Applied Ethics

Security, Sustainability and Human Flourishing

Center for Applied Ethics and Philosophy

Hokkaido University

Sapporo, Japan

Contents

Introduction

This collection of essays is the final summation of the Nineth International Conference on Applied Ethics held at Hokkaido University on October 31 - November 2, 2014. The conference was organised by the Center for Applied Ethics and Philosophy, Graduate School of Letters, Hokkaido University (Sapporo, Japan).

The purpose of this collection is to bring together the wide-ranging papers on various fields of applied ethics presented at the conference.

It is our hope that this collection will contribute to further developments in research on applied ethics and promote our Center's mission, which is "to bridge the gap between theory and practice."

October 2015

Center for Applied Ethics and Philosophy
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On Sovereignty and the Relevance of the State in a Cosmopolitan World

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Karen Connie ABALOS

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Introduction

The role of the nation-state within the promise of cosmopolitanism is a question every political thinker needs to address before any significant stride can be made to further the discourse. The central issue is based on the belief that the nation-state will have to surrender a portion of its power and sovereignty under a hypothetical federation of nations. This paper will discuss the possibilities of this occurrence and will explore the function of the nation-state within a more cosmopolitan world. The main concerns are the following: Under cosmopolitanism, what happens to the concept of sovereignty and how does a cosmopolitan view of the political and the ethical affect the role of the nation-state.

First, cosmopolitan morality will be defined and analyzed using the various ways in which it can be understood, citing numerous classic and contemporary cosmopolitical thinkers. Second, the role of the state will be discussed with the help of Kojin Karatani's notion of the capital-nation-state. Third, sovereignty within the idea of cosmopolitanism will be defined using Seyla Benhabib' s thought, under the guidance of Immanuel Kant and Hannah Arendt. To conclude, the paper will present the political possibilities under the auspices of cosmopolitan morality and the relevant role of the state. The relationship between the particular and the universal in this case is not a mutually exclusive one but is, instead, a symbiotic structure wherein one is not possible without the other.

1. Different cosmopolitanisms

The first problem that cosmopolitan political thinkers encounter is with the term "cosmopolitan" itself. It has acquired many definitions since its inception which adds to the already confusing milieu and is mentioned here because it questions directly what cosmopolitans intend to do.

Etymologically speaking, a cosmopolitan is a citizen of the world, derived from the Greek word *kosmopolités*. Immanuel Kant is a cosmopolitan in the sense that his philosophy is founded on a belief of the universality of morality and rationality. He is also a cosmopolitan in a different sense when he extrapolates three interrelated but distinct levels of right which are "domestic law, sphere of rightful relations among nations, and lastly cosmopolitan right which concerns relations among civil persons to each other as well as to organized political entities in a global civil society" (Arendt 2006, 21). Also, in Kant's third article on *Perpetual Peace*, he emphasizes "the rights of men as citizens of the world" (Kant 1795).

"We are speaking here, as in the previous articles, not of philanthropy, but of right; and in this sphere hospitality signifies the claim of a stranger entering foreign territory to be treated by its owner without hostility." (Kant 1795, 137)

There are many other waves of contemporary thinkers who consider their theories a form of cosmopolitanism.

"For some, cosmopolitanism signifies an attitude of enlightened morality that does not place 'love of country' ahead of 'love of mankind'" (Martha Nussbaum); for others, cosmopolitanism signifies hybridity, fluidity, and recognizing the fractured and internally driven character of human selves and citizens, whose complex aspirations cannot be circumscribed by national fantasies and primordial communities (Jeremy Waldron). For a third group of thinkers, whose linkages are those of Critical Theory, cosmopolitanism is a normative philosophy for carrying the universalistic norms of discourse ethics beyond the confines of the nation-state (Juergen Habermas, David Held, and James Bohman)." (Benhabib 2006, 18)

Seyla Benhabib admits that she is a cosmopolitan of the Kantian tradition. Hence, she herself acknowledges being a cosmopolitan of the third category. She defines cosmopolitanism "as the emergence of norms that ought to govern relations among individuals in a global civil society" (Benhabib 2006, 20). She describes these norms as "neither merely moral nor just legal". Rather, they should be more aptly seen as "framing the morality of the law". The only difference is that the applicability of these norms should be seen as a wider concept, adopting a global view not just a local or a national one. For the purpose of this paper, we will use Benhabib's definition of cosmopolitanism. The reason for this is because it is essential for this project to show the importance of a normative goal which is a characteristic of Benhabib's point of view and will be discussed further in this paper.

How is cosmopolitanism different from the concept of international law? Simply put, norms of international justice refer to agreements and obligations among states. Meanwhile, "cosmopolitan norms of justice, whatever the conditions of their legal origination, accrue to individuals as moral and legal persons in a worldwide civil society" (Benhabib 2006, 16). Simply put, international law perspectives understand such norms as arising from agreements between sovereign states whereas cosmopolitans understand the agreements as reflecting the rights people have as world citizens. Benhabib claims that this is a unique characteristic of human rights agreements signed after World War II.

It seems that at the heart of each cosmopolitan there is a focus on humanism with, what Andrew Linklater calls, an "emancipatory intent" (2007). And because of this characteristic, the themes which embody cosmopolitan morality offer more than just a reminder of what is essential for the human condition. Underlying these themes is an appeal to recognize the dangers of not heeding the global condition.

These are the issues that should concern us all, regardless of our national or state membership.

