinese intellectual tradition, practice of thought, and behavioural patterns over management models in contemporary China, and point out that "Chinese and Western management theorists actively explore the specificity of China's management model in terms of its spiritual foundations, social order and traditional economic life". The authors present the interpretation of the ethical-philosophical foundation of Confucianism, and analyze its role in the formation of the Chinese management model.

The main concern of Aireen Grace T. Andal in her paper *Decanonized Reading: Intellectual Humility and Mindfulness in Reading Canonical Philosophical Writings* is the canonization of philosophical thinkers (mostly Western ones), their ideologies, and texts. Such concern causes her to raise a question: "How should readers from different backgrounds renegotiate and locate their own identities relative to those of the canonical texts?" She means also that the readers and scholars of those texts should keep skeptical view on them. The author stresses that the understanding of culture, values, gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, disability, colonial peripheries, etc. presented in canonical texts should not be taken for granted but "are highly in need of reexamination". From the author point of view, the non-Western philosophical texts should not be dismissed from the curriculum of the departments of philosophy. At the same time, as the problem cannot be solved by simply adding more texts, the author presents her own vision on what and why is to be done using examples from various universities' curriculum.

In the Book Review section, the critical observation of the book *Religious Complexity in the Public Sphere: Comparing Nordic Countries* (Inger Furseth, ed., Springer, 2017) is presented. In the review, the significant place of religion in people's lives is pointed out, and the types of the visibility of religion in the public space of the Nordic countries are discussed.

Discussions on the topics raised in the current issue will be continued in the subsequent issues of our journal, and new themes will be introduces. We welcome suggestions for thematic issues, debate sections, book reviews and other formats from readers and prospective authors and invite you to send us your reflections and ideas!

For more information, please visit the journal web-site: https://changing-sp.com/

Elena Stepanova,
Editor-in-Chief

Changing Societies & Personalities, 2018
Vol. 2, No. 1
http://dx.doi.org/10.15826/csp.2018.2.1.027

ARTICLE

Philosophical Pursuits in Dance Practice of the 21st Century: Body Concepts

Maria Kozeva
Liberal Arts University, Yekaterinburg, Russia

Galina Brandt
Liberal Arts University, Yekaterinburg, Russia

ABSTRACT
The art of performance dance in the 20th century is undergoing a transformation involving values, concepts, and styles that are quite distinct from the traditional principles of classical art dance. This turn, beginning around the middle of the 20th century, has found expression in a "radical shift" in terms of the form and content of dance, affecting its components, nature, and purpose; therefore, it is not surprising that the quest for new conceptual foundations acquired its own outlook not only, and not so much in art criticism as in philosophical terms. It can be said that the epicentre of these shifts was a new understanding of the dancing body itself. The diversity of practices – dance theatre, physical theatre, dance performance, non-dance movement, postmodern dance, contemporary dance – have in turn become ways of embodying these new bodily concepts. Of course, the primary results of this quest have had a non-verbal character; nevertheless, in general terms, the level of "conversation" allows us to perceive the philosophical concepts underlying the discoveries made.
The task of this article is to clarify these concepts through examining changes ideas about the body within dance culture over the course of the last century. The examination is carried out sequentially through the ages of the twentieth century: the development of new conceptual directions of the body in the dance practices of Western

Received 19 January 2018
Accepted 5 March 2018
Published online 3 April 2018

mkozeva@yandex.ru
gbrandt@bk.ru

countries are shown, referring each movement to precisely the process from which it respectively proceeded. Thus, the body seen as a means, an "instrument", for the transmission of higher spiritual meanings, as was generally the case in classical dance, becomes in itself the goal and subject of special interest. Here it is as a space of freedom and a field for unravelling unconscious (psychosomatic) aspects, both in terms of the vehicle of sociality, and as its construct, that awareness of the normative practices of body as a repression of social control can be observed. It is clear that the basic "narratives" identified in the article also unfold in the philosophical studies of the 20th and 21st centuries. Thus, the parallel nature of these processes testifies to a cardinal revision by European society of its physicality.

KEYWORDS
body concept, dance body, freedom, unconscious, social criticism, illusion, deviant body

The art of performance dance in the 20th century is undergoing a transformation to encompass values, concepts, and styles that contrast with the traditional principles of classical art dance. This turn, beginning at the middle of the 20th century, was expressed in the "radical metamorphosis" (Bechkov, 2000, p. 63) of the form and content of the dance, affecting its components, its nature and purpose; therefore, it is not surprising that the search for new conceptual supports involved not only distinctions within art criticism but also its own philosophical horizons.

It can be said that the epicentre of these shifts was located in a new understanding of the dancing body itself. Dance practices – dance theatre, physical theatre, performance dance, non-dance movement, postmodern dance, contemporary dance – have become ways of embodying these new bodily concepts. The very word "concept", often used as a synonym for "understanding", is important here, since it is important for us to emphasise the process, creation, and in a sense even the extortion of new meanings of physicality. The distinction is precisely formulated in Comte-Sponville *Philosophical Dictionary*: "An understanding is something given, whereas a concept has to be specifically formulated. Understanding is the result of a certain experience or upbringing (what the ancient Greeks called prolepsis); concept is the result of a certain work. Understanding is a fact of reality; concept – product" (Comte-Sponville, 2012, p. 261).

The concept of the body underwent a radical metamorphosis during the 20th century, being rethought in the most significant way not only in the field of art dance proper, but also in philosophy. Friedrich Nietzsche, Sigmund Freud, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Gilles Deleuze, Jean Baudrillard, Michel Foucault are some of the most prominent thinkers who radically changed philosophical discourses concerning the nature of the body, conceiving it neither as an object limited exclusively by

spatial, anatomical boundaries, nor as a "sum of its organs", but rather as a dynamic existential unit participating in a socio-cultural context, and subject to various influences and interactions. However, it is unlikely that the practitioners of dance specifically studied the works of philosophers in order to improve their works. These processes of a new comprehension of one's own physicality – mental and practical (is there still an art where the body is so universally significant in the process of creation – and, as a result, the product, the fruit of creative endeavour?) – took place in parallel. Of course, the results of such pursuits in the field of dance have been mainly of a non-verbal character; nevertheless, the level of "conversation", allows us to discuss the philosophical concepts underlying their discoveries in terms that are more general.

The aim of this article is to clarify these concepts through an examination of changing ideas of the body within dance culture over the course of the last century.

The Body as a Space of Freedom

Each era has its own dance culture, with its own content, form and ascribed meaning. Dance as an expression of spontaneous joy, dance as part of a cult and ritual, such as demonic spectacle and bacchanalia, court entertainment, secular law, fine art, etc. kept people spellbound for centuries. It was during the Age of Enlightenment that dance – and, consequently, the body of the dancer – was to become the subject of theoretical consideration. Consequently, it is at around this time that dance becomes an independent art genre, taking the form of ballet performance. Carlo Blasis, Jean-Georges Noverre, other early practitioners and theoreticians of court ballet explore the dancing body primarily as a *means* or *instrument* for the expression of ideas and concepts (Klassiki khoreografii, 1937). This consideration remained decisive up to the 20th century.

At around the very beginning of the 20th century, the situation began to change: the body began attracting attention not only in the capacity of a means of expression but also as an object of interest in its own right. Thus, in the modern theory of dance, a natural, free, expressive body contrasted sharply with the "ideal", artificial body expressing abstract ideas within classical dance. It was found that ballet dance acts as a "power" upon the human body, reducing it to a "perfect instrument".

In the early 20th century, partisans of the "new dance" stood against the "ballet" approach. Foremost amongst these were the futurist Loie Fuller and Isadora Duncan, the originator of so-called "free dance". Dance, they argued, must describe modern man by new figurative means. In reflecting on the "new dance", Duncan "recreated her physicality", and "re-invented herself as an embodied spirit". In her own way, the dancer (Sirotkina, 2015), referring to the ideas of antiquity, "returned" the particular culture of that era to dance, the idea of "trusting the body", admiring its natural properties, freedom, graceful power, and health. Duncan's dance carries the idea of a natural, free body harmonious with culture. The body of her dance does not need exhausting training as in ballet; rather, it is "liberated" from such laws. The feelings and experiences of the person dancing – the value embodied in the dancer's

spiritual experience – are real and vivid at the moment of performance. Undoubtedly, Duncan's art articulates humanistic ideas, with her dance expressing an optimistic view of the person and his future. Nevertheless, the body in the early modern dance continues to be seen as a means of expression. Duncan's idea of dancing at a particular historical moment becomes both a protest against ballet dancing and a utopian dream of a new perfection and freedom of the body. The body of Duncan's dance in an antique chiton and the idea of her dance turn out to be "extracted" from the historical context, relative to which period of dramatic context they appear as if "positioned above".

Let us trace, as far as possible, and step-by-step, the processes of new conceptual directions of the dance body in the practices of western countries in the 20th century, each time addressing the place from which these processes proceeded most distinctly.

The Body as the Field of Real Psychosomatic Processes

Most typically, such a place turned out to be America (Souritz, 2004) where already in the 1920s the advocacy of "free dance […] for the highest good", for the "self-realisation of those believing in the victory of the eternal rational principle and the establishment of harmony", was structuring the attitudes of the new dance generation. From the perspective of the first exponents of American modern dance, the art form was intended to touch upon poignant social themes that "reveal serious problems of the current interest of modern life" (Banes, 1978). Dance, then, should "speak about" modern man who, in an era of rapid changes, wars and crises is experiencing states of fear, confusion, and neuroses.

Martha Graham, Doris Humphrey, and Charles Weidman – the American pioneers of modern dance – "blew up" traditions through their observations of the basic dance processes revealed in the body, in its physical reality and deep mental processes. As a consequence, of their theoretical and practical pursuits of dance through constant experimentation, they seemed to re-discover and "reinstate" the body in the field of gravity, i.e. as an objective fact of life (each in its own way). In dance, the body no longer struggles with gravity; rather, according this new idea, the body openly acknowledges its weight: the body of the dancer – the body of a real, ordinary person far from the idealistic parameters of ballet. Martha Graham releases the body onto the surface of the floor, bringing it closer to the ground (her dance classes begin with the movements of the dancer sitting on the floor), stabilising the body by rooting it, demonstrating in dance the state of ultimate effort through two oppositional actions – ultimate compression and release – thereby allowing the body to feel its energy and strength. Doris Humphrey plays with the measure of exertion in the process of movement by dropping the body and restoring balance, choosing only the necessary tension in order for the body to rediscover the moment of balance. In modern dance, the traditional vertical aspiration of the body in ballet is supplemented by mastering and searching for expressiveness in horizontal space. During the first half of the 20th century, research into breathing

as a function of the living organism – having a direct connection with the states of human excitation manifested in the body – was carried out by the psychologists Wilhelm Reich, Alexander Lowen, et al. The acceptance of distortion in the natural breathing cycle also became a subject of interest and research in the practices of modern dance. Experiments in this area manifested themselves on the surface of the body, making it possible to use dance to express emotions and energies that are otherwise latent or "hidden" in the mysteries of consciousness and the human body. The dance lexicon and syntax of American modernists was based on the original expressive gesture using previously non-traditional approaches to movement in dance (e. g. fading, falling, running, rolling, and exalted movements). According to Sally Banes, "the kinetic danger of constant falling and rising in the balancing movement is analogous to states of social existence" (Banes, 1978); experimentally originated dance structures became metaphors of the uncertain and volatile state of modern reality. Thus, the search on the part of the "big four" (Martha Graham, Doris Humphrey, Charles Weidman, Hanya Holm) for an original language in dance (Banes, 1978) brought the objective reality of the body, its weight, interaction with the gravity, its feelings and the physical energy of expressive movement, not manifested in ballet, both into the awareness of the dancer and that of the viewer, thereby discovering new semantic possibilities of the body in the dance. In modern dance, the body becomes neither an ephemeral tool, nor an ideal image for the expression of abstract humanistic ideas, but rather that of a real person living in modern reality, trying to understand, define, and express itself within this reality. The strong body stands (barefoot) on the ground. Its movements are expressive, meaningful; its gestures full of significance – everything is aimed at conveying the emotional state of the dancer within the entire possible spectrum of experiences and feelings.

Herein lie the important attainments of American modern dance. Nevertheless, it is important to note that modern American dance, being comprised of four original methods, directs dancers to follow only these methods. And in this context new bodily limitations are discovered: modern dance means that production is performed according to the technique of a particular professional choreographer (one of the four mentioned above), which represents a rigid framework of bodily movements. Thus, as Sally Banes notes, far from "freeing the body and making dance accessible to all, bringing together different social strata, creating equality in the dance halls and in the ranks of spectators", modern dance became an "exclusive form of art accessible only to the chosen ones" (Khlopova, 2015). In many ways, this was the reason why, by the 1940s and early 1950s, the political and artistic verve in American modern dance had died down. There was a growing sense of the necessity for a "new modernity".

The Body as the "Location" of Social Criticism

By the 1930s, the most interesting developments in dance were taking place in Germany. Despite (or perhaps, conversely, as a consequence of) the harsh appeal to the body as a means of expressing the political interests of totalitarian regimes –

everyone is familiar with the body of the "parade", "physical education", "march" – expressionism became a vivid phenomenon. The central idea of Rudolf Laban, the German founder of expressionistic dance, is directly opposed to the idea of the mass Nazi marches; on the contrary, his interest lay in diversity and respect for the individuality of the person. It was he who – both in theory and in practice – laid the foundations of the system that is still relevant today, structured by the principle of the autonomous space of the dancer who independently creates, and – by means of his or her own movements – delivers his or her ideas into the world. Initially, in Laban's system, the considerations were not only to search for a new language and new forms of expression (i. e. "how to move"), but also "the construction of a new dancer – universal, widely educated, open to all influences and able to analyse the motives of his or her own movements" (i. e. be the one "who moves") (Gerdt, 2015).

Laban's ideas were picked up by Kurt Joos, whose choreography became an arena of social critique. In his ballet "Big City", Joos depicted social contrasts: the dances of different social strata were performed simultaneously in one performance space (a crude dance to bagpipe music juxtaposed with a fashionable Charleston). In this connection, Valeska Gert's creativity is also interesting. The singer and dancer of the Berlin cabaret turned to "the lower classes and the riff-raff", assimilating "everything unrefined and ugly" and that which "is uniformly unacceptable for all healthy regimes" (Mani, 1996). She brought onto the stage, "in herself and with herself", the energy of the street: obscenity and aggression, conformism and intolerance. Thus, it can be said that already during the pre-war era the body within expressionistic dance, – grotesque, disgracefully parodic, conveying pain and confusion – was not only becoming a new expressive medium, but also conveying an impression of the characteristic modern social features symptomatic of belonging to a society fragmented and torn apart by crises and internal contradictions. The development of German Expressionist dance was interrupted by the interference of the political power of the Nazis, who realised to what extent an expressive movement could influence people. Since incapable and unwilling to cooperate with the new political regime, Laban and Joos promptly emigrated.

The Body as an Intrinsic Value

Returning to the dance processes that took place in America, we will see that in the middle of the last century the American Merce Cunningham continued to "shake" the foundations of now-traditional modern dance. The value of the ideas proposed by Cunningham lies in their proposal for a new way of seeing dance: not as a robust predefined structure with predefined meanings (as it was, if you recall, in modern dance), but instead as a volatile, fluid, ephemeral, living space. The novel idea was that dance could be about anything in terms of content and form; however, initially, at its core, it necessarily carries the idea of the human body and its movements, starting with the most elementary (walking). According to Cunningham, the expressive basis of human movement is inseparable from the body itself: even the gait of each person is different. The movement of the body is here regarded as significant in itself. In short,

it can be said that the body in dance has already won the right to its own physical reality, the ability to feel and express feelings through movement and gesture in an individual manner. The practices of German expressionist and American modern dance in "discovering the body" bring choreographers of the second half of the 20th century closer to a new understanding of the body as an autonomous subject. Here the body and dance begin to articulate "not sense, but energy", to represent "not an illustration, but an action". In other words, "everything here becomes a gesture; in this body, previously hidden energies are released" (Lehman, 2003, p. 269).

Thus, while the body is already seen as intrinsically valuable, new restrictions and new dependencies are again revealed. For example, theatrical, and – more generally – social conventions, including: the specific dimensions of the stage, the specific time period, the scope of the plot, psychologism, the accentuation of expressiveness of movement, the expectations and tastes of the public, and the "natural" desire of the dancer to please his or her audience. In this situation, the body becomes, on the one hand, its own message, finding ways to overcome itself as a value, to identify and express its state, and its individual nature. At the same time, it reveals itself as deeply foreign to itself, revealing and clearly senses its rootedness in the society and its total dependence on it. "What here can be considered "our own" remains unknown," notes a researcher of dance theatre of the end of the last century (Leman, 2003, p. 269).

The Body as an Illusion

Given the discoveries of these new dependencies of dance, the Judson Dance Theater, which appeared in the USA in the early 1960s, instigated a new radical reform. Here for the first time the idea was voiced that all restrictions should be lifted from dance. Any (professional or non-professional) body available and suitable for dancing, any space, any music, any clothing, any time format or dance form was considered to be valid (Banes, 1978). In this sense, Judson Theater's artistic experiments with the body under gravity are significant. For example, Tricia Brown used mountaineering equipment and the walls of urban buildings as surfaces for the study of movement and body effort. Playing with the parameters of space-time, Simone Forti, in the performance "Huddle", presented six or seven performers, standing in a group, who coherently, one after another, began to climb over the mass formed by each other's bodies, creating complex surfaces on the stage. The duration of this living changing sculpture was determined only by the choice and resolution of the artists, ranging from a few minutes to several hours. Trisha Brown's Dance Company also carried out performances on rooftops. For better visibility, dancers wore red suits. In this form, Brown (or one of the participants) displayed a movement routine, which was then copied by dancers on neighbouring roofs. Typically, the rest of New York carried on with its daily life oblivious to these "performances", which only the artists themselves knew about.

Such experiments bear witness to the advent of the epoch of the postmodern dance; here, there is a decisive rejection of showmanship, dance technique, dance

music, costumes, performance space, the separation of the role of author and performer. Choreographers and dancers are no longer oriented to the taste of spectators; indeed, any random movements or gestures were considered dance. Postmodernist dancers left behind the closed spaces of dance studios, instead placing their bodies in parks, forests, on roofs, in galleries. a new form of expression was defined – "performance". The location, moment, and duration of its execution were determined now by the participants themselves, with the presence of spectators becoming less important.

At the same time, as postmodern reflections concerning the social mechanics of designing the "body" as a dancer are actively being established, so are those of an ordinary person. Here, the focus of attention is the phenomenon of socio-political mistrust of the body. It may seem surprising that the general philosophical and humanitarian thought in of the 70's were marked (thanks in the first place to the works of Michel Foucault) by the realisation that the body, as existing in society according to its laws, is a product of history and culture. Appearance, clothing, behaviour, manners, lifestyle, ways of feeling, talking, moving, and interacting – everything in the bodily form of a person turns out to be "manufactured." From this point of view, there is no sense of being "at home" in the body since it no longer belongs to the person. Henceforth, it makes no difference which body is designated by society and offered to the person for use – "normal", "ideal", "expressionistic", "beautiful", or "ugly" (Gerdt, 2015). Obviously, the body in the modern world is the performer of a social role, whose goal is to express a certain ideology.

Thus, in the dance practices of the twentieth century, it was the "social body" – the body as a historical and cultural phenomenon, as a temporary form, as an illusion – that was brought out onto the stage. To express this idea, dance began to search for expressive means, and, in so doing, explicitly repudiated the function of translating opinions and plots imposed on it; the dance body, as a traditional expressive means, must be symbolically "destroyed" so as not to be used as a tool for manipulation. In her May 1981 performance, the French choreographer Magee Marin offered dancers costumes that were fake bodies – "puppets, overweight, totally ruined, as if it they were not living people, but dead people who had risen from their graves before the spectators" (Gerdt, 2015). The play seemed to say that there is no body, there is no need for it to be alive and suffering, since it is too disturbing, but there are masks in which bodies can be hidden, masks in which these anxieties can be concealed. This idea of mistrust of the body also features in Marin's "Singspiele" project.

The dance performer Benjamin Lebreton presents a body on the stage, which is, as eyewitness researchers remarked, "deeply alien to himself" (Leman, 2003, p. 269): it is not clear whether this body can be considered "its own". His body in the performance is represented as a chameleon, a deceiver, which transmits hundreds of identifications of fashion, religion, sexual, and cultural affiliation. Lebreton's portrayals involve many "faces". These "faces" are photographs of people both famous and unknown, of different sexes, nationalities, and ages. The performer attaches photos to his own face like pages of a tear-off calendar. One by one, he

changes his facial masks and immediately changes clothes – to men's, women's, national, evening, and everyday clothes. "The person on stage is the same, but his faces and rags change so that it seems that he is first taller, then shorter; one moment older, the next younger; here thinner, there fatter; now a man, then a woman" (Gerdt, 2015).

The postmodern idea of distrust of the body was actively expressed in a completely different way by the German choreographer Pina Bausch, whose work unfolded over the last decades of the 20th century. The main idea of Bausch's dance theatre is the attraction and the desire to express in dance the social body as a phenomenon, to convey the ways in which the body presents itself in everyday life. "In society, the body never appears the way it truly is, it is always the way it is made to be, or the way in which others want to see it", Bausch says of her work. In her performances, the body demonstrates the states of fear, loneliness, insecurity, misunderstanding, but also amazing tenderness, and, although tormented by pain, fragile beauty of a person, passing these states by means of emotionally expressive, bold, at times grotesque. In Bausch's performances, through action, gesture, and dance, people from all walks of life are seen on stage, not exclusively dancers. They look the way ordinary people often look in everyday life: sweaty shirts slipping off their shoulders and exposing their chests, straps of shirts, slips, heels, and women's hairstyles. Movements in dance arise from moments of internal tension, when otherwise it would be impossible to express oneself. Movement develops from the ordinary – slapping, scratching, nose-picking, wiping away tears and other trivial bodily functions – to the utmost extreme – hugging, falling, jumping. Olga Gerdt remarks that Pina Bausch was looking for a means to express the source from which her dance grew: necessity and desire (Gerdt, 2015). The body can appear as an apparition, an illusion, hidden behind a mask, a role or a costume, but with Pina Bausch these illusions were destroyed in front of one's eyes because the apparition, the costume, the manner, and the action of the character in her performances only act as expressive gestures, which usher in an even higher energy, whose desires and necessity to express these yearnings, the pain, and despair of the body, were bursting outward.