There are various ways in which cosmopolitanism as a philosophical term can be understood. For example, the Stoics were "fond of saying that the cosmos is, as it were, a polis, because the cosmos is put in perfect order by law, which is right reason." (Kleingeld Fall 2014 Edition) The Greeks, whose concept of democracy and politics was propped up on an elitist form of social structure, were not exactly cosmopolitan thinkers in the way that we understand the word nowadays. When Cynic Diogenes was asked where he came from, he replied, 'I am a citizen of the world [kosmopolitês]' (Diogenes Laertius VI 63). Recalling how the Greeks understood citizenship and attaching this to the notion of cosmopolitanism could then be viewed as political involvement on a global scale. Taking this idea further, is it possible for political action to be understood from such a perspective? Democratic citizenship is built on the notion of freedom and this translates to, for example, the right to make her/his views known. More importantly, it also includes certain responsibilities such as paying taxes or being aware of and following laws. The notion of freedom is something that can easily be understood as universal. However, when seen from the level of laws and norms, it becomes difficult to conceptualize such ideas beyond national borders.

During the Age of Enlightenment, Immanuel Kant discussed the relevance of cosmopolitan laws in his work *Perpetual Peace.* An interesting point to note:

> "The right to present themselves to society belongs to all mankind in virtue of our common right of possession on the surface of the earth on which, as it is a globe, we cannot be infinitely scattered, and must in the end reconcile ourselves to existence side by side, at the same time, originally no one individual had more right than another to live in any one particular spot." (Kant 1795, 138)

This particular work summarily pertains to Kant's universalizable views on morality. What we can read from this specific work is his attempt to concretize his own moral theories. It is almost literal in its endeavor to suggest that cosmopolitan norms which stem or *should* stem from universal moral laws. If Kant had lived to this day and had seen what happened after the First World War, then he would have learned that he had almost predicted what would indeed happen, the birth of a league of nations from the ashes of war. And that if such world war needed to happen again, a "better federation of nations" would arise. He was also right in saying that if it somehow did not succeed; it is trade and commerce that would dampen aggression, by appealing to common interests and general good business practices.

In the contemporary period, there are even more related but varied cosmopolitan strands of thought. I choose to consistently use Seyla Benhabib's distinctions to summarize the cosmopolitan project in terms of its philosophical streams of argumentation. However, there are those who choose to differentiate the variations in terms of its *summum bonum* or ultimate good. In general,

the distinctions can be seen as economic, moral, and political. Economic cosmopolitanism puts forth the importance of the global market and its potential virtue as a keeper of the peace. Let us also add to this category those who argue for the equal distribution of necessities among the peoples of the world. There is also a utilitarian cosmopolitan perspective, one loosely based on one or another form of welfarism. They propose that, "the world should be (re)organized in such a way that the basic needs for human survival should be achieved by the maximum number of people" (Wheatley 2010, 52-53). Political cosmopolitanism refers both to those who argue for a world state and to those who are against a federation of states. There are also those whose focus is on cosmopolitan democracy like David Held or cosmopolitan republicanism such as James Bohman (Kleingeld Fall, 2014 Edition). Finally, there is moral cosmopolitanism which ranges from Martha Nussbaum's "love of mankind" to the multiculturalists such as Will Kymlicka.

However, these distinctions become muddied when cosmopolitans really begin digging into the issues that concern them. For example, it is difficult to delineate between the moral and economic ideas of Kant which did indeed touch on trade as a proponent of peace. It seems simplistic to draw a wall between the idea of a world state and a world economy, especially when we delve on the interrelation of state and capital. Moreover, underlying all these is an appeal for a fundamental morality that sees the unity amidst notions of hybridity or cultural uniqueness. Does this mean that despite the varied approaches to the cosmopolitan agenda, there is a commonality which belies the importance of this philosophical pursuit?

2. The state of the nation

The nation-state is an institution, which like religion, has stood the test of time through its resilience under the harshest of conditions. Its resilience is based on its ability to subtly adjust and shift the gears within its own system without essentially changing its structure. After the abolition of the feudal system and the bloodied path that led to modernity, it seems natural that the next social structure should place equality and justice above all else. The works of Rousseau, Hobbes, and Locke were all intended toward this prescription. Hannah Arendt explains the fundamental characteristic of the modern nation-state as:

> "The breakdown of the feudal order had given rise to the new revolutionary concept of equality, according to which a "nation within the nation" could no longer be tolerated This growth of equality, however, depended largely upon the growth of an independent state machine which, either as an enlightened despotism or as a constitutional government above all classes and parties, could, in splendid isolation, function, rule, and represent the interests of the nation as a whole." (Arendt 1979, 11)

Kojin Karatani adds that the idea of the nation should not be separated from the concept of state and capital. His idea is presented from the *mode of exchange*

perspective instead of Karl Marx's archetypal *mode of production*. In the preface to his book, *The Structure of the World*, Karatani states that what becomes clear from the perspective of 'the structure of the world history' is that Capital-Nation-State is a product of the world system, not of any one nation (Karatani 2014, xix). What is unique about Karatani's view is his insistence on how one prong in this trinity cannot exist without the other. Though this paper will not be enough to fully capture what he is trying to say, there are several key points that are necessary to note for our purposes.