Not the "Norm", the "Other", the Deviant Body

For postmodern dance, another important point of criticism is the idea of the full body. Generally, the idea of "fullness" in the modern world is felt as dangerous, based on the world's experience of genocide, Nazism, and segregation. Rejecting this totalitarian dictate of the "norm", postmodern dance presented on stage a "different" body, a "deviant" body: "A person with illnesses, with a body having a little more fat and skin as well as less height than what is required for admission to the conservatory of modern dance. In this body there might be an insufficient number of organs or limbs, there may be some muscles" (Borisenko, 2015). So, the French self-taught choreographer Olivier Dubois, not having dance training (especially ballet), as his first choreographic experience, which was shocking for the spectator, directed

the attention of the ballet public to "Afternoon rest of the Faun", where he himself performed the role of the Faun, dancing on stage with professional dancers. Despite having a rather bulky physique, Dubois performed the technically difficult role of Nijinsky – a role of the academic repertoire. Dubois' task was to show how a non-ballet body can exist within the framework of the ballet's movement parameters. The part was executed exactly according to the book. But due to the peculiarities of his non-ballet physique, his movements and gestures did not conform to the academic form expected by the viewer. According to the choreographer himself, the audience saw a "puffy man in a multi-coloured leotard, parodying the gestures of Nijinsky", perceived the deed as a scandal, shouting: "Remove this piglet from the stage!" (Borisenko, 2015)

In the performance "The Cost of Living" by the English physical theatre company DV8 (deviate), the characters go on to take shocking physical risks, and brazenly create figural metaphors for extreme emotions. One of the characters has only half a body, he has no legs. We are presented a character in a dance class, who dances a duet with a dancer; the happiness of this moment gives way to dismay, when he is left alone looking after the departing dancer who has just danced with him. The play shows how his life consists of similar constant searches for ways to "integrate" into the lives of "normal" people.

In her project bODY_rEMIX, the Canadian choreographer Marie Chouinard presented a set of tools that a contemporary person is using to try to "improve" his or her body with (pointes, crutches, etc.). It is interesting that pointes and crutches are presented as equivalent to prostheses. With such a staged "statement", Chouinard dealt a heavy blow to the concept of a complete body. Chouinard shows that *any* body appears imperfect in modern culture, constantly seeking perfection, but not in itself, instead being fobbed off with illusions and prostheses.

Compared with traditional forms of dance, modern dance gives to any body the freedom and choice to express itself. In nullifying the traditional bodily hierarchy, as Evgeny Borisenko rightly observes: "The normative control mechanisms that shape the dancer's body give way to new choreographic practices articulating the pluralism of physicality and the possibilities of bodily self-expression" (Borisenko, 2015). Thus, dance itself, through experiencing the "ultimate metamorphosis" in form, content, and meaning, in a certain sense becomes a non-dance. Or, conversely, the world around can be interpreted as a universal dance.

In this way, we can observe how in the dance practices of the 20th century new concepts of the body were "produced". All of them are considered sequentially as they appear – from the body as an ideal instrument to the "non-normative" pluralism of physicality, which simultaneously continues to be part of 21st century dance. The body as a subject of special interest, as a space of freedom, as a field for the unfolding of the unconscious (psychosomatics), as a carrier of sociality, and as its construct, awareness of the normative practices of physicality as a repression of social control – all these "plots" are known, and also unfold in philosophical studies of the 20th and 21st centuries. The parallel nature of these processes testifies to a truly cardinal revision by European society of its physicality. As for the dance body itself,

first of all, it turns out to be the body of protest: with its energy, pain, and desperation breaking out, it expresses distrust of the actual social and political situation, exposing the masks and roles of man in modern society. Therefore, in the first place, the body in dance is gradually "absolutized", "appropriates every discourse", and "does not show anything but itself" (Leman, 2003, p. 156). However, this is a topic for a future conversation.

References

Borisenko, E. (2015). Telo sovremennogo tantsa [The body of contemporary dance]. *Teatr*, 20. Retrieved from: http://oteatre.info/telo-sovremennogo-tantsa/

Bychkov, V., Bychkova, L. (2000). XX vek: predel'nye metamorfozy kul'tury [XX century: ultimate metamorphoses of culture]. *Polygnosys*, 2, 63–76; 3, 67–85.

Banes, S. (1978). *Terpsichore in Sneakers: Post-Modern dance*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Comte-Sponville, A. (2012). *Filosofskii slovar'* [Philosophical dictionary]. Moscow: Eterna.

Gerdt, O. (2003). Iskusstvo zadavat' voprosy [The art of asking questions]. *Peterburgskii teatral'nyi zhurnal*, Special issue, 6–8.

Gerdt, O. (2015). Contemporary dance: istoriia trekh smertei [Contemporary dance: a story of three deaths]. *Teatr*, 20. Retrieved from: http://oteatre.info/contemporary-dance-istoriya-treh-smertej/

Gorfunkel, E. (1996). Chas Valeski Gert [The hour of Valeska Gert]. *Peterburgskii teatral'nyi zhurnal*, 9. Retrieved from: http://ptzh.theatre.ru/1996/9/110/

Khlopova, V. (2015). Amerikanskii tanets XX veka: zachem Terpsikhora nadela krossovki [American dance of the 20th century: why Terpsichore put on sneakers]. *Teatr*, 20. Retrieved from: http://oteatre.info/amerikanskij-tanets-xx-veka-zachem-terpsihora-nadela-krossovki/

Klassiki khoreografii (1937). Moscow–Leningrad: Iskusstvo.

Lehmann, H.-T. (2003). *Postdramaticheskii teatr* [Post-dramatic theatre]. Moscow: ABCdesign.

Sirotkina, I. (2015). Aisedora Dunkan: Sto desiat' let svobodnogo tantsa [Isadora Duncan: one hundred and ten years of free dance]. *Teatr*, 20. Retrieved from: http://oteatre.info/contemporary-dance-istoriya-treh-smertej/

Surits, E. (2004). *Balet i tanets v Amerike: ocherki istorii* [Ballet and dance in America: historical review]. Yekaterinburg: Izdatelstvo Uralskogo Universiteta.

Changing Societies & Personalities, 2018
Vol. 2, No. 1
http://dx.doi.org/10.15826/csp.2018.2.1.028

ARTICLE

Exploring the Dynamics of Xenophobia in the Nordic Countries[1]

Olga Iakimova
Ural Federal University, Yekaterinburg, Russia

ABSTRACT
In the last few decades xenophobic and extreme right-wing political movements have become increasingly strong electoral forces in many European countries. The Nordic countries have long been viewed as among the most tolerant countries in the world, with exemplary protection of minorities. Nevertheless, in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland, xenophobic parties also moved into first place during the past decade. Both national and international laws require governments to protect people against discriminatory treatment, but developing effective policies to cope with discrimination requires a clear understanding of the factors that trigger xenophobia. Despite a substantial body of cross-national research on the subject, the causes continue to be debated. The article reviews the relevant evidence in an effort to move closer to a clear understanding of causes of xenophobia, particularly in reference to the Nordic countries. Social identity theories, group threat theories, theories of nationalism and value theories all provide us with potentially useful cognitive explanations of xenophobia. To explain the perceived increase of xenophobic sentiments requires a dynamic theory of value change. The article draws on all these approaches, concluding that relatively secure people tend to be more tolerant than less secure once. Summing them up, I conclude that existential security/insecurity is the major cause of non-xenophobic/xenophobic attitudes. To test this hypothesis I utilize the data of the World Value Survey project, which covers all the Nordic countries over fifteen years. First, I compare the results of elections to the

[1] The work was funded by Russian Science Foundation (RSF). Grant number 17–18–01194.

Received 20 February 2018
Accepted 29 March 2018
Published online 3 April 2018

yakimova.ola@gmail.com

National Parliaments with the dynamics of xenophobic and non-xenophobic (tolerant) attitudes in these countries. Second, I perform a correlation between a society's GDP per capita at various times in the past and attitudes toward ethnic immigrants in Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and Finland. Based on the resulting findings, the article concludes that the massive surge of votes for xenophobic parties in the Nordic countries might seem to imply that it reflected an equally massive surge of xenophobic attitudes but this was not the case. Xenophobic attitudes showed the opposite trend. Xenophobic attitudes are more heavily shaped by the levels of insecurity one experience during one's formative years, which occurred several decades before the survey.

KEYWORDS
xenophobia, tolerance, international migration, ethnic immigrants, the Nordic countries, the theory of value change

Why Worry about Xenophobia?

The people of Western societies generally claim to favor equality and opportunity for all. But since the 1990s, xenophobic, deeply conservative and extreme right-wing political movements have emerged as increasingly strong electoral forces in much of Europe. The 2014 elections to the European Parliament saw a dramatic surge of support for xenophobic, authoritarian and anti-Europe political parties: these parties gaining a record-breaking 52 seats, a major gain over the 37 seats that they won in the 2009 elections (European Parliament, 2014).

The Nordic countries have long been viewed as among the most tolerant countries in the world, with exemplary protection of minorities. Nevertheless in Denmark (*Danish People's Party*), Norway (*The Progress Party*), Sweden (*Sweden Democrats*), and Finland (*The Finns Party*), xenophobic and anti-European parties also moved into first place, winning a large share of the vote than the major parties that have governed these countries for decades.

Because of xenophobic attitudes held by individuals in strategic positions, immigrants are widely perceived as an "outgroup" and discriminated against in the labour or housing markets (Rydgren, 2004). The expansion of xenophobic beliefs threatens the democratic structures of Western countries and may lead to their political destabilization. Moreover, increasing xenophobia is undermining support for the European Union.

As a complex social phenomenon, xenophobia exists at two levels. At its "private-domain" level, xenophobia is an excessive fear of those who are different from oneself. This level is essential; therefore, generally xenophobia has been defined as a fear of "others". At the "public-domain" level, fears manifest themselves as a dislike or hatred of a particular group of people, such as foreign immigrants. These

fears often are given some plausible rationalization. Thus, van der Veer, Yakusko, Ommundsen, and Higler (2011) identify five kinds of rationalization that people use to explain their fear of foreign migrants. For instance, people may say that they dislike them because they fear migrants' "political disloyalty" or they do not want to "lose their cultural identity."

From an objective point of view, these xenophobic beliefs are often irrational, because of their incongruence with reality. In the distant past, in hunting and gathering societies or early agrarian societies, "xenophobia could be realistic under conditions where it literally was a question of one tribe or other surviving. For example, under conditions where there was just enough land to support one tribe, and another tribe comes along" (Inglehart, 2017, p. 21). Today, xenophobia departs from the behavioral norms of civilized society, in which people are expected to relate with one another with respect and dignity. Xenophobia can have severe negative consequences. On the individual level, it brings psychological trauma to its victims. On the societal level, xenophobic attitudes may lead to increasing crimes rates and intensification of intergroup and intercultural conflicts that threaten social stability. On the economic level, it may bring destruction of property and can scare away potential foreign investors. Finally, in international politics level xenophobia tends to produce a negative image of the offending group or country. Given these undesirable consequences of xenophobia, the question arises: Why do people engage in xenophobic behavior even in the world's richest countries in times largely free of armed conflicts, natural disasters and poverty?

Interpretations of Xenophobia in Contemporary Social Theories

To answer this question we need to understand the causal chain that leads to prejudice and overt xenophobia. Various theories scrutinize the issue of international migration, such as theories of nation and nationalism, group threat/competition theories, theories of social identity, theories of value and value change.

A review of these theoretical approaches provides us with an insight that xenophobic attitudes usually (1) have objective sources and triggers; (2) are spread among particular groups of people and (3) can be observed in particular periods of time (Appendix, Table A. 1).

Most scholars agree that people's attitude toward immigrants is closely linked with the presence of ethnically different newcomers in their immediate environment. This happens because xenophobia is a phenomenon of interpersonal and intergroup interaction and thus, links with the issue of ingroup/outgroup demarcation where perceiving immigrants as an outgroup means perceiving them as a threat. Given that most developed contemporary societies are multiethnic, xenophobia can be interpreted as *tensions induced by multi-ethnic society* where ethnically different newcomers are visible, making it possible for them to be perceived as an outgroup and consequently, as a threat.

According to *theories of nation and nationalism,* xenophobia is considered as an *expression of the nationalist ideology*. In this theoretical approach, the nation-state

can be interpreted as being conducive to xenophobia toward foreigners because its very idea presupposes a constitutive intergroup division between "us" and "others". Consequently, ingroup/outgroup demarcation is natural for the nation-state and its institutional order is a form of social closure (Anderson, 1983; Brubaker, 1992). The belief that the state with its territory and culture belongs to the people who have been united into a nation develops a nationalistic ideology with a xenophobic worldview, where ethnic migrants are perceived as competitors for collective goods of indigenous population such as real rights of political participation and social support (Wimmer, 1997).

This statement resonates with a key idea of Blumer's (1958) *the group threat/ competition theory*, which claims that within a society there is always a resource stress. As a result, access to desired resources is limited and cannot be available to all groups. In these circumstances if an outgroup exists, it is perceived as a competitor for scarce economic resources and, consequently, as a threat.

However, the physical presence of an ethnically different group is only the first step in the causal chain to overt xenophobia. Hjerm and Nagayoshi (2011) argue that the size of the minority group per se does not trigger it. What really matters is the composition of immigrant population in terms of their cultural origin and religious belonging. Accordingly, a large proportion of culturally very distinct Muslim immigrants strengthens xenophobia among the majority population of European countries, because they are viewed as a *threat to values* cherished by Western peoples.

Taking into account all the above, at this point of analyses one can ask: Does the existence of the nation state make xenophobia inevitable? Is it possible to cope with the problem of ethnic ingroup/outgroup demarcation?

The role of nation-state in supporting xenophobic attitudes toward foreigners among its citizens examined in studies on *national identity and national pride*. Following the commonly proposed division between ethnic and civic components of society, researchers who work in this realm of social science argue that different forms of national identity and pride influence people's attitudes towards "others" in different ways.

For example, Smith (1991) suggests dividing national identity into two salient patterns: (1) *the civic national identity* and (2) *the ethnic national identity* where civic identification is assumed to be better than ethnic one because in the first case people living in a society can unite under common political rules and values in the name of democracy.

Hjerm (1998) goes further and introduces two more types of national identity: (3) *the multiple national identity*, when individuals base their national identity on both civic and ethnic factors at the same time, and (4) *the pluralistic national identity* when people have only a weak sense of national identity.

Hjerm concludes that having an ethnic national identity, together with a multiple national identity is associated with an increased risk of being xenophobic, while having a civic national identity or, being a pluralist, decreases that risk. The same is true for national pride. Hjerm divides an individual sense of pride into political (civic

dimension) and natio-cultural (ethnic dimension)[2] and demonstrates that the political dimension of national pride shows a negative correlation with xenophobia, while the natio-cultural dimension positively correlates with it (Hjerm, 1998, pp. 341, 344). On the whole, researches on national identity and national pride give empirical support to the assumption that to decrease the risk of xenophobia, the separation of civic and ethnic in nation-state is desirable.

Apart from a way of one's self-identification and the dimension of national pride they have, people's attitudes toward outgroups are influenced by their *values*. Researches on people's values linked with their attitudes toward ethnic groups provide us with knowledge about some important features of those who hold either tolerant or xenophobic attitudes toward immigrants. Thus, Leong and Ward (2006) demonstrate that only certain cultural values are really conducive to xenophobia. According to their findings, these values are uncertainty avoidance, power distance, mastery and masculinity. Conversely, individualism and harmony can be considered as desirable for a society if it aims to prevent xenophobic sentiments among its members.

One more important aspect that theories emphasize is the fact that xenophobic discourse receives varying amounts of support over time. Overall, the majority of scholars have agreed on two points. Firstly, there are *specific periods of time* when a surge of xenophobia can be easily observed: times of economic crises or recession almost always provide a breeding ground for socially detrimental outcomes. Secondly, a xenophobic interpretation of social crisis *does not appeal equally to all members of society*. Wimmer (1997) argues that such an interpretation is common among downwardly mobile groups, which members are dependent on a state support and are most threatened by a loss of their social status in times of crisis. Aydin, Kruger, Frey, and Fisher (2013) show that economic uncertainties and fear of social and financial decline make particular groups of individuals feel social exclusion that, in turn, leads them to displaced aggression manifested in intolerance towards minority groups. Taking ideas like these into account, Esses, Dovido, Jackson, and Armstrong (2001) developed the Instrumental Model of Group Conflict, which demonstrates that xenophobia towards foreign migrants is not a general ethnic prejudice but a distinct kind of prejudice based on zero-sum beliefs concerning competition. In other words, xenophobia, as a fear of "others", has a rational nature. In view of the above, xenophobia can be considered as a kind of a coping strategy in times of crisis for particular groups of people.

To summarize, theoretical and empirical studies reviewed above claim that anti-immigrant attitudes have objective sources and that even though people are not averse to immigrants, they may become more or less xenophobic under some specific conditions. This manifests itself, for instance, in the so-called "immigration

[2] Political pride Hjerm interprets as pride in things that constitute civic national identity (political institutions of the society, its economy and social security system) and natio-cultural pride – as part of ethnic understanding of the nation-state (history, culture, different achievements of people within a certain society) (Hjerm, 1998, p. 343).

dilemma" which means that in hard times of crises members of majority population perceive immigrants negatively regardless of whether the newcomers do well in the society or not. In the former case, their success may be explained as coming at the expense of natives; and in the latter case, immigrants are seen as detrimental to national well-being system (Esses et al., 2001).

Nevertheless, regardless of whether these studies interpret xenophobia as an element in a political struggle for collective goods of a nation-state or a coping strategy of those who feel socially excluded in times of economic crises, and whether scholars see xenophobia as a function of national identity based on ethnicity or a function of particular values shared by individuals in the state, they do not offer any clear explanation of how these values and identities are shaped, what changes them, and why such changes occur. As a result, the theories provide us with static, cognitive explanations of factors underlying xenophobic sentiments among public. However, if we want to explain the dramatic surge in support of xenophobic parties and the perceived increase of xenophobic sentiments in Western countries requires a dynamic theory of value change.

Almost 50 years ago, Inglehart proposed *a theory of value change*, which holds that relatively secure people tend to be more tolerant than less secure ones (Inglehart, 1971). If people grow up experiencing high levels of existential security (that is, taking survival for granted) they tend to hold Postmaterialist and Self-expression values that make them relatively open to change and tolerant of outgroups. On the contrary, if people are shaped by existential insecurity during their pre-adult years, they tend to develop Materialist and Survival values that encourage an authoritarian xenophobic outlook, strong in-group solidarity, and rejection of outsiders (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005; Inglehart & Norris, 2004).

Confirming this interpretation, Inglehart and Welzel (2005) find that high levels of existential security during one's formative years leads to an intergenerational shift toward self-expression values, and thus to higher levels of tolerance. This means, that at every time point, the younger generations are more Postmaterialist than the older ones.

Nevertheless, tolerance levels do not change overnight. In keeping with this hypothesis, we would expect to find a time lag between economic development and a society's level of xenophobia. A society's current level of xenophobia will be more accurately predicted by its level of economic development several decades before the survey (during the pre-adult years of the median respondent) than by its level of economic security at the time of the survey.

Inglehart and Welzel's theory of value change also demonstrates the presence of clear period effects in response to current economic and social conditions: in time of existential insecurity people tend to shift toward more Materialist (Survival) and xenophobic views – and with economic recovery, they shift back toward their long-term baseline (Inglehart 1990; Inglehart & Welzel 2005).

Accordingly, I hypothesize that existential insecurity is the major cause of xenophobic attitudes. This article tests this hypothesis in the Nordic countries that simultaneously (1) are among the prosperous in the world, (2) have experienced

substantial flows of migrants, and (3) have experienced the rise in support of rite-wing political movements over last decades. All these criteria meet Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and Finland (in slightly different terms in the context of richness).

The Issue of Immigration and the Rise of Right-Wing Populism in the Nordics

The Nordic countries are among the world's richest. They are renowned for their gender and economic equality, high levels of trust, social cohesion, extensive welfare programs, powerful unions, relatively low unemployment rates, and so on (Mulvand & Stahl, 2015; Booth, 2014). The Nordics sustainably continue to flourish, regularly lead the global rankings, be it in education, happiness or quality of life, and appear to be centers of innovation. The "Nordic Model" of welfare state is an exemplary model of society for many across the world. For decades, public has seen these countries as the "quintessential tolerance and human right-based" (Armback, 2015).

Recently, however, the international media have reported on the racism and hate crimes in Scandinavia that seem to be linked with the rise of right-wing political movements in the region. The *Danish Progress Party*, the *Sweden Democrats*, the *Finns Party* and Norway's *Progress Party* have all seen their support trend upwards in election after election over the past two decades (Appendix, Table A. 2).

Thus, the results of elections to the National Parliaments show an increase in the ratings of support of the *Danish People's Party* (a 9-point increase over the last 14 years), *Finns* (+17 percentage points since 1999), and *Sweden Democrats* (+13 over the last 16 years). *Norway's Progress Party* has a relatively large number of supporters and has won from 15 to 23 percent of votes over the past two decades. The same goes with the elections to the European Parliament. The result of the *Danish People's Party* in 2014 was improved by 21 percentage points in comparison with 1999, the *Finns* demonstrated a 12-point increase and *Sweden Democrats* – a 9-point increase.

Increasingly, the political climate in the Nordics has been dominated by right-wing populist parties that propagate anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim rhetoric, and ethnically intolerant and violently charged language creeping gradually into the mainstream. Thus, Hege Ulstein – the chief political writer of the Oslo newspaper *Dagsavisen* – says: "The way people talk about Islam and Muslims here has slowly, inch by inch over the years, moved so that things that would have caused total outrage 10 years ago only cause mild annoyance today – things like 'there is something in the Muslim culture that threatens us and we have to send them away'. You couldn't say then, and you hear it in the Parliament and in the newspapers now" (Saunders, 2011).

Owing to Ander Breivik atrocities against an "Islamic colonization" in 2011, the Norwegian *Progress Party* came under fire since their strong stance against immigration fed xenophobia and might have influenced the terrorist. Norwegian politicians at large agreed to tone down in the debates on immigration then, but on the eve of scheduled elections, they all shifted back to their common practice

of populist rhetoric (Ladegaard, 2013). Thus, a study of Wiggen (2013) based on content analyses of academic literature, mainstream media and online discussions in Norway before and after 2011 shows that the public debate on immigration is fundamentally negative in the country, and xenophobia toward Muslim immigrants is visible in the media and everyday life.

Although Sweden remains the only European country where the majority has a positive attitude toward non-EU immigration (European Social Survey, 2017), the rise in the popularity of the right-wing populism fuels xenophobia there as well. During 2014, about three hundred attacks on beggars and in Roma camps were reported, which is 23 percent higher than a year before. A UN report published in 2015 highlighted the rise of Afrophobic hate crimes in the country – 1,075 in 2015 versus 980 in 2014 (Armback, 2015).

The issue of immigration, populist rhetoric and stance against ethnic migrants are three factors that unite the four above mentioned right-wing parties. Their growing influence has moved in parallel with the four Nordic countries' changing population composition and their electorates' attitudes to immigration (Nardelli & Arnett, 2015). According to Eurobarometer's results (European Commission & Eurobarometer, 2015) immigration is currently seen by Europeans as the most important issue facing the EU (38 %). This item is mentioned by half of the population of Denmark (50 %) and Sweden (48 %), and the Finns mentioned it as the third most important issue facing the EU (24 %). At the same time, immigration remains the most important concern at national level only for Denmark, mentioned by 35 % of Danes. It is the fourth main nation concern for Swedes (28 %) and only the sixth – for Finns (6 %).

To summarize, the extraordinary wealthy Nordic countries today all have sizable right-wing populist movements dominated by xenophobic sentiments. Taking this into account as an example of welfare chauvinism, currently, the attempts are made to tie the relative success of the Scandinavian welfare states with their cultural and ethnic homogeneity, and therefore, to demonstrate that the "Nordic Model" is inherently racist (Mulvand & Stahl, 2015). For example, *National Review's* Kevin Williamson, attacking Bernie Sanders for his usage in the political campaign ideas of Nordic social democracy, argues that white homogeneity accounts for the Scandinavian welfare state and that to save and protect the homogeneity and, consequently, the welfare state, the population of these countries has been overtly xenophobic toward ethnic migrants: "The nastier of Europe's anti-immigrant and ethno-nationalist movements argue that ethnic solidarity is necessary to preserve the welfare state…", or "Nations of Northern Europe were until recently ethnically homogenous, overwhelmingly white, hostile to immigration, nationalistic, and frankly racist in much of their domestic policy" (Williamson, 2015).

To some extent, it is possible to agree that "welfare chauvinism" is a sort of contemporary malaise in the Nordic political climate but the causes of this phenomenon cannot be traced to any inherent xenophobia of Scandinavians. As is evident from the theoretical analyses presented at the beginning of this article, populist and overtly xenophobic parties draw their support from groups of people who have become uprooted from relatively secure lives as a consequence of

deindustrialization and welfare retrenchment. Moreover, as the preliminary results of my study demonstrate, the people of the Nordic countries are not getting more xenophobic toward foreign migrants in the course of time. On the contrary, they have become more tolerant.

The Dynamic of Xenophobic and Non-Xenophobic Attitudes toward Immigrants in the Nordic Countries

Let us measure whether there has actually been an increase in xenophobic attitudes in Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Finland by comparing surveys carried out over 15 years using the data of World Value Survey (WVS). To do so, I combine two WVS's attitudinal indicators that measure xenophobia[3] into a scale where "0" means tolerant (non-xenophobic) attitude toward immigrants and "2" means strongly xenophobic attitude.

According to the empirical data, the population of the Nordic countries can be characterized as relatively tolerant/non-xenophobic in comparison with other European countries. At the same time, depending on the country, from 30 to 80 per cent of the respondents express a score equal to or higher than "1" (at least one xenophobic answer). Moreover, the data distribution in Table A. 3 exhibits a clear overall trend. In all Nordic countries, non-xenophobic categories showed noticeable increases, whereas xenophobic ones – decreased. In this context, it is interesting to look at national distribution of xenophobic/non-xenophobic answers (Appendix, Table A. 3).

The most tolerant country seems to be Sweden – with about 74 percent of non-xenophobic answers and only 2 percent of xenophobic in survey 2010–2012. Very close to Sweden are two other Nordic countries – Denmark and Norway, that in the end of the 21st century's first decade not only had very small xenophobic populations (4 percent respectively) but also have been demonstrating a trend toward decreasing numbers of intolerant citizens during the past twenty years. Finland is on the relatively negative side with increasing level of xenophobic attitudes from 4 to 14 percent over the last decade.

This brief description shows that xenophobic/non-xenophobic attitudes toward immigrants are dynamic, and differ from each other even in geographically close and economically similar countries; secondly, these attitudes have variated during the last decade. The reasons require further in-depth analysis.

The hypothesis that a society's current level of xenophobia will be more accurately predicted by its level of economic development several decades before the survey than by its level of development at the time of the survey is counter-intuitive. Normally, the strongest predictor of a phenomenon at time *X* is an independent variable measured shortly before time *X*; earlier measures will tend to show less impact. Because xenophobic attitudes partly reflect deep-rooted orientations

[3] 1) Would not like to have immigrants/foreign workers as neighbors: 1 – mentioned, 2 – not mentioned; 2) When jobs are scarce, employers should give priority to people of this country over immigrants: 1 – agree, 2 – neither, 3 – disagree.

based on the level of security or insecurity that one experiences during one's pre-adult years, these attitudes show sizeable intergenerational differences that reflect a country's conditions several decades before the survey. Preliminary analyses tend to support this hypothesis.

The data in Table 1 suggests that people's attitudes are sensitive to the conditions they experienced during their pre-adult years, producing a time-lag of several decades between society's attaining high level of economic security, and accepting foreigners as neighbors who have equal rights to jobs. Table 1 also demonstrates that a society's level of Self-expression values at the time of the survey is the strongest predictor of its current level of tolerance; a massive body of research demonstrates that Self-expression values themselves reflect the extent, to which people are shaped by high level of economic, physical, and social security during their formative years – from one to five decades before the survey (Inglehart, 1997; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005; Inglehart, 2018).

To sum up, the massive surge of votes for xenophobic parties in the Nordic countries might seem to imply that it reflects an equally massive surge of xenophobic attitudes, but this is not the case. Xenophobic attitudes show the opposite trend. On the contrary, the surge of xenophobic votes are to a great extent a protest vote motivated by the economic decline and unemployment linked with the Great Recession, reaction to Euro crises, and crumbling of the welfare state, which coincides with unprecedented levels of immigration.

In past decades, a large share of the population of developed countries, including Scandinavia, has experienced a decline of real income and the rise of income inequality. The Great Recession of 2008–2012 led to heightened insecurity and further contributed to a rising sense of xenophobia especially in the countries

Table 1.

Correlations between a society's GDP/capita at various times in the past and responses to questions about jobs for one's own nationality and about having immigrants/foreign workers as neighbors in the Nordic Countries (Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland)

	I would not like to have immigrants/ foreign workers as neighbors	When jobs are scarce, employers should give priority to people of this country over immigrants	Attitudes toward immigrants (xenophobic/non-xenophobic)
2000 GDP/capita	–.002	.112**	–.080**
1990 GDP/capita	–.001	.117**	–.085**
1980 GDP/capita	.004	.155**	–.114**
Survival/Self-Expression values at the time of survey	.217**	.353**	.367**

** $p < 0{,}01$ Source: WVS 2008–2009; Penn World Tables 7.1

that experienced large flows of immigration in recent years. In this context, the rising support for xenophobic parties in contemporary Nordic politics does not reflect increasingly xenophobic mass attitudes. It reflects two analytically distinct, but causally related consequences of neoliberal globalization – mass immigration and deterioration of welfare services.

References

Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined Communities*. London: New Left Books.

Armbäck, A. (2015). Xenophobia and Antiziganism on the Rise in Sweden. *Romedia Foundation*, November 10. Retrieved from https://romediafoundation.wordpress.com/2015/11/10/

Aydin, N., Krueger, J. I., Frey, D., Kastenmuller, A., & Fisher, P. (2014). Social Exclusion and Xenophobia: Intolerant Attitudes toward Ethnic and Religious Minorities. *Group Process & Intergroup Relations*, 17 (3), 371–387. DOI: 10.1177/1368430213510569

Blumer, H. (1958). Race Prejudice as a Sense of Group Position. *Pacific Sociological Review*, 1 (1), 3–7. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/1388607

Booth, M. (2014). Dark Lands: The Grim Truth behind the "Scandinavian Miracle". *The Guardian*, January 27. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jan/27/scandinavian-miracle-brutal-truth-denmark-norway-sweden

Brubaker, R. (1992). *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Esses, V. M., Dovido, J. F., Jackson, L. M., & Armstrong, T. L. (2001). The Immigration Dilemma: The Role of Perceived Group Competition, Ethnic Prejudice, and National Identity. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57(3), 389–412. DOI: 10.1111/0022-4537.00220

European Commission & Eurobarometer (2015). *Public Opinion in the European Union*. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/archives/eb/eb83/eb83_first_en.pdf

European Parliament (2014). *Results of the 2014 European Elections*. Retrieved from http://www.europarl.europa.eu/elections2014-results/en/election-results-2014.html

European Social Survey (2017). *Attitudes toward Immigration in Europe: Myths and Realities*. Retrieved from https://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/docs/findings/IE_Handout_FINAL.pdf

Hjerm, M. (1998). National Identities, National Pride and Xenophobia: a Comparison of Four Western Countries. *Acta Sociologica*, 41 (4), 335–347. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/4201098

Hjerm, M., & Nagayoshi, K. (2011).The Composition of the Minority Population as a Threat: Can Real Economic and Cultural Threats Explain Xenophobia? *International Sociology*, 26 (6), 815–843. DOI: 10.1177/0268580910394004

Iakimova, O. (2017). Ksenofobiya v angloyazychnyh social'nyh issledovaniyah: ot ob'yasneniya prichin k ponimaniyu dinamiki [Xenophobia in English social research: from explaining the reasons to understanding the dynamics]. *Socium i Vlast'*, 6 (68), 44–51. Retrieved from https://elibrary.ru/download/elibrary_32389209_86266763.pdf

Inglehart, R. (1971). The Silent Revolution in Europe: Intergenerational Change in Post-Industrial Societies. *American Political Science Review*, 65 (4), 991–1017. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/1953494

Inglehart, R. (1990). *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society*. Princeton University Press.

Inglehart, R. (2017). "There is a crucial need for competent social scientist…" *Changing Societies & Personalities*, 1 (1), 12–26. DOI: 10.15826/csp.2017.1.1.002

Inglehart, R. (2018). *Cultural Evolution: People's Motivations are Changing, and Reshaping the World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Inglehart, R., & Norris, P. (2017). Trump and the Xenophobic Populist Parties: The Silent Revolution in Reverse. *Perspectives on Politics*, 15 (2), 443–454. DOI: 10.1017/S1537592717000111

Inglehart, R., & Welzel, C. (2005). *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ladegaard, I. (2013). Norway's Problem with Immigration. *Science Nordic*, January 28. Retrieved from http://sciencenordic.com/norways-problem-immigration

Leong, C.-H., & Ward, C. (2006). Cultural Values and Attitudes toward Immigrants and Multiculturalism: The Case of the Eurobarometer Survey on Racism and Xenophobia. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 30, 799–810. DOI: 10.1016/j.ijintrel.2006.07.001

Mulvad, A. M., & Stahl, R. M. (2015). What Makes Scandinavia Different? *Jacobin*, April 8. Retrieved from https://www.jacobinmag.com/2015/08/national-review-williamson-bernie-sanders-sweden/

Nardelli, A., & Arnett, G. (2015). Why Are Anti-Immigrant Parties So Strong in the Nordic States? *The Guardian*, June 19. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2015/jun/19/rightwing-anti-immigration-parties-nordic-countries-denmark-sweden-finland-norway

Noack, R. (2015). When It Comes to Refugees, Scandinavia is Deeply Divided. *The Washington Post*, September 9. Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/09/09/when-it-comes-to-refugees-scandinavia-isnt-quite-the-promised-land/

Rydgren, J. (2008). Immigration Sceptics, Xenophobes or Racists? Radical Right-Wing Voting in Six West European Countries. *European Journal of Political Research*, 47, 737–765. DOI: 10.1111/j.1475-6765.2008.00784.x

Rydgren, J. (2004). The Logic of Xenophobia. *Rationality and Society*, 16 (2), 123–148. DOI: 10.1177/1043463104043712

Saunders, D. (2011). Xenophobia creeps into mainstream Scandinavia. *The Globe and Mail*, July 29. Retrieved from https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/xenophobia-creeps-into-mainstream-scandinavia/article588815/

Smith, A. D. (1991). *National Identity*. London: Penguin Books.

Sniderman, P. M., Petersen, M. B., Slothuus, R., & Stubager, R. (2014). *Paradoxes of Liberal Democracy: Islam, Western Europe and the Danish Cartoon Crisis*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Van der Veer, K., Ommundsen, R., Yakusko, O., & Higler, L. (2011). Cross-National Measure of Fear-Based Xenophobia: Development of a Cumulative Scale. *Psychological Reports*, 109 (1), 27–42. DOI: 10.2466/07.17.PR0.109.4.27-42

Wiggen, M. (2012). Rethinking Anti-Immigration Rhetoric after Oslo and Utoya Terror Attack. *New Political Science*, 34 (4), 568–604. DOI: 10.1080/07393148.2012.729744

Williamson, K. D. (2015). The Whitest Privilege. *National Reviewer*, July 8. Retrieved from https://www.nationalreview.com/2015/07/socialism-left-white/

Williamson, K. D. (2015). Bernie's Strange Brew of Nationalism and Socialism. *National Reviewer*, July 20. Retrieved from https://www.nationalreview.com/2015/07/bernie-sanders-national-socialism/

Wimmer, A. (1997). Explaining Racism and Xenophobia. a critical review of current research approaches. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 20 (1), 17–41. DOI: 10.1080/01419870.1997.9993946

Appendix

Table A. 1.

Interpretation of xenophobia in some contemporary social theories

Characteristics related to xenophobia	Theoretical approaches				
	Group Threat Theories	Theories of Nation and Nationalism	Social Identity Theories	Value Theories	The Theory of Value Change
General understanding	xenophobia as an expression of tensions induced by a multi-ethnic society				
Causes	–resource stress –cultural dominant position of majority	–nation state as such –ingroup/outgroup demarcation –nationalist ideology	the ethnic dimension of individual self-definition as a member of a larger community	certain cultural values (uncertainty avoidance, power distance, mastery and masculinity)	existential insecurity
Triggers	–size and –composition of the minority group	visibility of ethnically different newcomers	physical presence of ethnic-minority groups		times of existential insecurity
	times of economic crises/recession				
Perceived image of minority groups	–competitor for scarce resources –threat to the cultural dominant position	threat to collective goods	“others”/threat		
Risk groups	groups that compete for scarce resources	downwardly mobile groups	socially excluded members of society	people who share certain cultural values	people who experience the feeling of existential insecurity

Table A. 2.

Elections results of far-right parties in the Nordic countries

Name of party	National Parliament elections year %					European Parliament elections %			
						1999	2004	2009	2014
Danish People's Party	2001 12.0	2005 13.2	2007 13.8	2011 12.3	2015 21.1	5.8	6.8	15.3	26.6
The Finns Party	1999 1.0	2003 1.6	2007 4.1	2011 19.1	2015 17.7	0.8	0.5	9.8	12.9
Sweden Democrats	1998 0.4	2002 1.4	2006 2.9	2010 5.7	2014 12.9	0.3	1.1	3.3	9.7
The Progress Party (Norway)	2001 14.6	2005 22.1	2009 22.9	2013 16.3	2017 15.3	–	–	–	–

Source: National elections (1998-2017)

Table A. 3.

The dynamics of attitudes toward immigrants in the Nordic countries

Country/ Wave*:	Non-Xenophobic %						Country/ Wave*:	Mixed %						Country/ Wave*:	Xenophobic %						(N)
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI		I	II	III	IV	V	VI		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	
Denmark	37	–	51	–	61	–	Denmark	53	–	41	–	34	–	Denmark	11	–	8	–	4	–	4495
Finland	16	17	27	27	24	–	Finland	80	71	63	60	62	–	Finland	4	12	11	12	14	–	5709
Norway	35	49	–	56	60	–	Norway	51	43	–	40	35	–	Norway	14	8	–	4	4	–	5517
Sweden	53	68	76	79	69	74	Sweden	41	30	22	20	27	24	Sweden	8	2	2	1	5	2	7421

Source: World Value Survey (1989-2012) * Wave: I: 1989-1993; II: 1994-1999; III: 1999-2004; IV: 2005-2007; V: 2008-2009; VI: 2010-2012

Changing Societies & Personalities, 2018
Vol. 2, No. 1
http://dx.doi.org/10.15826/csp.2018.2.1.029

ARTICLE

Confucianism as the Axiological Basis for China's Management Model

Larisa Piskunova
Ural Federal University, Yekaterinburg, Russia

Lu Jia Jin
Ural Federal University, Yekaterinburg, Russia

ABSTRACT
The study of China's management model is not only important in terms of its essential description but also in the context of the search for optimal management models. Reflection on Chinese management practice is informed by its uniqueness, which reflects national identity, especially as manifested in traditional texts from Confucius, Lao Tzu, Sun Tzu until Mao Zedong. The relevance of this study is also connected with the interest of Chinese people themselves in pragmatising the intellectual tradition in their search for axiological bases of rapid contemporary social and economic change. One of the most important ideological doctrines of the Asian society underlying the practice of governance is Confucianism. The article analyses its main theses and their transformation during the centuries-old history of China. The phenomenon of Neo-Confucianism is separately understood as a source of spiritual traditions, socio-political attitudes and psychological stereotypes of the Chinese people.
The purpose of the article is to describe the system of value categories of Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism that influence the folding and development of modern China's management model.

KEYWORDS
Chinese intellectual tradition and philosophy, management model in China, Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism

Received 11 March 2018
Accepted 28 March 2018
Published online 3 April 2018

lppiskunova@gmail.com
lujiajin@yandex.ru

Introduction

One of the first western thinkers to raise the question concerning the influence of spiritual life on economic practices and social structures was Max Weber. In the series of works entitled *The Economic Ethics of World Religions and their Laws*, Weber attempted to link religious views with the economic behaviour of their followers. The section devoted to China, entitled *Confucianism and Taoism*, was written in 1913. However, Weber's primary interest in this study was not China or Confucianism per se, but rather the phenomenon of world domination by Western civilisation. Therefore, for Weber, China played the role of a radically different intellectual approach towards modernity than that taken in the West (Yang, 1951).

By the middle of the 20th century, in organisation and management theory, a keen interest was being taken in the problem of organisational culture. Anthropologists, sociologists and psychologists adapted methods of their field to diagnose problem in organisational behaviours and solve practical problems in management. Edward T. Hall developed the concept of human behaviour in a group, based on cultural differences and psychological notions of a comfortable personal space (Hall, 1977). Fons Trompenaars highlighted a variety of models of corporate cultures, in which national and cultural differences form the basis for the specification of intercultural communications in relation to general business and management activities (Trompenaars & Woolliams, 2004).

Geert Hofstede's research into the influence of cultural and national factors on governance placed a particular significance on internal communications and corporate culture of intellectual traditions. When applying these concepts to Southeast Asia, in addition to traditional markers – individualism and collectivism, masculinity and femininity, uncertainty avoidance and power distance – Hofstede singled out another term, which he referred to as "Confucian dynamism" or long term orientation (LTO). The principles and values identified by Hofstede as important for the activities of Asian companies are rooted in Confucian ideas. For example:

- Inequality in status leads to social stability.
- The family is the prototype of all social organisations and relationships.
- Vital virtues – tireless efforts, the acquisition of useful skills and, if possible, higher education, avoiding extravagance, perseverance in the face of difficulties (Hofstede, 1984).

Russian sinologists Artem Kobzev and Vladimir Malyavin argue that only a study of cultural traditions in all their diversity will help us to understand the current political and socio-economic situation in China. Malyavin examines the historical originality of the Chinese management style in detail, with a particular emphasis on the assumptions supporting the distinct Chinese worldview and differences in Chinese management styles to those obtaining in neighbouring countries of the Far East (Malyavin, 2005). Tu Weiming and Kobzev show that Confucian and Neo-Confucian ideals and values are adequate approaches for solving basic problems in modern China. The main problem is seen to be related to how to adapt to the modern world without losing one's own cultural continuity (Kobzev, 2002; Tu, 1979).

Both Chinese and Western management theorists actively explore the specificity of China's management model in terms of its spiritual foundations, social order and traditional economic life. The studies carried out by Yi Zhongtian, Wu Yuxin, Wei Rongbin, Ge Rongjin present analyses of pragmatic and theoretical aspects of Confucianism (Yi, 2009; Wu, 2004; Wei, 2015; Ge, 2000).

Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism – the Bases of the Chinese Intellectual Tradition, Practice of Thought and Behavioural Patterns

In terms of influencing global history, Confucius (551–479 BC) stands alongside the founders of major world religions: Jesus Christ, Buddha and Muhammad. Following his death, his basic teachings were collected by his students into the classic Confucianist text *The Analects*. For many centuries, this book, which only has 20,000 words, has been required reading for any reasonably educated person in China.

While, in its outward form, Confucianism does not resemble a religion and lacks any church-like institutions, in terms of its edification of the masses, formation of stereotypes and moral principles, it has successfully performed a role comparative to that of a religion. However, one fundamental difference between Confucianism and Judaism, Christianity or Islam is that the words of the prophets of these religions are perceived to be equivalent to the word of God; thus, they are seen as acting as mouthpieces of the Divine. Confucianism, on the other hand, is acknowledged to be the creation and word of a genuine human being.

According to Weber, Confucianism is a "pure type" of Asian political religion, as opposed to the European religions of salvation. As such, it consists in a practically-oriented, worldly rationalism, which lacks an ethic of salvation or concepts of sin, evil, but instead leads humans towards an adaptation to the world. The Confucian spiritual tradition influences Chinese workaholism, working efficiency and diligence. Since a key principle of Chinese culture consists in the different attitude taken towards the familiar and the unfamiliar, Confucianism consists in an "ethics of external norms, not external beliefs" (Yang, 1951).

Thus, Confucianism comprises an ethical-philosophical doctrine, shaped and developed by its disciples and followers, which may be variously defined in terms of a worldview, lifestyle, political ideology, scholarly tradition and philosophy. Its interest, then, lies not merely in the ossified "words of Confucius", but also as a living tradition that continues to be developed by its adherents. In the history of Chinese social and political thought, the development referred to as "Neo-Confucianism", which arose during the Song Dynasty (960–1279 AD), came to form the common traditional spiritual culture of China. Since the period of "reform and opening up" during the late 1970s and associated search for appropriate ideological guidelines, the subject of Neo-Confucianism has been the topic of particular research attention in the People's Republic of China.

In his book *Humanity and Self-Cultivation*, Tu Weiming, the most influential modern Neo-Confucianist, explains the doctrine of Neo-Confucianism from multiple perspectives, including in terms of its religious aspect and function as worldview

system. While admitting the negative consequences of Confucianism, which have influenced both traditional and modern Chinese conceptions of nationhood – above all, in terms of despotism and nepotism – through a discussion of the problem of complete self-cultivation and human self-actualisation, leading to responsibility for life, Tu Weiming seeks to identify the perennial humanistic essence (Tu, 1979, p. 78).

In Tu Weiming's interpretation, Confucianism posits human achievement not as an one-time act, but rather as a process. For the Confucian tradition, the idea of distinguishing "this" and "the other" life is entirely alien; therefore, everything is centred on life itself. Unlike Christianity, the original moral authority in Confucianism isn't God, but a person, without whose self-development in terms of a continuous effort to realise one's own humanity, biological growth becomes meaningless (Tu, 1979, p. 35). For Tu Weiming, Confucianism in general is based on dynamic spiritual self-development, rather than static imitation. Thus, personal maturation becomes of central importance in Neo-Confucianism. In general, the philosophical meaning of Neo-Confucianism cannot be conveyed by the traditional language of academic philosophy. To understand Neo-Confucianism symbolically, therefore, it is sufficient and necessary to interpret it in terms of a lived lifestyle. In Neo-Confucianism, Tu Weiming believes, the truly inherent property of a person is simultaneously a fixed structure and an endless process.

In discussing the state of Confucianism during the period of "cultural revolution" and subsequent events in the People's Republic of China, Tu Weiming concludes that Confucian and neo-Confucian ideals and values are adequate means for solving the main problems facing modern China. By applying this approach, it is first necessary to search for a way to connect social modernisation, based on a fusion of tradition and the western intellectual tradition, then to return to an axiological approach to real life. In essence, Maoism is hostile to Confucianism; however, in failing to extricate the country from its "Confucian jurisdiction", the Maoists themselves experienced fear when faced with Confucian "ghosts and monsters" (*niu gui she shen*). Although Confucian symbolism is yet to be fully resurrected in China, Confucianism as a social dogma continues to maintain both a "stubborn reality of the past and a viable alternative to the future" (Tu, 1979, p. 285).