Karatani claims that capital in the form of early trade and commerce (examples of modes of exchange) subsequently formed cities which later became city-states (the precursors of the modern nation-state). The state (even the early city-states) has, time and again, initiated mandates and norms to further accumulate capital[1]. These norms and mandates addressing capital further cemented the legitimacy of the state, proving that it is the production and upholding of laws that will eventually make the state into an institution. These norms come in various forms which further the industrial capitalist agenda, such as "norms for the development of roads and harbors" or "laws made for the cultivation of a disciplined, industrious population, one equipped with skills that allow it to quickly adapt to a wide variety of new jobs" (Karatani 2014). Other examples include policies to improve communication technology, executive moves against anti-graft and corruption, and countless others. These laws were not merely created for the safety and the good of the people; they were also made for the further accumulation of capital.

Enter the concept of the nation. Karatani points out that "the nation is formed by capital-state, but it is at the same time, a form of protest and resistance to the conditions brought about by capital-state, as well as an attempt to supplement for what is lacking in capital-state" (Karatani 2014, 209). The concept of the nation appeals to the visceral, tribal sense of belonging and identity, which was inherent in the early forms of communities. The nation is the fire that forges not just the unity of the citizenry but it also cements the idea of the capital-nation-state. Hence, "if we understand the nation as a substitute for community, then we see that what appears to be religious nationalism is in fact an imaginary restoration of the vanished community" (Karatani 2014, 215). This notion of nationalism is in keeping with how governments have wielded the concept of nationalism to further their propaganda. If the modern nation-state is supposed to represent the will of the people, then it is necessary for the state to first establish a clear scope of their constituency, the extent of their power and an understanding of their limitations. Second, the state needed to instill in its constituency a sense of ownership for their choices as a free citizen. This ownership, this responsibility for one's actions can only be achieved if one is a stakeholder in one's own community. Thus, a sense of nationhood was encouraged, actually required by the state. A clear delineation of "us" and "others" was a necessary tool for laws to be created and to be efficiently executed. Karatani explains, "the nation cannot be fully explained only through the

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1   "Under the absolute monarchies, it was clear that capitalism was promoted by the state: the state participated as an active agent." P. 172

processes of state unification or productive labor power, because it harbors in itself a reaction against these. In that sense, the nation is rooted in the dimension of we might call sentiment" (Karatani 2014, 212). This sentiment is necessary because the state driven by capital, despite its fundamental grounding on a free-for-all arena, does not always deliver its promise. In the presence of the existential conundrum produced by a capitalist economy, the sentiment that the nation inspires is a soothing balm to the evils produced by the capital and the state. Karatani explains,

> "In the nation, the real disparities produced by the capitalist economy and the lack of freedom and equality are compensated for and resolved in imagined form. Moreover, the nation involves the imagination of a community based in reciprocity and that is distinct from the ruling apparatus of the state. The nation is thus a demand for the egalitarian and implicitly harbors a critical protest against the state and the capital. At the same time, however, as the imagined resolution to contradictions generated by capital-state, the nation also shields capital-state from collapse." (Karatani 2014, 220)

He presents the three notions of capital-nation-state using the Kantian distinctions of sensibility, understanding and imagination. The capitalist economy (sensibility) and state (understanding) are held together by the nation (imagination). Together they form Borromean rings, in which the whole collapses if any of the three rings is removed (Karatani 2014, 220). To quickly review Kant, sensibility "provides representations that enable the understanding to access objects" (Pereboom Fall 2014 Edition). Without it, our understanding will have nothing to work on or utilize to come up with concepts. Karatani understands the relationship among the three ideas as, "imagination as that which mediated between sensibility and understanding and as a creative faculty whose operation is prior to understanding" (Karatani 2014, 216).

Karatani likened the capital-nation-state to these Kantian thoughts to underscore the importance of considering the interdependent relationship between nation-state and capital. His claim is that the modern nation-state is not only driven to create policies or to produce citizens so as to increase capital; the nation-state in its current condition, is partly defined by the more universal concept of capital, ensuring that associations with other nation-states are vital.

This three-pronged approach to analyzing the capital-nation-state will provide a clearer approach to understanding sovereignty within a cosmopolitan world. Not only does it deconstruct and thus demystify the notion of a nation, it also brings forth the essential role that capital plays in the workings of the nation-state. It underscores the importance of the state's bureaucratic system. It shows that the structure of the capital-nation-state is a fundamentally universal one to begin with and it is this basic skeleton that may lead the path to reimagining and rearticulating the concept of sovereignty.

3. Sovereignty within a cosmopolitan world

"But the idea of sovereignty is not something that can be understood solely from within the interior of the nation. Sovereignty exists first of all in relation to the outside." (Karatani 2014, 170)

Karatani explains that "the sovereign state may arise internally through a process of centralization, but its essence is as an entity that exists in relation to the outside" (Karatani 2014, 168). This shows that an understanding of state cannot be complete without a reflection on its relations with other states.

Once again let us return to Seyla Benhabib's notion about cosmopolitan norms, i.e. "signal[ing] an eventual transition from a model of international law based on treaties among states to cosmopolitan law understood as international public law that binds and bends the will of sovereign nations"(Benhabib 2006, 20). The idea gives rise to a whole set of questions relating to sovereignty, independence and freedom. Benhabib is either accused of expecting too much from the state or being too ideal with her approach by her fellow cosmopolitans such as Bonnie Honig and Will Kymlicka. In *Another Cosmopolitanism* (2006), they both challenge Benhabib's ideas. Honig questions Benhabib's universalist concept of justice while Kymlicka argues for a more realistic concept of citizenship.