Introduction of Confucius and Confucianism

Life of Confucius

Confucius lived during one of the discordant periods in Chinese history, at a time when the country was being shaken by the constant internecine wars among the seven largest States – Qin, Chu, Qi, Han, Zhao, Wei and Yan – with each seeking hegemony over the others. Simultaneous, during this period, a fierce struggle was taking place between the heads of state (*wang*) and representatives of the hereditary aristocracies (Perelomov, 2000, p. 170). Born in the town of Zou in the State of Lu in the year 551 BC, Confucius came from a noble but impoverished family. Due to his exceptional intelligence and good health, he began an intensive period of self-education at 15 years old, hoping eventually to support himself with his knowledge

and obtain social preference. At the age of 30, Confucius began to teach and to acquire his first disciples. He recruited students according to the principle: "provide education for all people without discrimination" (*you jiao wu lei*). This was a new principle of recruiting students for Chinese at a time when schools generally only accepted the children of aristocrats. Confucius' school in the State of Lu was accessible to everyone, attracting 3,000 students, among which 72 were considered the most outstanding (Perelomov, 2000, p. 171).

Confucius was a great ancient Chinese ideologist, philosopher and enlightener. One Chinese poet said: "If Confucius had not been born, Chinese culture would have been forever dark". Of course, these are flattering words for Confucius; nevertheless, it is necessary to admit that Confucius' wide and comprehensive doctrine is of central importance to Chinese thought and a valuable world heritage in its own right. Heaven, earth, sovereign, parents, teachers – this is the hierarchy of respectability in the ancient China. As the the first person to propose that the natural future for scholars was to become an official, Confucius became symbolic of the teaching profession (*a good scholar will make an official* [学而优则仕]) (Yi, 2009). Thus, Confucius, who died in 479 BC at the ages of 73 and was buried in Qufu, came to influence not only Chinese and Asian society but the rest of the world.

The Chinese proverb says: "T*o know half of the Analects is to know the world*". It was during the Han dynasty (206 BC – 220 AD) that the sovereign adopted Confucianism as the official state ideology and began a period of ousting other doctrines and overwhelmingly replacing them with Confucianism, which has continued more or less uninterrupted for over 2,000 years. It may be said without exaggeration that every Chinese is a follower of Confucianism.

> *The Master*[1] *said: The learning virtue without proper cultivation; the not thoroughly discussing what is learned; not being able to move towards righteousness of which a knowledge is gained; and not being able to change what is not good – these are the things which occasion me solicitude* (子曰: 德之不修, 学之不讲, 闻义不能徙, 不善不能改, 是吾忧也 – 《论语述而篇》) (Legge, 1861). When there are no conditions for moral behaviour in the country, Confucius feels sorrow. Throughout his life, Confucius sought to propagate his political views in order to create a civilised state.

The Ethical-Philosophical Foundation of Confucianism

Hierarchy and Harmony

"Harmony-in-hierarchy", which has been proposed as the key to understanding Chinese social behaviour, is a value that can be traced back to the philosophy of Confucius. From a Confucianist perspective, an isolated individual is an unnatural and absurd abstraction, since an individual is essentially a social being, defined and constituted by the bundles of his or her social relationships in the world. Thus social roles and responsibility are to be seen as something to fulfil rather than to breaking

[1] Confucius' students called him "Master".

free from (Jie & Anthony, 2004, p. 10). The Confucian tradition stresses not only that man exists solely in and through his relationships to others but also that these relationships are necessarily hierarchical; most importantly, social harmony rests upon honouring necessary obligations (Jie & Anthony, 2004, p. 11).

> *Duke Jing, of Qi, asked Confucius about government. Confucius replied: There is government, when the prince is a prince, the minister is minister; when the father is a father and the son is a son* (君君臣臣，父父子子 – 《论语颜渊篇》) (Legge, 1861). Here Confucius means that in order to run the country, the prince must be a good (right) prince, the minister – a good minister, the father – a good father, and the son a good son. We can understand it through another saying in "*The Analects*".

> *The Duke Ding asked how a prince should employ his ministers, and how ministers should serve their prince. Confucius replied: a prince should employ his minister according to according to the rules of propriety; ministers should serve their prince with faithfulness* (定公问：君使臣，臣事君，如之何？孔子对曰：君使臣以礼，臣事君以忠。 – 《论语八佾篇》) (Legge, 1861).

Confucianism considers that hierarchy and harmony always coexist between communication of prince and ministers. Therefore, it is not a just in the West that Chinese are considered always to be waiting for the "kind despot".

> *Mencius*[2] *said to the king Xuan of Qi: When the prince regards his ministers as his hands and feet, his ministers regard their prince as their belly and heart; when he regards them as his dogs and horses, they regard him as another man; when he regards them as the ground or as grass, they regard him as a robber and an enemy* (孟子告齐宣王曰：君之视臣如手足，则臣视君如腹心；君之视臣如犬马，则臣视君如国人；君之视臣如土芥，则臣视君如寇雠。 – 《孟子离娄下》) (Legge, 1861).

> *Even Mencius said: The people are the most important element in a nation; the spirits of the land and grain are the next; the sovereign is the lightest* (民为贵社稷次之，君为轻 – 《孟子尽心下篇》) (Legge, 1861). This is a development of an idea inherent in Confucianism. In order to explain this idea, we need to know the "five cardinal relationships" of Confucianism – "*wu lun*" (emperor-officials, father-son, older brother-younger brother, husband-wife, and between friends). Notably, they are both hierarchical and familial in nature (Yu, 2006, p. 37). *Mencius explained: To teach the relations of humanity: how, between father and son, there should be affection; between sovereign and minister, righteousness; between husband and wife, attention to their separate functions; between old and young, a proper order; and between friends, fidelity* (教以人伦，父子有亲，君臣有义，夫妇有别，长幼有序，朋友有信 – 《孟子·滕文公上》) (Legge, 1861).

[2] Mencius (372–289 BC or 385–303 or 302 BC) was a Chinese philosopher who has often been described as the "Second Sage" – that is, after only Confucius himself.

To maintain true harmony, three prior conditions are required: a favourable climate, geographical position and support of the people. In Confucian thought, harmony applies not just to humans, but also animals and the world as a whole. Confucius said:

> *I have heard that rulers of states and chiefs of families are not troubled lest their people should be few, but are troubled lest they should not keep their several places; that they are not troubled with fears of poverty, but are troubled with fears of a want of contented repose among the people in their several places. For when the people keep their several places, there will be no poverty; when harmony prevails, there will be no scarcity of people; and when there is such a contented repose, there will be no rebellious upsetting* (丘也闻有国有家者，不患寡而患不均，不患贫而患不安。盖均无贫，和无寡，安无倾。– 《论语季氏篇》) (Legge, 1861).

Therefore, Confucius believed that state should appreciate peace and harmony, but these should be based on the principle of hierarchy (*wulun*).

Benevolence and Propriety (ren and li)

Ren, which is the central idea behind Confucianism, is the capacity of compassion or benevolence for fellow humans. As such, it is essentially expressed through social relationships (Po, 2009). *Now the benevolent, wishing to be established himself, seeks also to establish others; wishing to be enlarged himself, he seeks also to enlarge other* (夫人者,己欲立而立人,己欲达而达人 – 《论语雍也篇》) (Legge, 1861). The perfection of one's life cannot stop at perfecting one's own self, but should involve perfecting the lives of others (Po, 2009).

> *Yan Yuan*[3] *asked about benevolence. Confucius said: To subdue one's self and return to propriety is benevolence. If a man can for one day subdue himself and return to propriety, all under heaven will ascribe benevolence to him* (克己复礼为仁， 一日克己复礼，天下归仁焉 – 《论语颜渊篇》) (Legge, 1861).

> *Zi Gong*[4] *asked: What do you pronounce concerning the poor man who yet does not flatter, and the rich man who is not proud? The Master replied: They will do; but they are not equal to him, who, though poor, is yet cheerful, and to him, who, though rich, loves the rules of propriety* (未若贫而乐，富而好礼者也.– 《论语学而篇》) (Legge, 1861).

Confucius in all his life insisted on the idea, propriety is necessary for all of us. What's the connection between benevolence and propriety?

Li – or propriety – represents the many etiquettes, norms and protocols in both personal and institutional lives (Po, 2009). There are many principles that unpderpin

[3] Yan Yuan: the Student of Confucius.

[4] Zi Gong: the student of Confucius.

li; however, the first among these is that people should speak to others politely. In this context, we may understand the Chinese proverb: "*A kind word is remembered for a long time, but abusive language hurts the feelings immediately*" (良言一句三冬暖，恶语伤人六月寒).

As well as speech, action should also proceed in accordance with li. In The Analects, it is written: *When the villagers were drinking together, upon those who carried staffs going out, Confucius went out immediately after* (乡人饮酒，杖者出，斯出矣。– 《乡党篇》) (Legge, 1861).

> *When Confucius saw any one in a mourning dress, though it might be an acquaintance, he would change countenance; when he saw any one wearing the cap of full dress, or a blind person, though he might be in his undress, he would salute him in a ceremonious manner. To any person in mourning he bowed forward to the crossbar of his carriage; he bowed in the same way to any one bearing the tables of population* (见齐衰者，虽狎，必变。见冕者与瞽者，虽亵，必以貌。凶服者式之。式负版者。– 《论语乡党篇》) (Legge, 1861).

> Not only in wider society, but also in the family, it is necessary to act in accordance with li. In ancient China, there was a rule – Mourning for parents is observed for three years. *Confucius explained the reason: It is not till a child is three years old that it is allowed to leave the arms of its parents. And the three years' mourning is universally observed throughout the empire* (子生三年，然后免于父母之怀，三年之丧，天下通丧也 – 《论语阳货篇》) (Legge, 1861).

> Confucius believed that learn from others is also a way to maintain *li*. *The Master said: When I walk along with two others, they may serve me as my teachers. I will select their good qualities and follow them, their bad qualities and avoid them* (三人行，必有我师焉。择其善者而从之，其不善者而改之 – 《论语述而篇》) (Legge, 1861).

Reciprocity (shu)

> *The Duke of She informed Confucius, saying: Among us here there are those who may be styled upright in their conduct. If their father has stolen a sheep, they will bear witness to the fact. Confucius said: Among us, in our part of the country, those who are upright are different from this. The father conceals the misconduct of the son, and the son conceals the misconduct of the father. Uprightness is to be found in this* (父为子隐子为父隐，直在其中矣 – 《论语子路篇》) (Legge, 1861).

Why did Confucius say this? Did he really support the view that father and son should cover up each other's errors? To understand his meaning, we need to research another idea of Confucianism – reciprocity (*shu*). *Shu* is an act and attitude of dealing with people. Etymologically, the Chinese word *shu* is made up of the words "to follow the feeling in the heart". Confucius believed that the love for close

people (parents, children, brothers and sisters) is inherently ethical behaviour that does not need to be taught (Yi, 2009, p. 54).

Of course, it is necessary to obey the law, but one cannot deal with everything exactly according to legislation and at the same time forget the function of reciprocity. When dealing with small conflicts with others, which can be solved immediately; or if someone makes a small mistake, which one can help him to correct quickly, it is not necessary to take the matter to court. As mentioned earlier, wu lun is very important to Chinese traditional culture; accordingly, disregard for human relations is deemed to be cruel and unreasonable. According to Confucianism, it is possible to appreciate reciprocity by just following the feeling of the heart. Then, how is one to appreciate the reciprocity of people? *Confucius said: People should not do to others things that they do not want others to do to them* (恕，己所不欲勿施于人 – 《论语颜渊篇》) (Legge, 1861). To practice shu in the strong sense means that one is obligated to help others to develop morally in the process of developing their moral self, which is seen as a major life-goal of a person. Thus, *shu* required people to co-develop their moral selves together with others, to morally co-flourish (Po, 2009).

Righteousness (yi)

> *I like life and I also like righteousness. If I cannot keep the two together, I will let life go and choose righteousness* (生，亦我所欲也;义， 亦我所欲也， 二者不可得兼，舍生而取义者者 – 《孟子告子书上》) (Legge, 1861).

Of equal importance in terms of moral status is yi, which is basically a sense of moral rightness, a capacity to discern appropriateness and the right direction in acts, relationships and other human matters (Po, 2009).

> *Zi Lu*[5] *said: Does the superior man*[6] *esteem valour? The Master said: The superior man holds righteousness to be of highest importance. a man in a superior situation, having valour without righteousness, will be guilty of insubordination; one of the lower people*[7] *having valour without righteousness, will commit robbery* (君子尚勇乎？子曰：”君子义以为上。君子有勇而无义为乱，小人有勇而无义为盗。 – 《论语阳货篇》) (Legge, 1861).

Confucianism believes that a truly brave person can remain calm, even when confronted by a critical situation. Someone who is fond of fighting cannot be described as courageous. The superior man must be intelligent, firm, always gracious, even when being criticised.

[5] Zi Lu: the student of Confucius.

[6] The superior man: (jun zi), the exemplary Confucian moral person, is envisioned to possess all the cardinal virtues espoused in Confucianism.

[7] Lower people: (xiaoren, small or petty person, the mean man) does not grasp the value of virtues and seeks only immediate gain.

The Master said: The mind of the superior man is conversant with righteousness; the mind of the mean man[8] *is conversant with gain* (君子喻于义，小人喻于利–《论语里仁篇》) (Legge, 1861).

Righteousness, for Chinese, is very important. If someone paid for me, I will reward him handsomely for his efforts. If strangers love me, I will also love strangers. In Confucianism, righteousness is always more important than self-interest.

Rectification of name (zheng min)

Zi Lu said: The ruler of Wei has been waiting for you, in order with you to administer the government. What will you consider the first thing to be done? The Master replied: What is necessary is to rectify names. a superior man, in regard to what he does not know, shows a cautious reserve. If names be not correct, language is not in accordance with the truth of things. If language be not in accordance with the truth of things, affairs cannot be carried on to success. Therefore a superior man considers it necessary that the names he uses may be spoken appropriately, and also that what he speaks may be carried out appropriately. What the superior man requires is just that in his words there may be nothing incorrect (名不正则言不顺，言不顺则事不成. 故君子名之必可言也，言之必可行也，君子于其言，无所苟而已矣。—《论语子路篇》) (Legge, 1861).

We must also take into account the principle of zheng min ("rectification of name"), which requires the superior man to be absolutely correct in his words: language should in accordance with the truth of things. The Master said: *He who is not in any particular office has nothing to do with plans for the administration of its duties (When you don't hold an office, you don't need to consider the policies)* (不在其位不谋其政–《论语泰伯篇》) (Legge, 1861). Therefore, Confucianism holds that in order to govern the state, the most important thing is to adjust to a suitable position. If the minister has a suitable position and a suitable name, he can start working in such a way that the subordinate will obey his orders.

Trustworthiness (xin)

Zi Gong[9] *asked about government. The Master said: The requisites of government are that there be sufficiency of food, sufficiency of military equipment, and the confidence of the people in their ruler. Zi Gong said: If it cannot be helped, and one of these must be dispensed with, which of the three should be foregone first? The military equipment,–said the Master. Zi Gong again asked: If it cannot be helped, and one of the remaining two must be dispensed with, which of them should be foregone? The Master answered: Part with the food. From of old, death has been the lot of all men; but if the*

[8] The mean man: the same as xiaoren (lower people).

[9] Zi Gong: the student of Confucius.

people have no faith in their rulers, there is no standing for the state (子贡问政。子曰：足食。足兵。民信之矣。子贡曰：必不得已而去，于斯三者何先？曰：去兵。子贡曰：必不得已而去，于斯二者何先？曰：去食。自古皆有死，民无信不立。– 论语颜渊篇》) (Legge, 1861).

Confucius considered confidence of the people is most important for government. The country can be without weapons, it is possible without food, but it is impossible to give up trustworthiness. If the people trust the state, they can overcome all difficulties, become stronger and happier. His idea is supported by some committed scientists who think that GDP not the most important for the country, but rather GNH (Gross National Happiness), which can reflect the strength of the country.

The Master said: If a man in the morning hear the right way[10]*, he may die in the evening without regret* (朝闻道，夕可死矣 – 《论语里仁篇》) (Legge, 1861). Confucius believed that the superior man has his own *dao* (the right way – trustworthiness), he can sacrifice his life for it.

Implicit words (han xu)
Confucius stressed being cautious; this is a common characteristic to all Chinese people.

The Master said: The superior man has a dignified ease without pride. The mean man has pride without a dignified ease (君子泰而不骄，小人骄而不泰 – 《论语子路篇》) (Legge, 1861).

The Master said: The firm, the enduring, the simple, and the modest are near to virtue (刚毅、木讷，近仁 –《论语子路篇》) (Legge, 1861).

The Master said: Fine words and an insinuating appearance are seldom associated with true virtue (子曰： 巧言令色，鲜矣仁！ –《论语学而篇》) (Legge, 1861).

Confucius believed the superior man should be calm, cautious, talking little; such people are worthy of our trust. Conversely, he thought that people who use beautiful words are not to be trusted.

The Master said: When a man may be spoken with, not to speak to him is to err in reference to the man. When a man may not be spoken with, to speak to him is to err in reference to our words. The wise err neither in regard to their man nor to their words (可与言而不与之言，失人；不可与言而与之言，失言。知者不失人，亦不失言 – 《论语卫灵公》) (Legge, 1861).

[10] The right way, or dao, It represents the embodiment of the ethical way, correct from the point of view of Confucianism; if a person has mastered the Tao, he fulfilled his purpose.

Zi Gong asked about friendship. The Master said: Faithfully admonish your friend, and skilfully lead him on. If you find him impracticable, stop. Do not disgrace yourself (子贡问友。子曰：忠告而善道之，不可则止，无自辱焉。– 《论语颜渊篇》) (Legge, 1861).

Confucius also thought it was not neither necessary nor wise to waste time to talk to those who is not worth persuading. Here is one Chinese saying: *When the conversation gets disagreeable, to say one word more is a waste of breath* (话不投机半句多).

Zi Gong asked what constituted the superior man. The Master said: He acts before he speaks, and afterwards speaks according to his actions (子贡问君子。子曰：先行其言，而后从之。 –《论语为政篇》) (Legge, 1861).

The Master said: The superior man wishes to be slow in his speech and earnest in his conduct (子曰：君子欲讷于言，而敏于行。 –《论语里仁篇》) (Legge, 1861).

The Master said: The superior man is modest in his speech, but exceeds in his actions (子曰：君子耻其言而过其行。 –《论语宪问篇》) (Legge, 1861).

The Master said: At first, my way with men was to hear their words, and give them credit for their conduct. Now my way is to hear their words, and look at their conduct (听其言而观其行 – 《论语公冶长篇》) (Legge, 1861).

These phrases show the idea of Confucius – people should seriously think first, then make a decision carefully, attentively and warily.

Speak cautiously (shen yan)

Zi Zhang was learning with a view to official emolument. The Master said: Hear much and put aside the points of which you stand in doubt, while you speak cautiously at the same time of the others – then you will afford few occasions for blame. See much and put aside the things which seem perilous, while you are cautious at the same time in carrying the others into practice – then you will have few occasions for repentance. When one gives few occasions for blame in his words, and few occasions for repentance in his conduct, he is in the way to get emolument (子张学干禄。子曰：多闻阙疑，慎言其馀，则寡尤；多见阙殆，慎行其馀，则寡悔。言寡尤，行寡悔，禄在其中矣。 –《论语为政篇》) (Legge, 1861).

Confucius felt people should speak carefully – a “tongue without bones” is considered a stupid behaviour. As the Chinese saying: *Out of the mouth comes evil (calamity comes by means of mouth)”*祸从口出; *T – much, and err much.* 言多必失; *They say that speech is silver but silence is golden* (沉默是金; *Look before you leap (Think twice before you do).* 三思而后行).

Confucianism and the Formation of the Chinese Management Model

The Analects is not a book about management; nevertheless, after the passage of many centuries, the lifestyles, ways of thinking, habits, worldviews and communication modes of Chinese are all influenced by Confucian culture.

In ancient times, Chinese business culture was relatively stable in conformity with the ancient culture. On the marketplace, there were only public and private handicraft industry, small shops. Public industry and commerce were the major category, but the status of merchants was considered lower than that of scholars, farmers and artisans. Therefore, merchants had to find a way to join in the mainstream culture – to become Confucian businessman. To do this, they must always do business in an ethical manner with the desire to achieve social benefit. Some of the primary characteristics of Confucian businessman are as follows: honesty (*we are equally honest with elderly and youthful customers* [童叟无欺]); to fulfil promises (Promise is debt 一 诺千金); help your own country (donate money to own country or donate food to help natural disasters.)

Confucius stressed the responsibility for ordinary people to society. *The Analects* explains about policy and administration so many times that *The Analects* is sometimes thought of as a management hand book. Since the Han dynasty (156 BC), Confucianism has been defined as a policy of governing the country, despite having been violated and criticised many times since this period. After 1919 and during the Cultural Revolution, Confucianism gradually began to lose its position as the most important ideological doctrine, determining Chinese traditional behaviour. However, after the adoption of the "Reform Period", Confucianism once again became a thread to connect the past, the present and the future. In the traditional texts of Confucius, Sun Tzu and Lao Tzu, politicians, businessmen and scholars have found practical advice on how to run a business and how to manage the people. In studying management, business strategy, business communications and human resource management, they discovered the idealised spirit of Confucianism, i. e. that the people is the most important element in a nation; the spirits of the land and grain are the next; while the sovereign is the lightest (民为重,社稷次之,君为轻 – 《孟子尽心篇下》) (Legge, 1861).

The core of a country is its people and collective spirit. Confucius thought that the policy of the country should be based on the culture of the state, manage (the people) should with mercy and conviction, should by re-educating people by moral virtue and etiquette. All managers need to correct their mistakes, be strict with themselves and work to improve themselves before retraining employees. Managers should love their employees like themselves.

Collectivism

China has been a collectivist society for a long time. Such societies are generally characterised by participation in intensive social interaction that affords little privacy, leading to a corresponding stress on the need to maintain harmony. Open confrontation is considered impolite and flat refusal is replaced by delay or "yes".

Central to the collectivist view of life is the distinction between those who belong to one's group and those who do not: the former are trusted, the latter always suspect. This, of course, has important implications for business. Companies are seen as ideally based on moral connections reminiscent of family, but not on cold contracts. Thus, Chinese people are less willing than Americans to disagree with any positively formulated statement! They also tend to follow the traditional Chinese virtues of modesty in all things in their tendency to favour the medium range (Jie & Anthony, 2004, p. 11). For Chinese, entering into a serious business relationship to others, first requires the establishment of trust. All business should be based on relationships thus formed.

In order to complete the analysis of China's collectivism, we need to understand filial piety (*xiao shun*) and its implications for social relationships. Whether in traditional Chinese society or the Chinese communities of today, the Confucian virtue of filial piety is held in the highest regard. Emperors, rationalising their legitimacy by the mythical "mandate of heaven", ruled the state like a family (Po, 2009).

Loving, Helping, Respecting Employees

> *The nation is the basis of the state, the country is stable only when the foundation is strong* (民为邦本, 本固邦宁 – 《尚书五子之歌》) (Legge, 1861).
> *When the prince regards his ministers as his hands and feet, his ministers regard their prince as their belly and heart* (君之视臣如手足，则臣视君如腹心 – 《孟子离娄下》) (Legge, 1861).