The call for cosmopolitan norms is not a call for the dismantling of national constitutions. The call is for constitutions to place importance on individual rights and liberties. When constitutions were first drafted, this is precisely what they were made for. It is important to note that Benhabib is neither questioning the importance of identity nor downplaying the importance of shared community culture. She is emphasizing the need for a more universal attribution of rights regardless of national identity. This is why she maintains that "membership in bounded communities, which may be smaller or larger than territorially defined nation-states, remain nevertheless crucial" (Benhabib 2006, 20). Benhabib is echoing Kant in this statement because Kant argues that "a state cannot be asked to give up its constitution" (Kant 1795, 167). Will there be any condition or instance wherein the modern nation-state will give up its constitution? It is difficult to imagine so, and particularly not after tumultuous histories of aggressive maneuvers and counter-maneuvers to maintain sovereignty.

Nation-states define themselves not just in terms of the apparent homogeneity of a shared culture and history but also as an essentially distinct ethnos compared to other nation-states. This essentialism is a fundamental notion of sovereignty. During the periods of colonialism and imperialism, it was necessary to build a nation's identity so as to uphold sovereignty. If a nation did not appear to be an independent nation-state, then it was in danger of being subsumed under more powerful nations. State legitimacy is not just about a systematic bureaucracy, it is also about strong national sentiment, soft-power public relations, and a state-censured understanding of culture which may come in the form of an official national language, a national anthem, public holidays and others. Returning to

Karatani, he explains:

> "…the concept of the sovereign state itself implies that countries lacking a recognized sovereign state could therefore be ruled over by others: Europe's world conquest and imperial rule were sustained by this idea. Consequently, countries that wanted to escape from this kind of external rule had to declare themselves sovereign States and win recognition as such from the Western powers." (Karatani 2014, 168)

The rise of the capital-nation-state changed the political landscape. This is because, inadvertently, the nation-state (despite the hegemonic tendency of nations and its emphasis on difference) creates new nation-states. Colonialism and imperialism create a shared enemy, a point of similarity and a reason for unity for an otherwise disparate populace. This presents, once again, the understanding that within the idea of the capital-nation-state, it is only the concept of nation that provides the sentimental difference. Karatani elucidates it well:

> "The autonomy of the state and it's possession of an independent will are invisible from within the interior of that state.... At the level of interstate the relations, the state manifests as something estranged from the appearance it usually presents within the interior--as, in other words, something alienated." (Karatani 2014, 171)

We can understand capital and state as both universal concepts that operate under cosmopolitan norms. These cosmopolitan norms are developed not just by mere treaties and ratified under a consortium of nations; the fundamental cosmopolitan norms of trade and exchange happen as it is being practiced and have been improved as it has become necessary to do so. And it is the state itself, as they interact with each other that inadvertently create universal norms. These norms which arise between nations and are thus international eventually become, through practice and various articulations, universal or cosmopolitan laws. This is why it is important to note at this point how Kant saw "the development of commerce as a condition for peace: the development of dense relations of trade between States will render war impossible" (Kant 1795, 302). Of course, he also talked about how cosmopolitan norms will only come about after a world war, which is what happened with the formation of the League of Nations and the United Nations each after the First and Second World Wars respectively (Kant 1795, 299). Kant's foreshadowing notwithstanding, there are understandable apprehensions regarding a universal government.

One needs to point out though, that even without a federation of nations a hegemonic state always seems to arise, whether politically or economically. Loss of sovereignty can be interpreted in various ways. It can come in the form of embargoes, economic blackmail; military exercises and even in well-meaning international human aid. This is not to say that there is no real danger in a federation of nations. Immanuel Kant, Hannah Arendt, and Seyla Benhabib

are all wary of a cosmopolitan government. Despite the lack of any international institution or in spite of an inefficient one, cosmopolitan norms have slowly been forging relationships among nations. It is worthy to note that "in essence, increased transactions will not in themselves pose a problem to sovereignty unless it can be demonstrated that new authority patterns have emerged or are nascent in this process" (Williams 1998, 115).

Conclusion

> "Nations and nation-states do not simply interact with each other; under modern conditions, they form--or tend to form--a world, i.e. a global context with its own processes and mechanisms of integration." (Arnason 1997, 224)

The promises of a cosmopolitan world seem to be getting closer to its fruition in this age of globalization. Globalization and capital, of course, do not always deliver all their economic promises. However, there is no doubt that because of the advancements in technology and communication, a more globalized psyche is forming among the people of the world. This awareness, this consciousness of another, that there is an "other" opens up possibilities in ways of thought and moral processing that have, otherwise, not been achievable before.

Immanuel Kant showed his cosmopolitanism as an instrument of peace. He extrapolated three interrelated but distinct levels of right which are "domestic law, sphere of rightful relations among nations, and lastly cosmopolitan right which concerns relations among civil persons to each other as well as to organized political entities in a global civil society." In his third article of the same manifesto, he emphasized "the rights of men as citizens of the world…" It is not just Seyla Benhabib who draws on Kant in her works; Kojin Karatani also draws on this same work when he discusses the structure of world history based on the trinity of the capital-nation-state. When Benhabib defines cosmopolitanism "as the emergence of norms that ought to govern relations among individuals in a global civil society," she is describing these norms as "neither merely moral nor just legal" (Benhabib 2006, 20). Rather, they should be more aptly seen as "framing the morality of the law". The applicability of these norms should be seen from a wider vantage point, adopting a global view not just a local or a national one. This "framing" attitude is not a threat to any notion of sovereignty. Simply put, norms of international justice refer to agreements and obligations among states. This means that, "even if cosmopolitan norms arise through treaty-like obligations, such as the UN Charter can be considered to be for the signatory states; their peculiarity is that they endow *individuals* rather than states and their agents with certain rights and claims" (Benhabib 2006, 16). That national laws be framed under a more cosmopolitan view, wherein the structure of the state and the resources of the capital are utilized for the good of the people, regardless of national identity is quite simply the main goal of cosmopolitan ethics.

History proves that tensions arise among modern nation-states for various reasons; capital resources, historical incidents, and so on. The contrasts, the differences, come into sharper focus during these contestations. The challenge for cosmopolitan morality is to use these contestations as opportunities for discourse. In an assembly of states, family resemblances rise to the surface. The Wittgenstein notion of family resemblances succinctly captures the inherent differences and the apparent similarities among various entities without delving into essentialism and without over-simplifying the issues at hand. The differences that each country brings to the fore in the public sphere of nations are essential in enriching the discourse of universal rights and ultimately, cosmopolitan understanding. The similarities become more evident as more capital-nation-states participate in this arena. This is what the capital and the state bring to the table. In the dichotomy of a capital-nation-state and the entirety of the world, there is also a tension. This work proposes that such tension is a healthy one because it is not only able to accentuate the sovereignty, identity of the nation-state but also reminds the state of its primary goal which is where, as Arendt points out, the paradox of the state also lies. That in the face of sovereignty it has proven that it is not capable of upholding the rights of man, only the rights of its citizens.[2]

The integrity of this tension can only be tested in a public arena, a most public arena where the citizens of the world may view, compare and analyze the behavior of their specific state structures and how it holds up to other structures. Cultures provide variances of substance but not necessarily of form. Form which is provided by capital and state can then be understood as common factors amongst nations. All nation-states are independent sovereignties by their very definition. But if we pull back the curtain, there is an apparent interdependence amongst nations economically and culturally, rendering the question of sovereignty more complex than the simple appeal to sentiment. This leads us to the conclusion then that sovereignty should be understood not as the separation of capital-nation-states but as an understanding of the uniqueness and interconnections of each member of this consortium of states forming a cosmopolitan entity.

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2 When Hannah Arendt talked about the "The Rights of Man, supposedly inalienable, proved to be unenforceable even in countries whose constitutions were based upon them-whenever people appeared who were no longer citizens of any sovereign state" she is pointing out the paradox inherent in the nation-state.

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The Thoughts of *Yi-zhuan* as an Approach to Human Sustainability

Shensi QU

Introduction

Nowadays, mainstream thinking about sustainability is generally related to the dimensions of human society, economic activity and environmental protection, and the practice of sustainability is usually concerned with constraining human actions, preserving natural resources, recycling waste and considering future generations. Concerns about sustainability are grounded in a sense of crisis over future human survival. However, if the concept of sustainability can be interpreted as the concept of a moral norm, would this sense of crisis be perceived as the root of the norm? In this paper, I pose the research question, "Is there anything closer to the root of a moral norm to underpin human sustainability?" An answer to this question is significant, as it will justify the obligation to work for sustainability.

I will first discuss the development of the concept of sustainability in western society up until the present time, and then try to outline a parallel approach based on *Yi-zhuan*, using Chinese thought to conceive of the root of sustainability as a norm.

1. The development of the concept of sustainability

The concept of sustainable development was raised formally in the Bruntland Report, in 1987. Five years later, *Agenda 21* appeared, invoking environmental action on a worldwide scale. And then, 20 years later, *Rio+20* proclaimed a concrete framework for establishing targets and tasks for member nations.

Analysis of these three significant documents reveals how the concept of sustainable development has been revised over time. Although they all express concern for humans, animals, and the earth, the perspectives from which these issues have been addressed have changed. In the beginning, a noticeably anthropocentric view was presented, but in recent years this view has shifted to become more inclusive of the well-being of all species. In other words, the concept has been widened from human beings to include non-human beings. In addition, the content of the documents has moved from presenting generalized calls for concern to outlining varied and detailed practices and actions, thus shifting discourse to a deeper level.

On one hand, the effects of economic globalization and international politics are increasingly evident, while on the other hand, there is also increasing concern for humanity and the environment. In the first part of this paper, I will discuss the concept of sustainability as presented in these three canonical documents.

1-1 *Our Common Future*

The most important theme in *Our Common Future* is "Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."(the UN Documents 1987) This reminds us that people have to be concerned about the amount, scale and rapidity of resource consumption that is required by current levels of development and, at the same time, think about the survival needs of future generations. This document has two main areas of discussion: one is the development that is presently wanted, and the other is the survival and needs of future generations. However, the document unveils the unjust possibility of distribution of concern between present people and future generations. The meanings of sustainability in this document stress concerns about present resources that future generations may not have the possibility of using. The statement quoted from *Our Common Future* urges people in the present to take account of relevant considerations before they take any action. Therefore, development nowadays must be deliberated over and self-constrained, and people cannot be allowed to engage in unlimited exploitation of natural resources.

The statement from *Our Common Future* is similar to the message of *Limits of Growth,* published by the Club of Rome, which alleges that the capacity of the planet is limited and humans ought to constrain their obsession with constant progression.