If employees feel respect and love in the company, think of the company like their own home and feel very comfortable working in the company, they will love their own company, owe a great deal to their company and willingly sacrifice their own interests. Thus the company will form deep group cohesiveness (Ou, 2016, p. 40).

> *Zi Gong said: There is a beautiful gem here. Should I lay it up in a case and keep it or should I seek for a good price and sell it?" The Master said: Sell it! Sell it! But I would wait for one to offer the price* (沽之哉! 沽之哉! 我待贾者也 – 《论语子罕篇》) (Legge, 1861).

This passage may seem hard to understand and rather strange. Many commentators tend to interpret it metaphorically, interpreting the words "I would wait for one to offer the price" as "I would wait for the appearance of one perfect sovereign."

> *Such a one will not enter a tottering state, nor dwell in a disorganised one. When right principles of government prevail in the kingdom, he will show himself; when they are prostrated, he will keep concealed* (危邦不入，乱邦不居。天下有道则见，无道则隐.– 《论语泰伯篇》) (Legge, 1861).

There is analogous phrase in Russian: the Russian poet Joseph Brodsky wrote in "Letters to a Roman Friend" *("Pis'ma rimskomu drugu"): It is better to live in a remote province by the sea*.

Chinese proverb says: *"Good birds live in the selected wood; talented ministers work for the selected chief"* (良禽择木而息，贤臣择主而事) (Legge, 1861). Chinese scholars think the monarch can choose ministers for themselves, but also the minister can choose monarch. Who has the support of the people, he can unite the country. a good manager should love, help and respect employees to attract more and more asset and achieve support from employees.

Taking a Long Time to Make Decisions

The Chinese think a promise is a debt and that they should look before they leap, so they always take longer to make decisions. Westerners believe in the value of making quick decisions and then taking action. In China, the decision-making process is based on ensuring that the balance of all parties is taken into account. Chinese people want to be sure that all points of view of the issue are considered first and all issues are thought out before coming to a conclusion. This process often involves returning to the beginning and starting to think and debate again. Also, since the Chinese people do not like to tell "no" in a direct manner, it is best to never assume a deal will be struck until you hear it clearly (Wang, 2012).

Against Being Blunt (han xu)

Despite the stress on harmony in Chinese society, tensions inevitably arise. Where this happens, Chinese strategies for resolution are still formed by the desire to avoid open conflicts. It is necessary to avoid open debate and direct confrontation (Jie & Anthony, 2004, p. 15).

The Chinese act as restrained, implicit and indirect. *Han xu* will inhibit the direct expression of emotion, especially negative emotion. For Chinese people, communication is about building relationships, while in the West, effective communication and prompt fulfilment of tasks are considered more important. Silence does not mean that your message will not be transmitted. The wise Confucian is supposed to listen in silence. China's leaders always declare themselves much less than in the West. It's not that the Chinese do not want to share information; nevertheless, Westerners will have to prompt their Chinese colleagues if they want details. Alternatively, it may be best to make contact privately in order to establish a one-to-one relationship (Wang, 2012).

Communication Should be Calm with Forbearance

Concerns about harmony and hierarchy inform styles of communication. The Confucian ideals of the superior man encourage respect for those who maintain self-control and who embody "perfect calm". Emotional outbreaks cause strong distrust and antipathy. In the context of intercultural negotiations, Chinese prefer restrained, moderate behaviour (Jie & Anthony, 2004, p. 15).

Showing Respect for the Elders

In Hofstede's terms, China is a large power distance society: people take with them into adulthood not only a habit of external respect for their elders, but also a consolation from dependence on them. Earlier, we introduced *wu lun* (the Five Cardinal Relationships that bind emperor and subject, father and son, husband and wife, older brother and younger brother, and friend and friend), in hierarchical terms, with the senior permitted authority over the junior. For centuries, the practice of raising children has been aimed at preparing them for obedience, control of their impulses and acceptance of their social obligations.

The attitudes to power developed in the family are reproduced in the school, with the pupil-teacher relationship imitating the parent-child relationship. Even in kindergarten, special attention is paid to discipline and training rather than free play. Thus, a formed attitude towards power is ready to be transferred to the workplace, where employees are accepting of the hierarchical, top-down structure of the command economy and the care that needs to be taken with officials (Jie & Anthony, 2004, p. 14).

Trust in Loyal Employees

The Chinese saying: *"A suspect character cannot be used – if you doubt a person, do not use him"* (疑人不用，用人不疑). The Chinese think that business is based on trustworthiness.

When Chinese business leaders choose their employees, they first of all test candidates' characters. If the candidates are loyal and kind – even if not very capable – the leaders will be satisfied and choose these people. If someone is very talented, capable, but not devoted and kind, Chinese leaders will not tend to choose them. This is very different from Western leaders, who will tend to prefer capable employees. For Chinese leaders there are 4 levels of workers: first, loyal and capable; second, loyal, but not capable; third, neither loyal, nor capable, the lowest, very capable, but not loyal. It's very interesting to note that, when there are two employees, both of who are not loyal, Chinese business leaders prefer the one with lower capability; however, if they are both loyal, Chinese leaders prefer employees who are more capable.

Cultivating One's Moral Character

In Confucianism thought, a superior man's life involves several progressive phases: cultivating one's moral character; taking care of the family, governing the state well and pacifying the world (修身齐家治国平天下). They emphasised that the moral accomplishment of politicians is the first step to administering the country.

The superior man (jun zi) – the exemplary Confucian moral person – is envisioned to possess all the cardinal virtues espoused in Confucianism. *Jun zi* is articulated in The Analects by Confucius as follows: righteousness, acting before saying, love of learning, broadmindedness and non-partisanship, dignity but not pride, self-reflection, prudence in speech and words…

> *Someone said: What do you say concerning the principle that injury should be recompensed with kindness? The Master said: With what then will you*

recompense kindness? Recompense injury with justice, and recompense kindness with kindness (或曰：以德报怨，何如？子曰：何以报德？以直报怨，以德报德。–《论语宪问篇》) (Legge, 1861). Therefore, the way of achieving humanity to embark on study that has no end, but which allows one to flexibly acquire intelligence.

The Master said: He who requires much from himself and little from others, will keep himself from being the object of resentment (子曰：躬自厚而薄责于人，则远怨矣。–《论语卫灵公篇》) (Legge, 1861). The superior man is always broadminded and loves others. In contrast, lower people (xiaoren, small or petty person, the mean man) do not grasp the value of virtues and seeks only immediate gain.

The Master said: The superior man is satisfied and composed; the mean man is always full of distress (君子坦荡荡，小人长戚戚 –《论语述而篇》) (Legge, 1861). In Confucian thought, the superior man is condescending but does not demean himself.

The Master said: The superior man is easy to serve and difficult to please. If you try to please him in any way which is not accordant with right, he will not be pleased. But in his employment of men, he uses them according to their capacity. The mean man is difficult to serve, and easy to please. If you try to please him, though it be in a way which is not accordant with right, he may be pleased. But in his employment of men, he wishes them to be equal to everything (子曰：君子易事而难说也：说之不以道，不说也；及其使人也，器之。小人难事而易说也：说之虽不以道，说也；及其使人也，求备焉。–《论语子路篇》) (Legge, 1861). Confucius thought that work with jun zi (the superior man) easy, but it's difficult to please him. *Jun zi* has his own principles, always righteous, positive, conscientious but not exigent over others' work.

The Master said: 'The superior man is affable, but not adulatory; the mean man is adulatory, but not affable(君子和而不同，小人同而不和。–《论语子路篇》) (Legge, 1861). He thought *jun zi* friendly but not affable.

The Master said: The superior man thinks of virtue; the small man thinks of comfort. The superior man thinks of the sanctions of law; the small man thinks of favours which he may receive (君子怀德，小人怀土；君子怀刑，小人怀惠。–《论语里仁篇》) (Legge, 1861).

The Master said: He who exercises government by means of his virtue may be compared to the north polar star, which keeps its place and all the stars turn towards it (为政以德, 穆如北辰, 居其所, 而众星其之 –《论语为政篇》) (Legge, 1861). Here all the stars mean the wise man or the talented person. Leaders with morals provide a good example to the other stars.

Until now, in many Chinese companies, morality is considered as the most important quality of employees. When leaders select employees, they will be certain to delete the names of those who have a bad reputation or are considered to be immoral. Moral leaders are able to have a positive impact on employees, urging them to work effectively.

Neo-Confucianism's Practicality in Theory and in Practice of China's Modern Management

Over the years of reform, China implemented a market economy and built "socialism with Chinese characteristics". The country faces the challenge of moving to a new social and economic model, but, along with the modernisation of society, many negative problems also arose. Such specific questions have caused wide public concern. It was necessary to strengthen the moral and responsibility of society. To provide this, Confucianism was given a central place.

Collectivism and Individualism

Although the centre of Chinese cultural ethos lies well in the collectivist sphere, individualism is not completely absent and it is admired in some certain realms.

Referring to the values of managers in today's China, we should pay attention to the diversity in their ranks. Firstly, we should know that many Chinese provinces are larger in both area and population size than many countries in Europe. Geographical barriers that led to a large number of mutually incomprehensible dialects split them. Immigrants are limited by the registration system.

The provinces also differ in terms of their history, specific economic resources and extent of modernisation. All of these factors are reflected on the differences in business ethics between areas. Managers in the coastal cities (Shanghai and Guangzhou) are much more individualistic than in cities in the more remote and less developed interior.

It is also necessary to consider the growing generation. The new generation of managers, those having lived through the reformn era, are more individualistic than their elders. Life has changed a lot – from central planning and mentality of steel and rice production to market forces and the glorification of wealth (Jie & Anthony, 2004, p. 25).

Chinese Relationship (guanxi)

An old Chinese proverb states: time isn't as important as the terrain; but the terrain isn't as important as unity with the people (天时不如地利，地利不如人和). The concept of "*guanxi*" is a much more complicated than the Western concept of "network". It is a platform for social and business activities in China and consists of ties determined by reciprocity, trust and mutual obligations. Therefore, it is better to create your own *guanxi* and to be aware of the *guanxi* around you before you do anything. This is an unwritten rule of China: if someone doesn't trust you and there is no *guanxi* between you, this means that you can't do business with that person. Chinese people always

think that connections are the most important thing for business. The largest enterprises always have big fish supporting them (Jie & Anthony, 2004, p. 25).

Saving Face (liu mian zi)

The Chinese were the first to recognise the influence of "face" in their lives; nevertheless, even they have difficulties in setting out how it works. Face (*mian zi*) has a much deeper meaning in China than in the West. Many Chinese will endeavour either to save their own face or to save someone else's face. Face is about dignity and respect, and the social role of people. It's not just about feelings, but also about the key part of social cohesiveness. Someone may literally prefer to die rather than to lose face. People can lose face simply by refusing a gift or entering into open disagreement and conflict.

Under such conditions, it is necessary to pay attention to the avoidance of giving offence. Saving the face of others is important, especially that of one's superiors. Conflict can and should always be avoided by using vague or moderate language. Under such circumstances, the expression "no" will be interpreted in terms of excuses to avoid irritating someone. The requirement to saving the face of others has its negative side. Among Chinese, concern for the face mixed with fear of gossip (*yu lun*) increases pressure to conform (Jie & Anthony, 2004, p. 25).

Flexible Management

In most Chinese enterprises, flexibility is a very important form of human resources management. This is usually implemented by spreading corporate culture. The main ideas here are a good leader figure, leading by example and working in the "milk of human kindness" (*ren qing wei*).

The Good Leader Figure (xing xiang)

Since, according to Confucianism, the rule of virtue is the main measure for national administration, contemporary Chinese management is profoundly shaped by Confucian ideas of virtue. To run an enterprise virtuously, its leader should establish a good "image" (*xing xiang*). This requires not only a suitable position in the company, professional qualification and experience, but also good character, human emotions and morality. If the leader has a perfect "image", he will project a fascinating personality. The employees will be able to trust the leader, admire him and feel they have a special kinship. Therefore, a bond of sympathy will develop between members of the group, the leader will establish the core position of ethical cohesive affinity and all company employees will form the implementation of an enterprising spirit (Ge, 2000).

Leading by Example

In Confucianist thought, a superior man's careers consist of: cultivating one's moral character; regulating the family, managing state affairs, scoring the world. To manage employees, a leaders first needs to set a good example by correcting his mistakes consciously. *Zi Gong said: The faults of the superior man are like*

the eclipses of the sun and moon. He has his faults, and all men see them; he changes again, and all men look up to him (子贡曰：君子之过也，如日月之食焉：过也，人皆见之；更也，人皆仰之。–《论语子张篇》) (Legge, 1861).

If the leader has a good "image" (reliable, friendly and close), he can set a perfect example to all the employees. Through leading them by example, staff will trust and admire him, feeling a special kinship with their leader. This will inspire them to work independently without instructions.

The Master said: When a prince's personal conduct is correct, his government is effective without the issuing of orders. If his personal conduct is not correct, he may issue orders, but they will not be followed (其身正，不令而行；其身不正，虽令不从–《论语子路篇》). Equally, a leader's personal conduct can affect the that of the employees (Legge, 1861).

If a superior man loves propriety, the people will not dare to be irreverent. If he loves righteousness, the people will not fail to submit to his example. If he loves good faith, the people will not dare to be insincere (上好礼，则民莫敢不敬；上好义，则民莫敢不服；上好信，则民莫敢不用情。–《论语子路篇》) (Legge, 1861). Similarly, if employees always want to please their leader, then the leader's preferences will be what informs the employees.

Actually nowadays, many Chinese leaders lack such character and don't always want to correct their mistakes. Because they don't want to acknowledge their faults, this may lead to loss of face. In many Chinese companies, especially in small private companies, the leader always has the greatest power; therefore, his orders and directives will be carried out promptly. Since being a leader involves a certain type of status or honour, Chinese leaders do always not admit mistakes in order to maintain their prestige (Sean, 2014).

Working in the "Milk of Human Kindness" (ren qing wei)

The society of China is full of human relationship, so everyone needs to learn how to work in the "milk of human kindness". Emotional management has become one of the most valued models among China's business circles in recent years. Emotional management falls somewhere between moral management and legal management. Leaders seldom treat workers as robots or economic units, but rather communicate with employees following the order "emotion–reason–law" to move people with emotion and convince people by reasoning (Wu, 2004).

Therefore, in China's enterprises, the concept of common values is always present. In order to satisfy people's emotional needs, the relationship among employees is close and intimate and employees work in a company as if they were working in a "family business". Thus leaders need to work on their emotional investment, so that the staff will achieve a sense of belonging and security. For example, almost every Chinese company has a project named

"military training" for new employees. All the new employees need to live, eat and receive military training together in one month without mobile phones or entertainments. The companies believe that by this way, the staff can establish a strong relationship with each other and will treat others as members of this same family (Wei, 2015).

The entrepreneur leader of one factory in Chengdu (a city in Sichuan, China) so values emotional management that he made several rules for himself: take care of the children of co-workers who are going on a business trip; solve the housing problems of employees; visit the family of an employee who became ill or died (Ge, 2000).

Nepotism

Confucius believed that reciprocity (*shu*) is necessary for us; however, it has different levels: close reciprocity and distant reciprocity. There is big gap between how people treat actual family members and non-family members. Reciprocity between you and the members of your family is the closest; between you and your friends is less close; between you and other strangers – distant.

Leaders always think: "I trust my family absolutely; my confidence in friends and acquaintances has been established and invested; but about nobody else will you make assumptions concerning their goodwill. In China, relationship (guanxi) relies upon establishing trust, but this trust is specific, limited by personal obligations and not by the community of faith. This explains why this special view of trust and suspicion lead to the occurrence of nepotism and favouritism in most Chinese private enterprises (Jie & Anthony, 2004, p. 22).

Return Present for Present

Chinese society uses gifts to establish feelings of trust and dependence. Refusal without reason is thought of as "loss of face; if one accepts the "debt", it means that one needs to reciprocate a strong duty (unspecified future repayment). Any concessions that result will create a "debt" that must be repaid (Jie & Anthony, 2004, p. 22). Close relationships in the Chinese mind are associated with reliability and permanence.

Avoiding Making Individual Decisions

Americans are always argumentative because they think learning always proceeds from critical thinking. Chinese people, by contrast, the world's oldest continuous civilisation, pay much more attention to the past. On the basis of traditional culture, learning proceeds from imitatation rather than critical debate. Many Chinese, therefore, avoid making individual choices when faced with new challenges. In dealing with the unexpected, they have a traditional learning from childhood as well as relying on superiors and groups to guide them (Jie & Anthony, 2004, p. 24).

In the Chinese management style, taking a critical attitude is a way to avoid responsibility. The proof of the importance lies precisely in the protection against

liability. This explains the absence of the most important players at the negotiating table, with the inevitable lengthening of the negotiations. Staying behind the scenes allows important figures to change their position without losing face (Jie & Anthony, 2004, p. 24).

Despotism – Ling dao

The universal term in Chinese for a leader, boss, or someone's direct superior is "*Ling dao* (领导)" can roughly be translated as "leader." In many Chinese companies, especially in small private ones, Ling dao has the greatest power: his orders and directives must be conducted promptly, without questions. As *Ling dao* confers a certain type of status or honour, Chinese managers and executives sometimes do whatever they can to affirm prestige and save face, which includes issuing arbitrary commands, making employees work overtime and even dishing out abuse (Sean, 2014).

If Ling dao makes a mistake, as often heard in familiar descriptions of official statements, there are very few who will admit and correct their mistake directly. There is a desire to shift responsibility and blame others.

Conclusion

The analysis indicated that during its two-thousand-year history, Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism have provided valuable ideological cores, allowing society to adapt to challenges and changes. This flexible "ideological doctrine" ensures the construction of a person's behaviour based on self-cultivation, rather than following external patterns. This allows the external context us to be taken into account, which, in the modern management model, determines contractual obligations (deadline, conditions, price, quality).

We see the managerial pragmatism of Confucianism as follows: follow the rule "people oriented"; treat personnel not as robots or economic people; respect human dignity and attach importance to morality, human feelings. Among employees, it is necessary to form a conscious attitude to work, the atmosphere of "home" and "family" in the company.

Confucian principles underlie "emotional management" (working "in the milk of human kindness"). The managers who take decisions must proceed from the median principle "to be between morality and law". Communicating with people according to the rule of "emotion – reason – law" convinces people "by reasoning". It is very important to the entrepreneurs to give emotional investment to the staff, so that employees will have a sense of belonging and safety.

The first Prime Minister of Singapore Lee Kuan Yew stressed that with Singaporean success, Singapore is indebted to its reliance on the value of "people's Confucianism". He said: "As long as the leaders take care of the welfare of the people, the people will obey them. This kind of relationship is basic".

References

Ge, Rongjin (2000). 儒家柔性管理与东亚经济发展 [Confucian flexible management and development of the East Asian economy]. *Journal of Chinese culture research: Autumn edition*, 0 (2), 3–12. DOI: 10.15990/j.cnki.cn11-3306/g2.2000.03.002.

Hall, E. (1977). *Beyond Culture*. New York: Anchor Books.

Hofstede, G. (1984). *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions and Organizations Across Nations*. SAGE Publications.

Legge, J. (1861). Chinese Text Project: *The Analects*. Retrieved from https://ctext.org/analects

Jie, Tang, and Ward, A. (2004). *The Changing Face of Chinese Management*. New York: Routledge.

Kobzev, A. (2002). *Filosofia kitaiskogo neokonfutsianstva* [Philosophy of Chinese Neo-Confucianism]. Moscow: Vostochnaya literatura.

Malyavin, V. (2005). *Kitai upravliaemyi: staryi dobryi menedzhment* [Manageble China: the time-honored management]. Moscow: Evropa.

Ou, Yangyi (2016). 和谐与冲突—儒学与现代管理 [Harmony and Conflict: Confucianism and Modern Management]. Beijing: China Renmin.

Perelomov, L. (2000). *Konfutsii: Lun' Iui* [Confucius: "The Analects"]. Moscow: Vostochnaya literatura.

Po, Keung Ip (2009). Is Confucianism Good for Business Ethics in China? *Journal of Business Ethics*, 88, 463–476. DOI: 10.1007/s10551-009-0120-2

Upton-McLaughlin, S. (2014). "What Does 'Leader' Mean in China? *The China Culture Corner*. Retrieved from https://chinaculturecorner.com/

Trompenaars, F., and Woolliams, P. (2004). *Business Across Cultures*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Tu, Weiming (1979). *Humanity and Self-Cultivation: Essays in Confucian Thought*. Boston, MA: Cheng & Tsui Co.

Wang, Barbara (2012). Chinese Leadership: 5 Critical Differences with the West. *IEDP Developing Leaders*. Retrieved from: https://www.iedp.com/articles/chinese-leadership-5-critical-differences-with-the-west/

Wei, Rongbin (2008). 儒学思想在现代企业管理中的应用 [Confucianism in modern management]. *Journal of Heilongjiang Science and Technology Information*, 0 (3), 78–98. DOI: 10.3969/j.issn.1673-1328.2008.03.079.

Wu, Yuxin (2004). 儒商与西方商人管理思想比较 [Confucian management and Western management]. *Journal of Forward Position*, 0 (11), 78–80. DOI: 10.3969/j.issn.1009-8267.2004.11.023.

Yang, C. K. (1951) “Introduction”, To Max Weber. *Religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism* (pp. xiii–xliii). New York: Macmillan.

Yi, Zhongtian (2009). 先秦诸子百家争鸣 [Pre-Qin scholars: contention of different schools of philosophy in ancient China]. Shanghai: Literature and Art Publishing House.

Yu, Dan (2006). 于丹论语心得 [My experience with the “Analects”]. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company.

Changing Societies & Personalities, 2018
Vol. 2, No. 1
http://dx.doi.org/10.15826/csp.2018.2.1.030

ARTICLE

Decanonized Reading: Intellectual Humility and Mindfulness in Reading Canonical Philosophical Writings

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

ABSTRACT
A serious concern faced by many scholars and readers of philosophy is how to proceed after reading the canonical texts; this may include the question – "*why are they canons, anyway?*" Of course, developing a passing knowledge of the works of mainstream philosophers remains an inevitable burden for students of philosophy. However, any specific written work is a product of particular vantage points and contexts, and thus cannot escape from showing partiality towards some perspectives. This work revisits the taken-for-granted assumptions involved in the selection of canonical texts and argues for a critical readership and re-imagination of their canonical status and pre-eminence. The necessity of a de-canonized reading of canonical texts is asserted; that is, a repositioning of these texts vis-à-vis the wide availability of non-canonical philosophical works, which permits a nuanced account of their reading and interpretation. Here, the goal is to examine the potential of an approach that prompts readers of philosophical texts to navigate the richness of different contexts and perspectives without being dependent on the Western agenda as the central frame of inquiry. It is hoped that this mode of rethinking may, at the very least, promote epistemic modesty.

KEYWORDS
Canon, philosophy, philosophical traditions, Western philosophers, non-Western philosophy

Received 22 February 2018
Accepted 29 March 2018
Published online 3 April 2018

aireengrace.andal@gmail.com

Introduction

The canonization of philosophical thinkers along with their ideologies is a pertinent factor in the dynamics of current political affairs. Philosophical thinkers that gained a position in the spectrum of political ideologies play a vital role in sustaining this tradition. Undeniably, the citation and use of *keywords* of dominant philosophers has become an assumed responsibility in the community of scholars and students of philosophy.