I think that there is room for discussion about what the words "development" and "needs" mean in this document. Will constraining present development necessarily benefit the needs of future generations? If concern for the influence of present development on future needs centers around material resources, it can be concluded that development here is to be taken in an instrumental sense, and refers to industrial and economic development. Thus, the "development" mentioned in this document does not refer to social, historical or spiritual development. Furthermore, the actual needs of people in future eras may be very different from those of the current generation; therefore, the needs of future generations cannot be predicted precisely with our current technology. This poses the question, "Can constraining present wants really ensure that future needs are met?" The idea that constraining the use of resources by people in the present is a valid method of achieving sustainability seems to lead to an overly simplistic conclusion. Furthermore, there is logical contradiction between the concept of "sustainable" and the concept of "development".

According to Shui-Chuen Lee, a researcher in applied ethics, sustainable development includes two concepts that may be incompatible with each other: "sustainable" and "development". People have always used some resources that are not able to be recovered or replaced in the short term. And to achieve better living conditions for people in the present era, consumption of more and more resources cannot be avoided at all (Shui-Chuen Lee 2004, 32). It can be concluded that the concept of being sustainable concerns the extension of present conditions to the conditions of future generations, and the concept of development is the renewal, extension, and progression of present conditions. Once we combine the two concepts, "sustainable development" indicates a kind of development that is

concerned about the future, placing constraints on consumption of resources in the present, and thus serving primarily the interests of the future. Hence, the concept of sustainable development" does not lead to the expansion of present interests. It remains unclear whether this will become an impulse for the practice of sustainable development in everyday life, or an obstacle.

Oluf Langhelle argues that the concept of sustainable development overemphasizes the relationship between sustainable development and the economy, and neglects important issues such as social justice, human stability, and poverty (Langhelle 1999, 129-149). Langhelle tries to reflect on how the state of affairs nowadays will influence the state of affairs in the future, beyond material interests. He reminds people that non-material aspects of development are far more important, because they truly affect people's everyday lives and may more directly influence the future. If the non-material aspects of development are not able to be handled justly, it may seem a sort of "burble" to discuss justice for future generations. If it is necessary to form a kind of global norm to underpin sustainable development, we should give priority to the handling of current issues of justice, and adopt perspectives focusing on social and environmental stability, rather than merely on economy or utilities.

With reference to the theory of justice proposed by John Rawls (Rawls 1999, 13), we can comprehend that there is a serious concern about distributive justice between people in present and future generations, and the needs and limitations are discussed in *Our Common Future* (Chapter Two: Towards Sustainable Development). It defines distributive justice as the fair and equal distribution of opportunity. It is worth mentioning that the report urges the cultivation of a sense of obligation, which implies an ethical responsibility to account for longer periods, including future generations. This kind of consideration means as ethical judgements are made, not only present objects but also predictable future objects have to be taken account of by a moral subject. This idea forms the concept of "intergenerational justice". To sum up, sustainable development is about distributive justice between present people and future generations.

1-2 *Agenda 21*

There are four parts to *Agenda 21* – social and economic dimensions, conservation and management of resources for development, strengthening the role of major groups, and means of implementation. The most concrete sentence of *Agenda 21* is "Think global, act local." The document puts equal emphasis on the economy, society, and the environment. With regard to society, besides being concerned about intergenerational justice, the document indicates that current social justice must be handled well to become the foundation of a future just society, and that different societies should be treated in different ways to allow for their social diversity. With regard to the environment, an ecosystem is defined as a kind of resource to be discussed specifically with practical ways. It also takes account of people who are disadvantaged due to environmental disasters, arguing that is a human rights and environmental rights issue. In other words, social injustice due to artificial or natural environmental changes should be noticed and addressed.

After 1992, a plethora of voices, including several local governments in America, challenged *Agenda 21,* accusing it of being a kind of conspiracy that sought to interfere with the sovereignty of the country (Jamison 2012; Republican Party of United States 2012, 45). Another voice argued that if citizens of developed countries were required to use their tax money to pay for assistance to developing countries, it would seem that governments, local and state, were depriving people of the right to protect their own properties. An American writer and political commentator, Glenn Beck, even put this kind of fear into a novel, named *Agenda 21* (Beck 2012). I don't think this means that people have formed a force to stand against the politics promoted by the U.N. or governments, but it is a manifestation of some sort of obscure disobedience. Indeed, this disobedience is seen in the alienation or hostility of citizens.

Although *Agenda 21* addresses the shortcomings of *Our Common Future,* which overemphasizes economic development, it still contains some inner conflicts. If the three dimensions of development, economy, society and environment, have to compete among one another, which should take priority? This problem is not well discussed in *Agenda 21*. It is understandable that the document focuses on taking action and solving problems to speed up the practical results, but the problem is, until the considerations of value and morality have been thoroughly discussed, the issue of competition among the three dimensions cannot be clarified. Furthermore, what started as a common ideal may soon provoke various disagreements, which will become a negative force and slow down development. When concrete actions are emphasized, the morality and values behind are not stressed as they should be. Rather than the top authorities developing strategies for improving society or the globe that involve billing the bottom citizens, it would seem better to develop a coherent value that applies consistently from government (top) to citizens (down). It thus becomes necessary to clarify the meaning of "same values". Once we ensure the same values apply top-down, it is more possible to cohere strategies with actions.