This comes at the expense of understanding the canonical texts not so much as a collection of required reading materials as non-negotiable duties in studying philosophy. Their overrated and underrated paradigms lead to the loss of potential discourses that could have participated in the dominant platform and likewise be *politicized* in their own rights. Through an *a priori* classification of philosophers into a spectrum of canonic-to-non-canonic, accounts of exploring their paradigms are limited. The inclination to focus the spotlight on the spectrum of political ideologies where political thinkers are thought to "belong" is consequential to how the thoughts of these thinkers are processed.

In this paper, a red flag is raised concerning the dangers of *careless reading* of the work of dominant political thinkers. By "careless", it meant a type of reading that is already tainted with assumptions and floodlit by the (in)famous image(s) of the thinker under investigation. However, this article does not imply an approach such as that of Strauss (1952) in detailing "how to read" the materials of political thinkers. Rather, this work takes the approach of a humble recognition of the symptoms that a reader might face when too much swayed by what is popular about the material and/or the thinker. At the same time, it explores the idea of *critically playing* with thoughts by situating them in the multidimensional context of the political construction of knowledge rather than reading the materials as canonized scripts that must be mandatorily recognized by scholars and students of political philosophy.

This raises the question as to how the canons (fail to) account for the enduring categorizations and labels that seem inappropriate and insensitive to various individual identities and sensibilities. Further, given that they were written mostly by Western European males, how should readers from different backgrounds renegotiate and locate their own identities relative to those of the canonical texts? This paper presents alternative perspectives regarding this issue with identity. It proposes a *de-canonized reading approach*, with an attitude of multiple reservations proposed as one way to immediately address this concern.

The Canonical Texts

By canonical texts, this work refers to Western philosophical writings (Leiter, 2013). A canon has a status of automatic reverence as a set of texts "whose interpretation and reinterpretation defines a field" (Connell, 1997, p. 1512). Canonical philosophical writings obtain substantial status through taught philosophy simply on account of their being labeled as "canons". It is routine for philosophy degree programs to have a required subject that focuses on the writings of canonical thinkers. In the

presentation of such a series of courses, it is assumed that a historical introductory course is a foundational necessity to higher political and philosophical knowledge. The canonical philosophical texts pass on to their successors some jargon and frames of analyses (Lyotard, 1984) such as rights, freedom and governance. These ways of thinking have not only become a common ground for discussion and writing, but have also served as the benchmarks for critique and further theorizing that have triggered developments in successive philosophical thoughts. For example, the thoughts concerning rights of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau, as developed in terms of their own social contract theories, have been a theme of analysis by later generations of political philosophers, with some applying them to questions of e. g. constitutional law, taxation, geopolitics and health rights. Thus, by providing the language for investigating freedom, equality and governance, they have become the subject of theoretical and empirical research.

The canons have also served to establish the mode of thinking of philosophical exploration. While contemporary theorists have provided rejoinders to unaddressed questions in the canons, overall lines of continuity derived from the canons remain undisturbed. The commonly used term "happiness", for instance, can be seen as a continuation of the relentless expansion of discussions of Plato's idea of a perfect society. Students of philosophy are easily able to embrace the canons due to the fact that, for the most part, their ideas continue to linger in the world.

The Impossible Identities

The Western canonical texts have been the subject of a massive quantity of interpretative effort on the part of their readers for over many years now. For this reason, the danger of a simplified reading of versions of the canonical texts may lead to an uncritical readership, which could have missed an opportunity to participate in some groundbreaking discussions. That the readers of philosophical texts might be centering their approaches around the "canonical" tag is not to be taken lightly. There may be unchartered spaces for instruction and critical analysis involving humans and nature that may be more provocative, comprehensive and nuanced. In relation to the issue of careless reading, this work calls for a consideration as to whether readers and scholars have to be skeptical about and/or radical in their approach towards the canonical texts. This paper settles with a restructured and repurposed approach to reading as, at the very least, a sound critical response.

The Transgression: Losing Fluid Identities

The canons face the reproach of being Eurocentric and androcentric, with an objectifying attention from the West coming at the expense of the Non-European "others" (Said, 1978). Since marginalized philosophical traditions (i. e. Africa and Asia) have been excluded from the philosophical canon (Park, 2013), the Western canons continue to enjoy a substantive attention. Even the major debates between the analytical tradition of the English-speaking sphere, guided by science, logic and mathematics, and the more synthetic philosophical tradition of Continental Europe, continue to be centered on the West. However, it is precisely in terms of this

centralizing attention that they are most vulnerable to be criticized. In recent times, increasing criticism has been aimed at the universalizing tendencies of the thoughts of "white", heterosexual male scholars (Duchesne, 2011).

This non-Western point of view could be taken further in Butler's concept of citationality (1993), which refers to the reproduction of the current status quo: canonical undertakings involve a repetition and a ritual that reproduces their privileged status. Hence, referring to the canonical texts all the more yields to "this process of materialization that stabilizes over time to produce the effect of boundary, fixity" (ibid., p. 9). This reproduction of the Western paradigm also involves the reproduction of the canonical biases and consequent non-reproduction of a range of identities that remain unrepresented. Additionally, with the gesturing towards internationalization in the academic community, the grand narratives of the canons encounter another phase of scrutiny in their ability to account for a diversity of emerging social and political issues, which were non-concerns during their times (i. e. advances in technology, environment, health etc.). This leads to the rise of pluralistic perspectives that underscore the shift that the discipline of philosophy experienced over centuries.

The Inescapable Tendencies: Identities Seen as Impossibilities

To a greater extent than with the rest of philosophical texts, the canonical writings struggle with a crucial pressure within their very label. The non-negotiability of studying the canonical works fosters conceptual limitations by drawing lines of demarcation (classical versus modern versus postmodern; Western versus Non-Western) rather than seeing their interconnections as mutually constitutive "specie" of philosophy or as equal members of the community of philosophy readers (Omotsho, 2014, p. 1). This puts the canons into forced categories, which are for the most part limiting in the sense that there are already various expectations together with the labels and image attached to them.

This attitude is, however, far from merely taking offense at canonical intellectual elitism since elites are also prey to historical contingencies. Merely questioning their privileged status is not sufficient to make any useful point. The issue concerns the neglect of the subjects whose identities were ignored in history, whose characteristics are fluid or irreducible (Žižek, 1996). Hence, while ignoring non-Western perspectives will not necessarily destroy the internal logic of canonical texts, the question remains why they hold the privileged status of being canonized as foundations of philosophical thought in the context of discussions of sexuality, race, ethnicity, disability and colonial peripheries, which are thus consigned as annexes of philosophical inquiry. Below is a list for examination of those assumptions that are taken for granted as part of our lifeworld, but which are highly in need of reexamination at this time in our history.

On Virtues

The virtues in philosophy are the virtues of the canon, which established hegemonic "othering" and social hierarchies. First, the history of philosophy is the canonical history in which philosophical binaries are also derived from the

canonical binaries. Happiness and just societies were thought of as being the highest of virtues, but the question remains as to how long the values of the canonical thinkers will remain as virtues, given the multiplicity of competing ideologies and emerging belief systems such as moral relativism and postmodernism. Nevertheless, the continuing prominence of canon-derived assumptions of "white superiority" results in the effective "silencing" of non-Caucasians (Park, 2013). While there is an incentive towards categorization, the risk of arriving at false binaries is dangerous. For instance, the concept of "primitive", which remains salient, can be used to justify colonialism and slavery. Plato's pioneering classification of people into the "enlightened" ones, who are able to get out of his metaphorical cave and those that remain, only capable of seeing shadows, informed (Western) Enlightenment notions of rationality. Aristotle straightforwardly stated that human beings are by no means "naturally" born equal, but that some are born for slavery and others for dominion. Locke even deemed it a duty to colonize and enslave, since there are populations that cannot arrive to maturity. Machiavelli's view is more than telling when he claimed that it is the Prince's glory and greatness to which everyone is subject. The "common good" is the canonical "common good"; consequently, offenders against the law are seen as uni-dimensional transgressors, without any reference being made to restorative justice.

On Space and Culture

Cultural and geographical diversity is taken lightly, if not entirely absent. The Eurocentric legacy continues due to the canonical philosophers imagining their respective perfect societies with Europe as the center of social and political affairs. For instance, when Machiavelli describes the necessity of being both a "fox" and a "lion", his choice of animal is very Western-centric. There is no sensitivity to the possibility that these animals may not thrive in other lands or may symbolize different characters for various cultures. Aristotle privileges the land-locked *polis* or city-state as a conceptual category, while ignoring other topographies. In the canon based on his thought, therefore, there is no imaginative effort to consider other geographies that may have struggles in maintaining central power such as the small Pacific islands or the population in the mountainous lands and icy areas. When Kant envisions global citizenship at the end of history, he was not grasping the difficulty in grasping the concept of cosmopolitanism among very collective societies such as tribes and clans. Kant even states that he detests Chinese philosophy (Park, 2013). The canons only cite one another, excluding the rest and unable to gaze at a diversity of ideologies outside their sphere.

On Gender and Sexuality

The canons settle by default on a *heteronormative* society thereby naturalizing the family as composed of a husband, wife and children. Queer identities remain unimagined. Even when Locke attacked patriarchy as less absolute than God-man relationship, he still categorized the differentiation of human relationships into

husband – wife, father – child, master – slave. The binary of husband-wife is still present rather than a more nuanced example of coupledom. Moreover, rulers are assumed males, with Machiavelli entitling his work *The Prince* and Plato advancing the notion of "philosopher kings". Not only does this perpetuate gender binaries, but also it simultaneously excludes queer identities involving various intersectionalities of gender and sexuality that are left behind like the ambi-gender, transgender, asexual, demi-sexual etc.

On Age Diversity

At equal issue is an ostensive ageism in terms of how the canons disremember the young and old subpopulation. It is as if every human being capable of being a good member of society is always at his or her prime age. This liquefies the identity of both children and the elderly as participants in social and political affairs. There is a potential insensitivity to the rights of the unborn and children in general. Children are generally seen as "mini-adults", not yet equipped as members of society (Aries, 1962). For instance, while Hobbes clarifies that being equal means being able to destroy one another, by virtue of opportunity, not of capacity, there is little qualification in Hobbes that human beings have different age-specific capacities.

On Intellectual Prowess

They address the *able-minded*. To be a good member of society and participate in civil life, the canons assume many similar capabilities among people. The canonical texts are for the literate and educated. Obviously, philosophers write to be read – with the possible exception of Machiavelli, who is clear in his particular purpose. As such, the canonical texts were written in scholarly manner, which could be challenging to the general masses such as laborers and farmers. Aristotle's scholarly background led him to acquire the academic know-how to qualify him to train powerful personalities such as Alexander the Great. The spread of the scholarship of the canonical philosophers is thus limited to the limited group of people having access to their manuscripts.

On Disabilities

They also address the *able-bodied*. Persons with disabilities (PWDs) are largely absent from the canonical discussions. Locke was clearly being insensitive to disabilities when he talks about incorporating labor to acquire private property. Plato, by emphasizing his "world of ideas", was insensitive towards the pragmatic struggles of those who cannot see, hear or walk. When Machiavelli mentions that a ruler must have charisma, he is not mindful that having physical defects may beget little charm for a ruler. While it can be argued that disability can be used to foster charisma, the peril is that of a charisma derived from pity, which produces a different affection in terms of power relations. Aristotle is guilty of contemporary politically incorrectness when treating people with mental disabilities as incomplete human beings. Kant's discussion on cosmopolitan citizenship assumes the "normality" of individuals participating in social and political affairs.

On Ecology

Finally, the canonical texts hold an *anthropocentric view* of the world, which places humans at the middle of history and the source of meaning. This view assumes that "human consciousness is the original subject of all historical development and all action" (Foucault, 1969). Even though Kant devotes effort to discussing the central importance of nature in the life of human beings, he still takes an apparently anthropocentric approach towards his discussions of a cosmopolitan world. His discussions on territoriality involve ownership by people of the things that will anyway outlive mankind. Even the concept of citizenship is anthropocentric such that is an invention of modernity that does not exist prior to bureaucratic societies. Locke is extractive in his view of dominating natural resources. Hobbes claims that in the state of nature each keeps guard over his or her own property.

The Consequences

While there is no text that can represent every sub-population, the devotion to categorization validates a deprivation and objectification of a large portion of individuals. An uncritical reading of canonical texts and the system used to reproduce them in schoolbooks, scholarly journals and lectures may facilitate the propagation of hegemonic epistemological hierarchies. With these, a concern arises that the readers fall prey to a barren romanticism and generalization along with "vindicating [the] conclusions which the philosophers already find morally attractive" (Leiter, 2013, p. 4). For these reasons, the canons may be reduced as at best partial, as archeological exhibits in their examinations of the world, rather than seeing their dynamic position vis-à-vis the global interconnections. Moreover, the desire to be more critical in analyzing philosophical texts raises several practical difficulties.

Scholars' Skills

The demand of having adequate language skills in dealing with the non-Western philosophy may hamper a focus on non-Western texts. While a legitimate reason for dropping non-Western philosophical texts from the course requirements is not provided, the effective result of the canon is the need to walk an extra mile to study non-canonic philosophy, since one has to first understand the discourses that gave birth to thoughts and words/terms of the non-Western texts (e. g. the meaning of "existence" in the Upanishads or Confucian texts). One practical difficulty here is that translations may be limited. For instance, while Wang Yangming's (1472–1529 BCE) teachings were introduced and partially translated in the English vernacular during late 19th and early 20th centuries, a complete English translation of his work remains unavailable. Finally, in studying philosophy apart from the Western canon, the student must become acquainted with some less familiar key philosophical concepts to grasp the meaning of untranslatable terms within a semantic discourse much larger than that of its English [or Latin, or Greek] counterparts.

Academe's Structure

The structure of the philosophy departments in the academe may be unfriendly to individuals specializing in non-Western philosophies. Beyond ritual claims of being diversity-embracing and politically correct in appreciating non-Western philosophical texts, many still automatically dismiss Asian and African philosophy (Park, 2013) as comprising materials of inferior philosophical interest. With no intention to generalize, the composition of faculty members and graduate students in philosophy departments suggests that such a minority (if not absence) of specialists in non-Western philosophy is to be anticipated. It certainly cannot be claimed that there is an absence of specialists in philosophy developed from the Western or Anglophone traditions.

Economic Value

The market demand outside the academe conflates with student interests. There is a high post-graduate research interest in Western philosophical specialist topics. Any attempt to increase the weighting given to non-Western philosophy in the overall rankings therefore constitutes a challenge. Even though there is interest in non-Western texts, it is not surprising that there is hesitancy involved in considering this path of specialization. Few, if any, graduate students in top programs develop interests in neglected areas because of a perceived unpromising career. This then continues the vicious cycle. It may also be the case that ignoring some philosophical texts is expressed in terms of being "already interested" in some more popular texts rather than about being "uninterested" in marginalized materials.

Search for the Reasonable "Why"

If there is a lack of insight behind the urgency to address the non-representation of non-Western philosophical texts, misguided diagnoses may be made. In the absence of a clear and accurate handle of why it is a problem in the first place, the situation may be exacerbated by unreflexively attempting to resolve the issue by simply adding more texts. Conversely, however, another tendency is to ignore the problem and continue assuming that there is no need to articulate the cultural diversity of philosophical accounts within the ideological and material legacies of various cultural pasts.

Thus, as much as it is a question of *what* is to be done, it is also a question as to why it must be done. More than a pressure to create an impression of being unbiased, a clear vision of why there is such an urgency to be inclusive requires thorough reflection. These sentiments on representation might be affected by the notion about the unacceptability of bias. However, Western bias alone may be a necessary but not sufficient reason to rethink the canonical privilege and prestige. All mainstream cultures have biases to begin with. Bias is a given; nevertheless, it can be countered by sensitivity.

In the quest to find a balance when introducing philosophical texts, adding philosophical works considered to be marginalized simply based on the intention to include non-Western philosophy may be a weak approach. The inclusion of

non-Western philosophical texts may be a valuable first step to more nuanced philosophical discussions; however, it does not solve the dilemmas involved in providing balanced reading, nor does this action taken in isolation automatically make mainstream philosophy unbiased. It may even turn out to be a hasty solution to a complex issue. These considerations lead to the emergence of several paradoxes.

Unnecessary dichotomies

The danger is that the discussions also end up involving a new binary of Western versus non-Western texts. Whilst there is an effort to be critical, the tendency to fall into restrictive dichotomies may be so ingrained that there is no room to question this approach towards categorization. This divide might imply setting aside alternative approaches for more democratic discussions of philosophical texts. These dichotomies can distort the complexities and diversity of philosophical thoughts (Ryan and Louie, 2007).

Assumptions of Mutual Exclusivity: The most common tendency here is to pigeonhole a rigid East-West binary. A drawback of this approach is that forcing strict classifications highlights the differences over the similarities. While there are differences, the similarities are stark. One example is how the Confucian thought balances two key democratic ideals – liberty and community. This approach may seem to resemble Rousseau's version of the Social Contract, in which he showed that liberty is compatible with social regulation. The Confucian notion of *li* (ritual) served as an anchoring element used to achieve harmony "without sacrificing reflective experience and personal fulfillment"; thus making *li* a pillar to the "moral empowerment of free individuals in community" (Tan, 2004). This overlaps with Rousseau's notion of the *General Will*, which serves as the social glue that binds the community.

This East-West dichotomy also places philosophical thoughts in an *either-or* situation, leaving a diversity of teachings (e. g., African and Islamic philosophy, even Theravada Buddhism) at the periphery. This is evident especially that the popular culture envisages growing attempts to engage the wider public into philosophical studies. Since the East-West dichotomy is contentious, it marginalizes other philosophical thoughts through seeming intersections with popular traditions. For instance, Avicenna's *Kitāb al-Burhān* illustrates that knowledge of causes ensures necessary, eternal certainty (Marmura, 1975). This overlaps with Western thinkers' search for true knowledge and its cause. However, it is the African philosophy that suffers the most from this dichotomy due to the lack of African writings considered as "philosophical". African philosophical texts are rather embodied in proverbs, aphorisms and pithy sayings in that "in his [African thinker] use of natural resources, he demonstrates his own epistemology" (Busia, 1963, p. 148).

Comparing Apples and Oranges: Dichotomies imply a futile competition, which views different philosophical thoughts as counterparts fit for comparison. This

assumes that there is a benchmark upon which philosophical thoughts are weighed and compared. Consequently, it ignores the different yet equal set of inquiries that occupy thinkers. Philosophical schools of thought set up different, sometimes opposing but equally valuable core questions, which set their writings into their respective directions.

To compare them as if they are essentially the same is to neglect a multiplicity of framings of thoughts. One peril inherent in comparison manifests when there is an assumption that philosophies are compatible for comparison. For instance, while the African tribe Yoruba philosophical thought sense of *mo*, may roughly mean to "know"; however, this form of "knowing" requires having an eyewitness acquaintance (Hallen & Sodipo, 1997). Hence, it has implications for how such knowledge would interpreted and how this relates to the inner workings of the mind. Moreover, the various ways to view the concept of "fate" – the Greek term *moira*, the South Asian *karma*, and the Chinese *ming* in the ancient world to the modern concept of "destiny" (Solomon, 2003) – may involve different assumptions that are not attuned for comparison. Thus, although these terms may involve tangential similarities, they may at the same refer to quite different levels of knowing, and, while they may be discussed in terms of "counterparts", they also stand alone as concepts that are intricately intertwined with the philosophical thoughts associated with their origins.

Mainstreaming without being inclusive

Simply tacking on non-Western philosophical texts to the mainstream tradition may be more about outwardly conforming to the humanitarian agenda than a genuine response to the popular call to embrace diversity and inclusivity. Such a bandwagon comprises, at best, a band-aid solution to this long-standing crisis. If unchecked, it may just consist in actions that shift attention away from the misrecognition issue of the untapped richness of non-Western discourses. This may even result in awkward placement of non-Western texts in the absence of departmental competency to recognize them.

To begin with, the word "philosophy" is itself a Western construct. Even the very use of the term "non-Western" implies the tendency to analyze these texts in reference to an origin deemed "foreign" or else still with a Western frame. This leads to an over simplification of non-Western cultures and perpetuation of the inherent bias favoring Western culture. Here, the peculiarities of each non-Western philosophy may be uncritically reduced into one category characterized by merely being divergent from Western thinking. This does not reflect an inclusive theorizing but a sense of referencing the Western texts as a template. This may result in a deployment of non-Western texts as part of the agenda set by and within Western discourses, undermining the underlying conventions and tensions. Even the present paper may even be overlaid with Western internal logic.

A universal mode of thinking: While there is ongoing effort to engage in a diversity of philosophical traditions, such traditions are still analyzed under the purview of the Western gaze. However, the prominence of this Western frame is seen as

undeserved in Arabic philosophical traditions given that the latter reached an advanced level of comprehensive philosophical and scientific work such as that of Avicenna's philosophy (Bäck, 1994). This becomes an issue when the true diversity of ontological and epistemological assumptions remains unexplored, limiting one's thinking to some existing ontologies and epistemic views. For instance, while the concept of time may be little discussed in classical European philosophy, it is a core element in Ancient Chinese philosophy, to which their logicians anchor most of their thoughts. As Yuan (2006) notes, "Chinese logic is structured in the time of the now", adding that Chinese logicians think in terms of more than one "possible world". As such, far from representing any universal truth, the aim is to arrive at the "harmony of relations among particulars in a particular field at a single moment". Therefore, Chinese philosophy may invalidate the lack of simultaneity of European thought. For example, the divide between Plato's world of ideas and physical world is viewed as flawed since it is possible to see harmony between the two worlds. Moreover, Kant's Cosmopolitanism involves a possibly invalid logical construct because of its view of history as linear, when, in actuality, the Cosmopolitan world may already be happening at present.

Another mode of thinking is that offered by ancient Egyptian philosophy. In the teachings during Pharaonic Egypt, thinkers taught through graphic and concrete symbolism because they think in terms of symbols (Gillings, 1972). Since Hieroglyphs comprised the complete knowledge of reality, it was impossible for the Egyptians to conceive the idea of "non-existence" in the sense of the absence of the "existent" because the Hieroglyphs present the complete knowledge of reality (ibid.). This has implications for how philosophical thought can proceed and be passed down to the next generations of thinkers. For instance, the hypothetical Hobbesian account of the Social Contract may be seen not as an imagined event but very real even in the absence of any historical and physical manifestation.

The universal set of inquiries: Reading non-Western texts as part of a Western philosophical agenda assumes that there are "right" philosophical directions. This leads to philosophical concerns being viewed in a hierarchical manner. To adopt this mindset is to rank philosophical thoughts, validate some and dismiss others, as if there is an innate inequality between philosophical claims. For instance, the very notion of an "inquiry" is already foreign to African thought, for whose thinkers it is not the primary concern due to the very idea of "African Philosophy" being a heritage of identity collapsing in the face of Western bias (Uduigwomen, 1995). As such, the development of African thought and African thinkers is tainted by its history of being deemed sub-human (ibid.), hence enquiring about a "virtuous life" is considered to be out of line. Indeed, as Jinadu (2014) emphasized, African philosophy "is not culture-bound as it is being studied in other continents of the world".