I argue that it is not enough to stress only problem-solving, because verifying the values or ethical norms behind the problem-solving is more important.

1-3 *The Future We Want*
Rio+20 inherited the context of *Agenda 21*. *The Future We Want* was the final document produced as a result of this conference. It stresses the development of a green economy to eradicate poverty and enable stable and sustainable development. It places equal emphasis on the three dimensions of society, environment and economy in terms of their importance for sustainability, so it looks like a trisection model. This report demonstrates the recognition that the three dimensions interact with one another and overlap. Because of the effects of human economic activity, the report articulates important revisions of the economy and rethinks the types of products humans consume. Besides the reduction of carbon emissions and conservation of water resources, issues that had been raised before, plastic use is formally raised for the first time in this document (The UN Documents 2014). It is clear that plastics, as an output of economic activity and a convenient invention of

human society, have been proven to cause serious damage to the environment, and this will eventually be passed on to humans.

Maria Ivanova declares that *Rio+20* is better than the *Millennium Summit,* because the latter emphasized developing countries too much and neglected the monetary and moral responsibility of industrialized countries (Ivanova 2014, 140-2). In contrast, *Rio+20* provides more detailed methods which take into consideration the varying status of countries. However, though *Rio+20* represents some improvement, regular supervision and estimation are still needed to make sure the correct methods are being adopted. "Such prosperity cannot be achieved without safeguarding the ability of the planet to maintain the conditions critical to the well-being of humans and the other species with which we share the planet" (Ivanova 2014, 148-9). In her study, Ivanova stresses that the well-being of the planet is a necessary condition for humans to have a sustainable future. She indicates that the whole environment is more fundamental than any other human activity, such as economic activity. If we do not recognize this, it is impossible to create a sustainable life. At the same time, treating other species for the sake of their own well-being is necessary in order to construct a foundation for human well-being, because we share the planet with other species. To sum up, in order to enhance the possibility of strategic practices and reduce the gap between governments and local people, a sound and stable supervision system has to be established to avoid malpractice.

Humans on this planet had better start to transform their economic activities with eco-friendly perspectives. In this way, people of this generation will be able to act properly while meeting their needs and causing fewer negative effects in the future. However, I think the issue goes beyond methods of "acting properly or prudently". There is something crucial behind the methods that should be passed on, which is, I believe, ethical values.

1-4 The gap between politics and action

The principles that can be inferred from the three reports reviewed above are the requirements of human survival, the maintenance of the environment, the constraints that need to be imposed and reforms implemented in social and economic activity, the prosperity of people in the present era and the possible prosperity of future people. Among these, the requirements of human survival and the maintenance of the environment are the most fundamental, because they are obvious preconditions that underpin the other two concepts. Social and economic stability in the current era may have some effect on the next generation in terms of their welfare, but these effects seem to be relatively indirect or less causal because the materials used in human development and the methods of employing resources are constantly changing over time. The economic effects passed on to the next generation can potentially be as negative as some sort of deprivation, rather than being positive as we plan. In addition, social and economic causes cannot offer any assurance for future generations either.

To explicate more here, different generations may have different needs. For example, coal mines were definitely a necessity for industrial production 200 years

ago, but people nowadays put more focus on uranium. People in the 1800s could not have predicted the high energy-intensive usages of the 2010s. For the same reason, we cannot assert the needs of future generations. Furthermore, different types of society or countries in different stages of development need different things. Given the likelihood that needs will vary with time and place, it is more practical for each generation to maintain the environmental conditions that support well-being and human survival. Only with that consensus is it possible to talk about the maintaining of social conditions. Thus, the issues of environmental maintenance and other related issues such as resource exploitation and climate change should be the highest priority for consideration, followed by the issues of social justice, multiculturalism, the smooth operation of politics, and so on.

Despite the fact that it cannot yet be concluded whether or not some economic judgements are right or wrong, in terms of their effect of on future generations, one thing that's sure is that the state of the environment supports human survival, which directly affects other generations. The state of the environment affects not only the lives of people in the present but also those of the next generations, immediately and concretely. Hence, it is reasonable to argue that the trisection model of environment, society and economy mentioned in *Rio+20* should be revised. The new model that I propose is to regard the environment as the most crucial and basic value, underpinning society and the economy. By analogical reasoning, a stable society underpins economic activity. Moreover, to address the core concerns of sustainability, value of the environment should be the most significant value underlying strategies for sustainability.

To sum up these three documents, *Our Common Future*, *Agenda 21*, and *the Future We Want*, the notion of sustainability starts as a sort of evocation, develops into a call for adjustments to economic paths, and then works on the issues of social justice, and the relationship between humans and nature. As for the concept of sustainability nowadays, it tends to denote a kind of problem-solving approach to thinking about how to resolve present difficulties. However, the concept of sustainability requires more and more explanation, given that it endeavors to solve emerging issues. Among the increasingly widespread explanations of sustainability, it is a pity that no coherent value or philosophical idea is manifest. When the strategies of the U.N. were implemented in local actions, there tended to be problems with the interpretation of concepts, which has led to some misunderstandings and even resistance. Thus, the clarification of this concept is necessary for not only to incorporate consideration of the difficulties and empirical issues that occur in different generations, but also to establish a common value that justifies the "ought to" norm and action. Therefore, the issues of ethical inquiry and value must be addressed as the concept of sustainability is formed and defined.