In the same vein, maximizing happiness (or pleasure) and minimizing (if not eradicating) pain are fundamental values that have framed Western philosophical modes of thinking. However, of no lesser value is how the Confucian school of thought (in the *Analects*) recognizes grief and vulnerability as virtues, i. e. ethically

valuable experiences that are fundamental to life (Olberding, 2004). Further, while the pursuit of the Universal "Truth" is a main direction of discussion in Western philosophy, reproduced in public spaces and popular sources such as dictionaries, a brief glance at how philosophy is variously defined in well-known dictionaries can provide glimpses of the underlying Western agenda. For instance, the definitions of philosophy in the Merriam-Webster dictionary include "pursuit of wisdom [and] a search for a general understanding of values and reality"[1]. Contrastingly, for Britannica, it is "the rational, abstract, and methodical consideration of reality as a whole"[2]. However, an intersectional, more integrative set of considerations were evident in the ancient Chinese philosophical inquiries. For instance, when Dong Zhongshu (179–104 BCE) attempted to integrate *yin-yang* theory into *Confucianism*, the agenda was not to arrive at a universal "Truth" but to demonstrate that the yin-yang must not be seen as fixed categories such as gender, but rather as together forming a transformative dynamic harmony (Wang, 2005). Thus, Chinese philosophy may be seen as more process-oriented rather than aiming to arrive at a certain virtuous destination.

What is left is a lacuna, a void in the realm of understanding. For this reason, a new way of reading the canonical texts is required. This new approach implies a mindset that would connect our thinking to a broader perspective. A question that arises here is whether there is a need to completely overturn the existing canons. However, there is reason to believe otherwise. That the canons require to be read with contextual sensitivity is a very popular notion, pleading that "contextualization" be understood with caution. Galison (2008) noted: "[W]hen philosophers talk about the context of an argument… they often mean bringing into the argument not only the text in question but also the texts of surrounding philosophers… When historians speak about context, they often have in view the non-textual environment". The standards of "contextualizing" also vary in meaning and interpretation. A different way of reading might see context as that which situates why such paradigms were created, not just a leeway for dismissing perceived canonical deficiencies. Thus, the weaknesses of the canons may be viewed as their very strengths, which resulted in their standing the test of time. Seeing the context does not necessarily imply finding an immediate justification for what are viewed as shortcomings. Rather, the point where the canons fall short may fuel further discussion, which may serve to vindicate the texts' canonical status.

The Rejoinder: a De-Canonized Gaze for Epistemic Modesty

In the view of this author, we cannot afford simply to unfollow the canonical texts. To begin with, the canons cannot be entirely decanonized because to do so would be to repeat the "error" that resulted in their canonization in the first place. We should recall that the canonical thinkers arrived at their status partly as a consequence

[1] See https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/philosophy

[2] See https://www.britannica.com/topic/philosophy

of the various controversies their works have spawned, which continued to gain in prominence over the centuries following their deaths. Moreover, the canonical thinkers were also part and parcel of the canonization of each other. For instance, Aristotle made Plato and Socrates even more celebrated than their already well-known status. By being compared with each other, Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau were clustered as Social Contract Theorists. Also, the ones who canonized them were individuals already established in the field of philosophy. For instance, Whitehead is very much known to have been a prominent thinker of his time; thus, his devotion to Plato gained both criticism and applause, to the benefit of Plato's enduring status. Moreover, even those theorists who were critical of the canons, such as Nietzsche, in fact ended up achieving center stage in these canons based upon these very critiques. Therefore, any concerted effort to decanonize such texts and thinkers is likely to be in vain.

Seeing the biases of the canons is no reason to cut them out of one's reading collection. Rather, the issue here the danger of being insensitive to a whole range of philosophical texts at the expense of lost valuable discussions. The point is to establish a dialogue, to see the contradictions that become salient in the clashing of thoughts from different traditions (Park, 2013). Then, if what motivates a call for the inclusion of the neglected philosophical materials is an assertion of its relevance for richer discussion, the principal agenda would not be to antagonize Western philosophy but rather to routinely intersect these mainstream texts with those marginalized materials. As Gress notes, "[t]he West was not a single story, but several stories, most of which neither began with Plato nor ended with NATO" (1998, p. 16).

What is to be practiced instead, in this author's view, is a *decanonized gaze*. To have a decanonized gaze is not to antagonize the canons but to reflect back at their thoughts in a fragmented and decentered way. Neither is the aim to trivialize, but rather to differently frame one's view of the canons. These are not new suggestions but a synthesized "borrowing" of concepts from successors of the canonical philosophical thinkers as a means of coming up with a decanonized gaze and reinventing ways to read the canonical texts. It is an exercise that recognizes them as canons but at the same time consciously questions their canonized status, in the hope of arriving at alternative ways of reading that may have been currently overlooked. It continually engages and disengages the various intersectionalities among different groups and subgroups of people. It *contextualizes*, *indigenizes*, *sexualizes* and *orientalizes* any perspective away from the canonical gaze.

It de-naturalizes the canonical texts by always comparing and evaluating the place of the canonical texts particularly in non-Western contexts. This implies consciously and perpetually questioning the reasons for the texts' canonical status in philosophy. It also comprises an examination of the scholarly consensus, which rendered the canons as non-negotiable set of manuscripts, especially for new scholars of philosophy. It re-evaluates the standing of the canons within the comprehensive discipline of philosophy. Conversely, this reading may additionally argue that the

meaning of canonical texts is a cultural construct and subject to change and various performances of different readers with their competing ideologies.

A decanonized gaze does not assume that any text is equally valid and legitimate as philosophical material as the established ones; to do this would simply cheapen the discipline of philosophy itself. However, nor does a de-canonized reading assume that people who spend years working on specific subjects are automatically authorities on these subjects, to whom deference is necessarily owed. Moreover, a de-canonized reading does not demand that one leave his or her own philosophical biases to engage in a nuance reading. Indeed, a de-canonized reading can be practiced even if one subscribes to a particular philosophical school of thought. The point is just to keep one's own perspective regardless of his or her philosophical commitment and to prevent one's own ideological commitments from crowding out the ability to evaluate philosophical texts that may deepen and cultivate higher executive cognition.

Counter-Bias Evidence from Selected Philosophy Course Syllabi

It is indeed fortuitous to be able to identify strategic approaches for engaging in richer discussions of philosophical texts. Some examples of philosophy course syllabi downloadable online indicate how a decanonized reading can be practiced. For instance, the American Philosophical Association sets up a section in their website called "Diversity and Inclusiveness Syllabus Collection"[3]. This is a collection of a range of philosophy course syllabi, including those "completely devoted to an underrepresented area of philosophy". While this gives an impression of admitting and validating the superiority of the Western thought, it is an important step towards shaking the taken-for-granted assumptions.

Inclusive and Intentional Syllabi

The simplest and most direct way to emphasize the need for engaging with the non-canonical texts is to explicitly mention it in the syllabus. As such, Amherst College's Philosophy and Cultural Diversity[4] syllabus is very direct in stipulating that the canons of philosophy "all lived in what is today Europe, and they were all male" (Scheman, 2014, p. 1). This is followed by the aims of the course "to broaden the disciplined conversation by bringing into it voices that have been 'disciplined out'" (ibid). Moreover, the University of Wisconsin-Superior's course syllabus in Introduction to Philosophy[5] mentions that the class will "emphasize traditional canonical philosophy, non-canonical philosophy, including feminist and non-European philosophy" (Adams, 2014).

[3] See http://www.apaonline.org/members/group_content_view.asp?group=110430&id=380970

[4] Amherst College (Spring, 2014) PHIL 1006 Philosophy and Cultural Diversity. Amherst, Massachusetts. Retrieved from http://c.ymcdn.com/sites/www.apaonline.org/resource/resmgr/inclusiveness_syllabi/Introduction_to_Philosophy_&.pdf

[5] University of Wisconsin-Superior (Spring, 2014) PHIL 151: Introduction to Philosophy. Superior, Wisconsin. Retrieved from http://c.ymcdn.com/sites/www.apaonline.org/resource/resmgr/Inclusiveness_Syllabi/introductiontophilosophy_lac.pdf

Critical Engagement of Canons-Only Syllabi

A critical reading is conceivable even if only dominant texts are outlined in the syllabus. For instance, while devoted to focus on Aristotle, the Tulane University specifically offers Aristotle in New Orleans course[6], which syllabus "combines service-learning with philosophical reflection and rhetorical analysis" (McBride, n.d.). Here, learners will be critical of Aristotle's views as they may see the discord between Aristotelian thought and their own lived experiences. Another reasonable approach than merely including non-Western texts in a syllabus is to have a comparative method. For instance, the syllabus for Medieval Philosophy[7] of Bucknell University (Pennsylvania, USA) is explicit in being "a comparative one, focusing on various intellectual crosspollinations that were then taking place between the three major philosophical traditions in the medieval period: Christian, Islamic and Jewish" (Groff, 2014 p. 1).

However, the content of course syllabi alone does not necessarily determine whether or not there will be a reflexive discussion of the philosophical texts. Different approaches to reading the materials may be what makes the difference. For instance, the Indiana University's Introduction to Philosophy[8] syllabus, "reconstruct[s] the ancient philosophical system … and then examine[s] in detail the ways that system was dismantled and the alternatives that were put in its place" (Woodward, 2013). In the same vein, while the course syllabus in the History of Political Philosophy at the Ural Federal University only includes mainstream philosophical texts, the course requirements include essays and a problematique that allow reflective spaces for students to critically revisit and assess the texts they discussed in class. This paves way for an introspective evaluation of philosophical texts.

Specialized Course Offerings

Finally, another approach is for philosophy programs to devote a whole course in non-Western philosophical traditions. The Amherst College (Massachusetts) has a course on Black Existentialism[9] that "examines the critical transformation of European existentialist ideas through close readings of black existentialists … [and] consider[s] the matter of how and why existentialism continues to function so centrally in contemporary Africana philosophy" (Drabinksi, 2010). Similarly, the University of Massachusetts Lowell offers "Philosophy 373: Arabic and Islamic

[6] Tulane University (n.d.). Aristotle in New Orleans. New Orleans, Louisiana. Retrieved from http://c.ymcdn.com/sites/www.apaonline.org/resource/resmgr/inclusiveness_syllabi/Aristotle_in_New_Orleans_McB.pdf

[7] Bucknell University (Spring, 2014). Medieval Philosophy Course Guide: Pennsylvania, USA. Retrieved from http://c.ymcdn.com/sites/www.apaonline.org/resource/resmgr/Inclusiveness_Syllabi/medievalphilosophy_groff.pdf

[8] Indiana University (Spring, 2013). P100 Introduction to Philosophy. Bloomington, Indiana. Retrieved from http://www.philwoodward.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/Syllabus-Introduction-to-Philosophy.pdf

[9] Amherst University (Fall, 2010). Black Existentialism. Amherst, Massachusetts. Retrieved from http://c.ymcdn.com/sites/www.apaonline.org/resource/resmgr/Inclusiveness_Syllabi/blackexistentialism_drabinsk.pdf

Philosophy"[10] (Bassam, 2012). However, this may just be a seasonal course offering. a regular course offering of this would be supportive of the attempt to achieve a nuanced and critical understanding of philosophy.

A Reinvented Reading

After examining a pluralistic view of approaching the canonical thinkers, one may be able to re-read the canonical texts and challenge these texts from within. This is to use these views back on reading them for a more nuanced and contextualized reading. For instance, the canons' cultural insensitivity can serve as a warning to readers. One can be more thoughtful on the changes in meanings of the concepts used to understand the emerging issues in different cultures and contexts (Chakrabarty, 2000). The linguistic platform of the canonical thinkers may be applied with sensitivity to other writings even if, initially, the canons' terminologies may be suggestive of their apparent oblivion to the topics of gender distinctions, sexuality, cultural appropriation, moral relativism as well as disability and their relationship to social political affairs.

The canonical bias is a gentle reminder for the reader that these canonical thinkers did not produce a set of texts from only one period of their lives. These authors might have changes in perspectives from being young to becoming a more learned thinker. Immediately accusing the canonical authors of being unable to address current concerns may be futile. By looking beyond the canonical texts as "theories in themselves", one may fail to see the flexibility the canonical texts can offer in the current world. The canons have been held suspect of universalizing too much since they assume, by and large, universal truths as applying to societies. However, without understanding the context of their writing, this is an empty allegation. Indeed, there is reason to maintain intellectual piety towards the canons. This does not mean however that they must be read as holy, infallible texts. Rather, it is important to practice sensitivity as to why the conventional benchmarks for intellectual development and progress are traced from the European model. So, what may constitute a popular attack against these thinkers, does not necessarily place these thinkers in a compromising position. Though the canonical texts are not invincible, they are canons as they have stood the test of time and offer answers to basic questions of human life.

Conclusion: a Reimagined Approach to Canonical Philosophical Texts

Seeing the biases of any philosophical text fosters intellectual humility and maintains an independent perspective. While there is a danger in having too much epistemic attachment to a particular school of thought, this does not mean that the enterprise of committing to the canonical texts is futile and needs to be expressed as excessive antipathy. Rather, the promise of a decanonized reading is to ensure that we interact

[10] University of Massachusetts Lowell (Fall, 2012). Philosophy 373: Arabic and Islamic Philosophy. Massachusetts. Retrieved from http://c.ymcdn.com/sites/www.apaonline.org/resource/resmgr/Inclusiveness_Syllabi/arabicandislamicphilosophy_r.pdf

with texts that have both agreement and objections to our own assumptions, lest we decay into mere dogma. It reminds us of why we are inclined to one side over the other and stimulates our thinking. Embracing various ways of reading may diversify one's approach to reading canonical texts. On the one hand, a practical approach in reading the canonical texts is to look upon and acknowledge the texts as devices to help one make sense of political affairs and general philosophical concerns. On the other hand, it is also helpful to remain mindful of the context in which they were canonized in order to have a better way of interpreting them. The cumulative worship and criticism of these texts is a measure of their very substance. Things that seem common sense and obvious for us now would not be so obvious had the canonical political thinkers not raised these concerns centuries ago. Thus, the seeming confirmation of the obvious may indeed result in non-confirmation or confirmation of the unthinkable or not so obvious.

Texts are canonical due to both their own intellectual greatness and the historical contingencies that surround them. These texts may not be labeled as canonic by virtue of perfection but rather by virtue of influence or even controversy. Centering on either the most flawless or most erroneous idea as the axis of understanding the material might be dangerous. Also, while it is very important to look for the positive and negative highlights, this may also hinder one from appreciating the much less discussed ideas of the author. The best discussions may not necessarily arise upon reading the most famous idea of the thinker, though this may be the case for the majority. It is noteworthy to remember that philosophers come from a diversity of dispositions thereby their questions and philosophical concerns vary.

In the end, these texts matter because we can map out game-changing thoughts in a particular time, which shaped those thoughts we have at present. It remains important for a nuanced system of reading to give voice and visibility to marginalized philosophical texts written by a variety of thinkers that have been at the peripheries of philosophical discourse. This not only legitimizes their status as authors of ideas worthy of discussion but also builds the confidence and capacities of present scholars to invest more in studying these texts and bring richer discussions in the academic, as well as – hopefully – public spaces. It may be a disservice to both the thinkers and us, readers, if we reduce their writings to mere archeological thought exhibits through a sort of forensic historical analysis of matters of purely historical interest.

References

Aries, P. (1962). *Centuries of Childhood: a Social History of Family Life*. New York: Vintage.

Bäck, A. (1994). The Islamic Background: Avicenna (b. 980; d. 1037) and Averroes (b. 1126; d. 1198). In J. Gracia (Ed.) *Individuation in Scholasticism: The Later Middle Ages and the Counter-Reformation 1150–1650*, 39–67. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Butler, J. (1993) *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex*. New York: Routledge.

Busia, K. A. (1963). The African World-View. In J. Drachler (Ed.) *African Heritage*, 140–152. New York: Crowell Collier and Macmillan.

Chakrabarty, D. (2000). *Provincializing Europe: Post-Colonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton University Press.

Connell, R. (1997). Why is Classical Theory Classical? *American Journal of Sociology*, 102 (6), 1511–1557.

Cox, R. (1981). Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 10, 128–155.

Danto, A. (1995). The Decline and Fall of the Analytical Philosophy of History. In Frank Ankersmit & Hans Kellner (Eds.) *A New Philosophy of History*, 70–88.: University of Chicago Press.

Duchesne, R. (2011). *The Uniqueness of the West*. Leiden: Brill.

Foucault, M. (1969). *The Archeology of Knowledge*. London/New York: Routledge.

Galison, P. (2008). Ten Problems of History and Philosophy of Science. *Isis*, 99 (1), 111–124. DOI: 10.1086/587536

Gillings, R. (1972). *Mathematics in the Time of the Pharaohs*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Gress, D. (1998). *From Plato to NATO: The Idea of the West and its Opponents*. New York, NY: The Free Press.

Hadot, P. (2002). *What is Ancient Philosophy?* Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Hallen, B. (2002). *A Short History of African Philosophy*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Hallen, B., and Sodipo, J. O. (1997). *Knowledge, Belief, and Witchcraft: Analytic Experiments in African Philosophy*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

Jinadu, A.M. (2014). Rethinking the comparison between African and Western Philosophies. *International Journal of Political Science and Development*, 2 (8), 180–187. DOI: 10.14662/IJPSD2014.037

Leiter, B. (2013). *Nietzsche against the Philosophical Canon*. University of Chicago Public Law & Legal Theory Working Paper, No. 438. Retrieved from https://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=&httpsredir=1&article=1415&context=public_law_and_legal_theory

Lyotard, J-F. (1984). *The Postmodern Condition: a Report on Knowledge*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Marmura, M. E. (1975). Avicenna's Chapter 'On the Relative' in the Metaphysics of the al-Shifā'. In G. F. Hourani (Ed.) *Essays on Islamic Philosophy and Science, Studies in Islamic Philosophy and Science*, 83–99. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Olberding, A. (2004). The Consummation of Sorrow: An Analysis of Confucius' Grief for Yan Hui. *Philosophy East & West*, 54 (3), 279–301.

Omotsho, I. F. (2014). A Critique of the Question of African Philosophy. *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 19 (7), 61–66.

Park, P. K. J. (2013). *Africa, Asia, and the Philosophy of History: Racism in the Formation of the Philosophical Canon, 1780–1830*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Ryan, J., and Louie, K. (2007). False Dichotomy? 'Western' and 'Confucian' concepts of scholarship and learning. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 39, 404–417. DOI: 10.1111/j.1469-5812.2007.00347.x

Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism*. New York: Penguin Books.

Strauss, L. (1952). *Persecution and the Art of Writing*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Tan, S.-H. (2004). From Cannibalism to Empowerment: An Analects-Inspired Attempt to Balance Community and Liberty. *Philosophy East and West*, 54 (1), 52–70.

Uduigwomen, A. F. (1995). Philosophy and the Place of African Philosophy. In A. F. Uduigwomen (Ed.) *Footmarks on African Philosophy*, 3–9. Lagos: Obaroh & Ogbinaka Publishers.

Wang, R. (2005). Dong Zhongshu's Transformation of 'Yin-Yang' Theoryand Contesting of Gender Identity. *Philosophy East and West*, 55 (2), 209–231.

Yuan, J. (2006). The Role of Time in the Structure of Chinese Logic. *Philosophy East and West*, 56 (1), 136–152.

Žižek, S. (1996) "I hear you through my eyes": or, the invisible master. In R. Salecl & S. Žižek (Eds.) *Gaze and Voice as Love Objects*, 90–126. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Changing Societies & Personalities, 2018
Vol. 2, No. 1
http://dx.doi.org/10.15826/csp.2018.2.1.031

BOOK REVIEW

Religious Complexity in the Public Sphere: Comparing Nordic Countries (Inger Furseth, ed.). Springer, 2017[1]

Elena Stepanova
Institute for Philosophy and Law, Ural Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Ural Federal University, Yekaterinburg, Russia

In the contemporary world, religion holds a significant place in many people's lives, intersecting with other identities. At the same time, religion has been increasingly acknowledged as an important aspect of national and international politics, a pervasive and contentious cultural force, and a subject of significant public concern. Thus, a clear need exists for scholarly research, thoughtful conversation and an ability to reach beyond the walls of the academy to translate this research to the wider public.

Today, religions in most countries in the world are directly or indirectly involved into political activities, influencing citizen's perceptions of state government legitimacy. Religions investigate alternative strategies of the presence in mass media, as well as adopt electronic and digital media technologies, reconfiguring a practice of religious mediation. Religions are taught in various forms and measures in public schools and higher educational institutions. Religions are involved in public institutions such as hospitals, army, and prisons. In addition, the increased involvement of religion in the public sphere can be understood in the context of value changes. The implication is that we are seeing the emergence and development of both post-modern and post-material values leading in some religious contexts to anti-modern counter-reactions. Religious leaders and believers are today one voice among many. This suggests the importance of putting appropriate emphasis on the agency of religious interest groups from both conceptual and empirical perspectives.

In the last decades, scholars across the globe are engaged in the discussion of religion's place on the private/public continuum and of the rationality in the public sphere. Contemporary debates on religion's place in the dichotomy of public/private extend beyond the question of religion's presence

[1] The work is supported by the Russian Science Foundation (RSF), grant number 17–18–01194.

Received 5 March 2018
Published online 3 April 2018

stepanova.elena.a@gmail.com

in the public sphere and address the legitimacy of admitting religious arguments in public deliberation on social and political problems of the day. Rejection of Enlightenment's myth of private religion leads to recognition that religion has always played and continues to play a significant role in public space. Religion in the modern world steps out of the private domain as it assumes the task of preserving national, ethnic or group identity, and on these grounds, it justifies its demand for the voice and rights in current discussions of social and political problems. Deprivatization of religion can be observed on individual as well as on institutional level.

In all the Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden), the Lutheran majority churches were closely intertwined with the state since the Reformation in the sixteenth century until the middle of the nineteenth century. The Reformation resulted in the establishment of Evangelical Lutheran state churches, which implied that every citizen was a member. In XX century, the Nordic countries being marked by Christian (mostly Lutheran) heritage became pioneers of secularism; for most citizens, religious affiliation came to mean less and less. Today, the Nordic majority churches are characterized as semi-autonomous with different degrees of autonomy from the state. Recently, a dramatic and unexpected resurgence of religion came in the form of immigrants. The Nordic countries were largely religious monocultures until immigration grew few decades later than in most other European countries. Since then, immigration has changed the Nordic ethnic and religious landscapes and especially transformed Sweden, Norway, and Denmark into relatively diverse nations. The presence of actively religious immigrants encouraged some nonimmigrant residents of Nordic countries to think more about their own religious heritage, values, and identities. Thus, the changes taking place in the Nordic countries are similar to changes taking place in many other European countries.

The book *Religious Complexity in the Public Sphere: Comparing Nordic Countries* (Inger Furseth, ed., Springer, 2017) is the result of a 5-year research project "The role of religion in the public sphere. a comparative study of the five Nordic countries" (NOREL) (2009–2014)[2]. The research group included more than 20 scholars and 2 PhD students from all five Nordic countries. Inger Furseth from the KIFO Institute for Church, Religion, and Worldview Research, University of Oslo (Norway) edits the volume. Contributors represent the leading Nordic universities: Aarhus University (Denmark), Uppsala University (Sweden), University of Iceland, University of Copenhagen (Denmark), University of Helsinki (Finland), University of Agder (Norway), and some others.

In the introduction to the book, Inger Furseth describes the methodology and main concepts of the research. Thus, the concept of "religion" refers to a wide variety of beliefs, practices, symbols, and social arrangements; it is not seen as unitary and homogeneous, but as constructed, given meaning, and contested in various situations (p. 12); secularity is treated as a descriptive opposite to religion in the sense that the secular refers to the temporal, profane world, or the nonreligious (p. 13). Stressing the lack of theorizing regarding the presence of multiple religious trends

[2] www.kifo.no/forskning/religion-in-the-public-sphere-norel/research/

that take place simultaneously, the concept of *religious complexity* is introduced in the book in order to analyze multiple religious trends in contemporary Nordic countries. Religious complexity as a meta-theoretical concept refers to the simultaneous presence of several, and sometimes contradictory, religious trends that may coexist at different levels in society. The book argues that in the Nordic countries "religious complexity consists of seemingly contradictory trends, such as a growing secularization in the populations, trends of both differentiation and de-differentiation of religion at the state level, a growing presence of religion as a topic at the political level, a greater visibility of religion in the media, and a deprivatization of religion at the level of civil society" (p. 16). Each trend is discussed in light of different theories relating to secularization, differentiation, politicization, mediatization, and deprivatization. It is stressed that religious complexity may emerge in homogeneous societies with little diversity, as for example in a country with a dominant Protestantism that experiences different developments of religious decline, growth and change at different levels, and several religious forms at each level. The complexity frame of reference rejects the notion that social change is necessarily gradual and emphasizes ruptures and path dependence. Underlying that the mere presence or visibility of various religions does not indicate that they dominate or have authority over other institutions or individuals, the concept of religious complexity implies that multiple forms of religion coexist at different levels, so that the presence of religion may be growing in the public sphere, while the individuals simultaneously are becoming more secular, or vice versa (p. 22).

In the book, four main themes of the presence and visibility of religion in public sphere are studied: religion and state; religion on the political agenda; religion and the media; religion and civil society. In the chapter on *Religion and State* the authors indicate the significant shift from church-state terms (with the preference to state, established, or national churches) to religion-state ones with the consequent emphasis on religious diversity. At the same time, today, with the exception of Denmark, all the Nordic majority churches (and the Orthodox Church of Finland) have become more autonomous in relation to the state since the 1980s. The authors underline that the use of the concept of "semi-autonomous" churches (again with the exception of Denmark) places the Nordic church-state relations as parts of a larger pattern of European model of church-state relations, where individual freedom of religion (and a neutral position of the state toward various individual religious subjects) is combined with the preferential treatment of one or two religious institutions, typically the historical majority churches (pp. 89–90). The authors mention that in the Nordic countries, the Evangelical Lutheran majority churches traditionally have been important elements in the legitimization of the nation-state at official occasions such as the opening of the parliaments, national holidays, and the celebration of national heroes. The authors observe the concept of "culturalization of religion" and conclude that it may allow majority religions a presence in places from where religion is banned or regarded with suspicion.

The second theme – *religion on the political agenda* – is developed in relation to several aspects. Thus, the observation of party platforms shows that Christian

Democratic parties refer to Christianity as the foundation of society and the source of core values, such as solidarity, ethics, and view of human beings; religious denominations and particularly the majority churches are seen as contributors to common welfare and part of the cultural heritage. On the contrary, the right-wing populist parties do not refer at all to religion as connected to party identity.

Reviewing the controversial issue of the same-sex marriage, in which the Nordic countries have been pioneers in making it gender-neutral, the authors of the chapter on religion and political agenda stresses the importance of the double track system, which permits both civil and religious marriages with full civil law effects. They present pro and counter arguments, and interpret the debates as a struggle over core values in society, namely, the cultural and social value of marriage, and whether such an institution should depend on religious approval or not. Generally, the analysis of debates on same-sex marriage illustrates the significance of gender and sexuality in Nordic political debates on religion: the focal points for the discussion became the relation between two core values in Nordic societies: gender and sexual equality, and religious freedom. The importance of their relation is also salient in parliamentary debates on symbols, such as the wearing of religious headgear, or on religious education.

One more aspect of political agenda – the securitization of religion – is understood as an extreme version of politicization or a process whereby politicized issues are socially constructed as a threat that requires special measures. The analysis of party platforms and parliamentary debates show how the right-wing populist parties, especially in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, emphasize a conflict where Christianity is perceived as a religion that is linked to and helps preserve national identity, while Islam is a religion that can put national identity in jeopardy (p. 180). In general, the analysis provided in the book clearly shows that the question of how to combine a situation of religious and cultural diversity with core values in the Nordic countries as Social Democratic welfare states of universalism, generous benefit levels, and egalitarianism, is one of the most demanding challenges in contemporary Nordic politics.

Highlighting the third theme – *religion and media* – the authors argue that the visibility of religion in the media is of key importance when trying to understand the public role of religion: if the thesis of the return of religion to the public sphere is to be valid, religion has to be visible in the media. They critically observe the "mediatization of religion" theory and its particular characteristics in the Nordic countries, and conclude about the Nordic "paradox": the considerable and continued media presence of religion on the one hand and the diminishing commitment to organized religion, on the other (p. 201). The authors show that the attention of the media has shifted from the majority churches to Islam, especially in the religiously most diverse countries of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. At the same time, attention has gradually shifted away from the coverage of religion as news to debates on religion often presenting religious meanings that do not necessarily follow traditional understandings. In addition, the image of religion in popular lifestyle magazines, films, and on Internet is discussed in the book in details.

The fourth theme – *religion and civil society* – is observed in terms of "social capital". The authors of the book conclude that due to the looser ties to the state, most Nordic majority churches in in their statements on public policies tend to behave much in the same ways as other faith and worldview communities at national and local levels. It proves that the majority churches (except the Danish one) could be viewed as part of civil society (p. 255).

In conclusion, the editor of the book stresses the need to develop new concepts in order to analyze the religious situation in contemporary Western societies, which would go beyond the customary terms such as secularization, desecularization, or post-secularity, and be more contextualized. From the authors of the book point of view, the new concepts should take into account generational changes towards more individualized and subjective approach to religious and secular worldviews and practices. This trend can have a secularizing effect in the sense that the choice to be secular is seen as a matter for each individual, and so is the choice to remain outside any faith and worldview community; it also mean the significant shift in the presence of religion in public sphere. Other important issue is the growing diversity of the Nordic welfare states and the ways to facilitate equal and fair treatment of all, which brings religion to the forefront in politics.

ETHICAL CODE

For journal editors

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

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

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

For authors

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

- All authors must warrant that their article is their own original work, which does not infringe the intellectual property rights of any other person or entity, and cannot be construed as plagiarizing any other published work, including their own previously published work. Plagiarism takes many forms, from 'passing off' another's paper as the author's own paper, to copying or paraphrasing substantial parts of another's paper (without attribution), to claiming results from research conducted by others. Plagiarism in all its forms constitutes unethical publishing behavior and is unacceptable.
- All authors named on the paper are equally held accountable for the content of a submitted manuscript or published paper. All persons who have made significant scientific or literary contributions to the work reported should be named as co-authors. The corresponding author must ensure all named co-authors consent to publication and to being named as a co-author. Where there are others who have participated in certain substantive aspects of the research project, they should be acknowledged or listed as contributors.
- Authors must not submit a manuscript to more than one journal simultaneously. An author should not in general publish manuscripts describing essentially the same research in more than one journal of primary publication. Authors should not submit previously published work, nor work, which is based in substance on previously published work, either in part or whole.
- Authors must appropriately cite all relevant publications. The authors should ensure that they have written entirely original works, and if the authors have used.

- the work and/or words of others, this has been appropriately cited or quoted. Information obtained privately, as in conversation, correspondence, or discussion with third parties, should not be used or reported in the author's work unless fully cited, and with the permission of that third party.
- If required, authors must facilitate access to data sets described in the article. a paper should contain sufficient detail and references to permit others to replicate the work.
- Authors must declare any potential conflict of interest – be it professional or financial – which could be held to arise with respect to the article. All authors should disclose in their manuscript any financial or other substantive conflict of interest that might be construed to influence the results or interpretation of their manuscript.
- Authors must avoid making defamatory statements in submitted articles, which could be construed as impugning any person's reputation.

For peer reviewers

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

- Reviewers must give unbiased consideration to each manuscript submitted for consideration for publication, and should judge each on its merits, without regard to race, religion, nationality, sex, seniority, or institutional affiliation of the author(s).
- Reviewers should declare any potential conflict of interest interests (which may, for example, be personal, financial, intellectual, professional, political or religious) prior to agreeing to review a manuscript including any relationship with the author that may potentially bias their review.
- Reviewers must keep the peer review process confidential; information or correspondence about a manuscript should not be shared with anyone outside of the peer review process.
- Reviewers should provide a constructive, comprehensive, evidenced, and appropriately substantial peer review report, and provide feedback that will help the authors to improve their manuscript. Reviewers should express their views clearly with supporting arguments and make clear, which suggested additional investigations are essential to support claims made in the manuscript under consideration and which will just strengthen or extend the work. Reviewers must ensure that their comments and recommendations for the editor are consistent with their report for the authors.
- Reviewers must be objective in their reviews, refraining from being hostile or inflammatory. Reviewers must avoid making statements in their report, which might be construed as impugning any person's reputation. Personal criticism of the author is inappropriate.
- Reviewers must be aware of the sensitivities surrounding language issues that are due to the authors writing in a language that is not their own, and phrase the feedback appropriately and with due respect.
- Reviewer must not suggest that authors include citations to the reviewer's (or their associates') work merely to increase the reviewer's (or their associates')

citation count or to enhance the visibility of their or their associates' work; suggestions must be based on valid academic or technological reasons.

- Any selected reviewer who feels unqualified to review the research reported in a manuscript should notify the editor and excuse himself from the review process.
- Reviewers should make all reasonable effort to submit their report and recommendation in a timely manner, informing the editor if this is not possible.
- Reviewers should identify relevant published work that has not been cited by the authors. Any statement that an observation, derivation, or argument had been previously reported should be accompanied by the relevant citation. Reviewers should call to the journal editor's attention any significant similarity between the manuscript under consideration and any published paper or submitted manuscripts, of which they are aware.
- Unpublished materials disclosed in a submitted manuscript must not be used in a reviewer's own research without the express written consent of the author. Privileged information or ideas obtained through peer review must be kept confidential and not used for personal advantage.

Changing Societies & Personalities, 2018
Vol. 2, No. 1

INSTRUCTION FOR AUTHORS

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

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

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

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

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

Manuscript preparation

1. General guidelines

Description of the journal's reference style

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

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

A typical manuscript is from 6000 to 8000 words including tables, references, captions, footnotes and endnotes. Review articles will not exceed 4000 words, and book reviews – 1500 words. Manuscripts that greatly exceed this will be critically reviewed with respect to length.

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

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

Each manuscript should have 5 to 10 keywords.

Section headings should be concise.

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

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

Please supply a short biographical note for each author.

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

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

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

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

2. Style guidelines

Font:	Helvetica, ‘Helvetica Neue’ or Calibri, Sans-Serif, 12 point. Use margins of at least 2.5 cm (1 inch).
Title:	Use bold for your article title, with an initial capital letter for any proper nouns.
Authors’ names:	Give the names of all contributing authors on the title page exactly as you wish them to appear in the published article.
Affiliations:	List the affiliation of each author (department, university, city, country).
Correspondence details:	Please provide an institutional email address for the corresponding author. Full postal details are also needed by the publisher, but will not necessarily be published.
Anonymity for peer review:	Ensure your identity and that of your co-authors is not revealed in the text of your article or in your manuscript files when submitting the manuscript for review.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Description of the journal's reference style

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

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

In the text:	
Placement	References are cited in the text by the author's surname, the publication date of the work cited, and a page number if necessary. Full details are given in the reference list. Place them at the appropriate point in the text. If they appear within parenthetical material, put the year within commas: (see Table 3 of National Institute of Mental Health, 2012, for more details)
Within the same Parentheses	Order alphabetically and then by year for repeated authors, with in-press citations last. Separate references by different authors with a semi-colon.
Repeat mentions in the same paragraph	If name and year are in parentheses, include the year in subsequent citations.
With a quotation	This is the text, and Smith (2012) says “quoted text” (p. 1), which supports my argument. This is the text, and this is supported by “quoted text” (Smith, 2012, p. 1). This is a displayed quotation. (Smith, 2012, p. 1)
Page number	(Smith, 2012, p. 6)
One author	Smith (2012) or (Smith, 2012)
Two authors	Smith and Jones (2012) or (Smith & Jones, 2012)
Three to five authors	At first mention: Smith, Jones, Khan, Patel, and Chen (2012) or (Smith, Jones, Khan, Patel, & Chen, 2012) At subsequent mentions: Smith et al. (2012) or (Smith et al., 2012) In cases where two or more references would shorten to the same form, retain all three names.
Six or more authors	Smith et al. (2012) (Smith et al., 2012)
Authors with same surname	G. Smith (2012) and F. Smith (2008) G. Smith (2012) and F. Smith (2012)
No author	Cite first few words of title (in quotation marks or italics depending on journal style for that type of work), plus the year: (“Study Finds”, 2007) If anonymous, put (Anonymous, 2012).

Groups of authors that would shorten to the same form	Cite the surnames of the first author and as many others as necessary to distinguish the two references, followed by comma and et al.
Organization as author	The name of an organization can be spelled out each time it appears in the text or you can spell it out only the first time and abbreviate it after that. The guiding rule is that the reader should be able to find it in the reference list easily. National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH, 2012) or (National Institute of Mental Health [NIMH], 2012) University of Oxford (2012) or (University of Oxford, 2012)
Author with two works in the same year	Put a, b, c after the year (Chen, 2011a, 2011b, in press-a)
Secondary source	When it is not possible to see an original document, cite the source of your information on it; do not cite the original assuming that the secondary source is correct. Smith's diary (as cited in Khan, 2012)
Classical work	References to classical works such as the Bible and the Qur'an are cited only in the text. Reference list entry is not required. Cite year of translation (Aristotle, trans. 1931) or the version you read: Bible (King James Version).
Personal communication	References to personal communications are cited only in the text: A. Colleague (personal communication, April 12, 2011)
Unknown date	(Author, n.d.)
Two dates	(Author, 1959–1963) Author (1890/1983)
Notes	Endnotes should be kept to a minimum. Any references cited in notes should be included in the reference list.
Tables and figures	Put reference in the footnote or legend

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

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

Online	Author, A. A. (2012). *Title of work: Subtitle* [Adobe Digital Editions version]. Retrieved from https://www.w3.org
Place of publication	Always list the city, and include the two-letter state abbreviation for US publishers. There is no need to include the country name: New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Washington, DC: Author Newbury Park, CA: Sage Pretoria: Unisa Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press Abingdon: Routledge If the publisher is a university and the name of the state is included in the name of the university, do not repeat the state in the publisher location: Santa Cruz: University of California Press Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press
Publisher	Give the name in as brief a form as possible. Omit terms such as 'Publishers', 'Co.', 'Inc.', but retain the words 'Books' and 'Press'. If two or more publishers are given, give the location listed first or the location of the publisher's home office. When the author and publisher are identical, use the word Author as the name of the publisher.
Multivolume works	
Multiple volumes from a multivolume work	Levison, D., & Ember, M. (Eds). (1996). *Encyclopedia of cultural anthropology* (Vols. 1–4). New York, NY: Henry Holt. Use Vol. for a single volume and Vols. for multiple volumes. In text, use (Levison & Ember, 1996).
A single volume from a multivolume work	Nash, M. (1993). Malay. In P. Hockings (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of world cultures* (Vol. 5, pp. 174–176). New York, NY: G.K. Hall. In text, use (Nash, 1993).

Journal	
One author	Author, A. A. (2011). Title of article. *Title of Journal*, 22, 123–231. doi:xx.xxxxxxxxxx Provide the issue number ONLY if each issue of the journal begins on page 1. In such cases it goes in parentheses: Journal, 8(1), pp–pp. Page numbers should always be provided. If there is no DOI and the reference was retrieved from an online database, give the database name and accession number or the database URL (no retrieval date is needed): Author, A. A. (2011). Title of article. *Title of Journal*, 22, 123–231. Retrieved from https://www.w3.org If there is no DOI and the reference was retrieved from a journal homepage, give the full URL or site's homepage URL: Author, A. A. (2011). Title of article. *Title of Journal*, 22, 123–231. Retrieved from https://www.w3.org
Two authors	Author, A. A., & Author, B. B. (2004). Title of article. *Title of Journal*, 22, 123–231. doi:xx.xxxxxxxxxx
Three authors	Author, A. A., Author, B. B., & Author, C. C. (1987). Title of article. Title of Journal, 22, 123–231. doi:xx.xxxxxxxxxx
More authors	Include all names up to seven. If there are more than seven authors, list the first six with an ellipsis before the last. Author, M., Author, B., Author, E., Author, G., Author, D., Author, R., …, Author, P. (2001).
Organization as author	American Psychological Association. (2003). Title of article: And subtitle. *Title of Journal*, 2, 12–23. doi:xx.xxxxxxxxxx
No author	Editorial: Title of editorial. [Editorial]. (2012). *Journal Title*, 14, 1–2.

Not in English	If the original version is used as the source, cite the original version. Use diacritical marks and capital letters for the original language if needed. If the English translation is used as the source, cite the English translation. Give the English title without brackets. Titles not in English must be translated into English and put in square brackets. Author, M. (2000). Title in German: Subtitle of Article [Title in English: Subtitle of article]. *Journal in German*, 21, 208–217. doi:xx.xxxxxxxxxx Author, P. (2000). Title in French [Title in English: Subtitle of article]. *Journal in French*, 21, 208–217. doi:xx.xxxxxxxxxx For transliteration of Cyrillic letters please use the links: ALA-LC Romanization Tables at the web-site of The Library of Congress http://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpso/roman.html
Peer-reviewed article published online ahead of the issue	Author, A. A., & Author, B. B. (2012). Article title. *Title of Journal*. Advance online publication. doi:xx.xxxxxxxxx If you can update the reference before publication, do so.
Supplemental material	If you are citing supplemental material which is only available online, include a description of the contents in brackets following the title. [Audio podcast] [Letter to the editor]
Other article types	Editorial: Title of editorial. [Editorial]. (2012). *Title of Journal*, 14, 1–2. Author, A. A. (2010). Title of review. [Review of the book Title of book, by B. Book Author]. *Title of Journal*, 22, 123–231. doi:xx.xxxxxxxxxx
Article in journal supplement	Author, A. A. (2004). Article title. *Title of Journal*, 42(Suppl. 2), xx–xx. doi:xx.xxxxxxxxxx
Conference	
Proceedings	To cite published proceedings from a book, use book format or chapter format. To cite regularly published proceedings, use journal format.
Paper	Presenter, A. A. (2012, February). Title of paper. *Paper presented at the meeting of Organization Name*, Location.

Poster	Presenter, A. A. (2012, February). Title of poster. *Poster session presented at the meeting of Organization Name*, Location
Thesis	Author, A. A. (2012). *Title of thesis* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation or master's thesis). Name of Institution, Location.
Unpublished work	
Manuscript	Author, A. A., Author, B. B., & Author, C. C. (2008). *Title of manuscript*. Unpublished manuscript. Author, A. A., Author, B. B., & Author, C. C. (2012). *Title of manuscript*. Manuscript submitted for publication.
Forthcoming article	Author, A. A., Author, B. B., & Author, C. C. (in press). Title of article. *Title of Journal*. doi:xx.xxxxxxxxx
Forthcoming book	Author, A. A. (in press). *Book title: Subtitle*.
Internet	
Website	When citing an entire website, it is sufficient just to give the address of the site in the text. *The BBC* (https://www.bbc.co.uk).
Web page	If the format is out of the ordinary (e.g. lecture notes), add a description in brackets. Author, A. (2011). Title of document [Format description]. Retrieved from http://URL
Newspaper or magazine	Author, A. (2012, January 12). Title of article. *The Sunday Times*, p. 1. Author, A. (2012, January 12). Title of article. *The Sunday Times*. Retrieved from http://www.sundaytimes.com Title of article. (2012, January 12). *The Sunday Times*. Retrieved from http://www.sundaytimes.com/xxxx.html
Reports	
May or may not be peer-reviewed; may or may not be published. Format as a book reference.	Author, A. A. (2012). *Title of work* (Report No. 123). Location: Publisher. Author, A. A. (2012). Title of work (Report No. 123). Retrieved from *Name website*: https://www.w3.org
Working paper	Author, A. A. (2012). *Title of work* (Working Paper No. 123). Location: Publisher. Author, A. A. (2012). Title of work (Working Paper No. 123). Retrieved from *Name website*: https://www.w3.org

Discussion paper	Author, A. A. (2012). *Title of work* (Discussion Paper No. 123). Location: Publisher. Author, A. A. (2012). Title of work (Discussion Paper No. 123). Retrieved from *Name website*: https://www.w3.org
Personal communication	Personal communication includes letters, emails, memos, messages from discussion groups and electronic bulletin boards, personal interviews. Cite these only in the text. Include references for archived material only.
Other reference types	
Patent	Cho, S. T. (2005). U.S. Patent No. 6,980,855. Washington, DC: U.S. Patent and Trademark Office.
Map	London Mapping Co. (Cartographer). (1960). Street map. [Map]. Retrieved from http://www.londonmapping.co.uk/maps/xxxxx.pdf
Act	*Mental Health Systems Act*, 41 U.S.C. § 9403 (1988).
Audio and visual media	Taupin, B. (1975). Someone saved my life tonight [Recorded by Elton John]. On Captain fantastic and the brown dirt cowboy [CD]. London: Big Pig Music Limited. Author, A. (Producer). (2009, December 2). *Title of podcast* [Audio podcast]. Retrieved from *Name website*: https://www.w3.org Producer, P. P. (Producer), & Director, D. D. (Director). (Date of publication). *Title of motion picture* [Motion picture]. Country of origin: Studio or distributor. Smith, A. (Writer), & Miller, R. (Director). (1989). Title of episode [Television series episode]. In A. Green (Executive Producer), Series. New York, NY: WNET. Miller, R. (Producer). (1989). The mind [Television series]. New York, NY: WNET.
Database	Author, A. A., Author, B. B., & Author, A. A. (2002). A study of enjoyment of peas. *Journal Title*, 8(3). Retrieved February 20, 2003, from the PsycARTICLES database.
Dataset	Author. (2011). *National Statistics Office monthly means and other derived variables* [Data set]. Retrieved March 6, 2011, from *Name website*: https://www.w3.org If the dataset is updated regularly, use the year of retrieval in the reference, and using the retrieval date is also recommended.

Computer program	Rightsholder, A. A. (2010). *Title of program* (Version number) [Description of form]. Location: Name of producer. Name of software (Version Number) [Computer software]. Location: Publisher. If the program can be downloaded or ordered from a website, give this information in place of the publication information.

3. Figures

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Научное издание

Changing Societies & Personalities
Vol. 2, No. 1, 2018

Редактор *А. Бортникова*
Дизайн *А. Борбунов*
Компьютерная верстка *В. Таскаев*

Подписано в печать __.__.2018.
Формат 70 × 100 100/16. Бумага офсетная.
Гарнитура Helvetica.
Уч.-изд. л. 6,3. Тираж 500 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
E-mail: press-urfu@mail.ru
www.print.urfu.ru