Clement Vidal challenged the view that problem-solving thinking is guided by scientific technique. He argued that the world view built by scientific technique is incapable of responding to questions about value, action and knowledge in their essential meanings, unless it adopts the view of philosophy (Vidal 2008, 10-11). According to this point of view, the current concept of sustainable development is derived from the science of problem-solving, which tries to work out not only

technique problems, but also those arising from people's idea of value. However, it is quite obvious that technique oriented problem-solving strategies cannot address problems about values or philosophical thinking, which concern how to lead a better life.

The current mainstream of western thought is economic utilitarianism, which is concerned with exploring every possibility to maximize profits. As there are disagreements between governments and citizens about sustainable practice, the state is trying to maximize its profits, while the citizens are trying to maximize theirs, and certain conflicts occur between them. Further, since we have no idea about the specific profits of future generations, it only seems reliable to calculate profits for people in the present. This fails to develop toward sustainability. Thus, adopting economic utilitarianism as the core concept of sustainability leads to a dilemma.

As Martin Staniland has claimed, western theories of development that stress maximizing the general welfare of the population, and are attributed to the logic of deductive optimism which asserts that the community's population have similar patterns of taste and preference for benefit patterns as they relate to community output, may not be suitable for other countries, societies or cultures. He has also argued that the rational policies which are held by the governments of developed countries would not be as workable as the governments of developing countries, such as countries in middle Africa (Staniland 1985, 62-9). His statement also provides a justification for my point that needs differ according to time and place. In addition, Staniland's points also remind us that western thinking is not the only proper path. If we do not adopt economic utilitarianism and do not follow the logic of deductive optimistic progress of development, is there another systematic statement that is strong enough to form a worldview on sustainability? I believe the thoughts of *Yi-zhuan* can provide a better approach.

2. What is *Yi-zhuan*?

(1)*Yi-zhuan* is the writing that interprets *Yi-jing:* It is said that *Yi-jing* was written by an emperor, Zhou Wen-wang (B.C 1152-1056), in the Shang dynasty of ancient China. *Yi-jing* is also known as *Zhou-yi* to emphasize that it comes from Zhou Wen-wang. *Yi-jing* provides a fortune-telling function for people to judge what they should do, using hexagrams (six-yao), comprised of yin-yao (--), yang-yao (—) and their various configurations. There are eight kinds of combination of yin-yao and yang-yao, named the eight trigrams. They are ☰ (chien, 乾), ☱ (tui, 兌), ☲ (lí, 離), ☳ (chen, 震), ☴ (sun, 巽), ☵ (kan, 坎), ☶ (ken, 艮), and ☷ (kun, 坤) (Wing-tsit Chan 1963, 262). Doubling the eight trigrams produces sixty-four configurations, named the sixty-four hexagrams. This provides more enriched possibilities for explicating a state of affairs with elaboration and subtlety. Although *Yi-jing* contains implications for guiding people to behave morally in the time it was written, *Yi-zhuan* interprets *Yi-jing* into a wholly moral meaning for later eras.

(2) *Yi-zhuan* is a collaborative work by Confucian researchers compiled from

the Chunqiu Period (770-476 B.C.) to the Zhanguo Period (475-221 B.C.). *Yi-zhuan* was not written by one person at one time (Chan 1963, 262), but the book, with its indubitable coherence, concerns virtue, how to become a moral person and how one finds their status by acting appropriately in everyday life. Furthermore, the book deals with how a moral person should embody Yi-dao to produce and raise beings in the world.

2-1 The main concepts of *Yi-zhuan*

The hexagrams comprises six yaos, which order is from the bottom up for explicating such as ䷀ (chien, 乾), ䷁ (kun, 坤), and ䷂ (zhun, 屯). The methods of explaining the meaning of the hexagrams include heaven (tien, 天), earth (di, 地) and the person (jen, 人). Whenever a person has concerns about how to deal with a situation they have encountered, they can seek guidance from the hexagrams, not only about the proper handling of this situation but also about how to better understand the situation in which they are involved. Through their fortune-telling function, the hexagrams may give advice about how to get close to good things, and avoid evil things. But the interpretations of *Yi-zhuan* present the moral meanings of the hexagrams. Using the hexagrams, people can not only learn about better choices to adopt in certain situations, but also have the opportunity to engage in moral reflection. The explainer of hexagrams emphasizes the middle yao (the second yao and the fifth yao of the hexagram) to explicate the state of affairs and predict how it is going to develop in the future. The explanation provides information for the one who seeks the hexagrams to guide self-reflection and improvement. From this point of view, *Yi-zhuan* provides systematic didactic explanations to assist people to develop moral behavior. *Yi-zhuan* abounds with thoughts that can be referred to in order to figure out the correct way to treat others and oneself in a changing world.

Jenn-bang Shiau suggests that in terms of Confucius' sayings, *Yi-jing* is relevant to the enterprise of the human world, the affairs of the people, and the collective good (Shiau 2012, 32). Therefore, we are able to find resources guiding proper action in this piece of classic writing, and interpret it with modern perspectives in order to guide discussion of the issue of sustainability in contemporary life. As a classic work of Confucianism, *Yi-zhuan* calls on a person to have a moral life and an innovative attitude through self-encouragement. It promotes the important notion of "understanding thoroughly the truth of all things on earth and thus handling affairs successfully" (開物成務) (Lou 1983, 551) and "making the function of Yi flourish and developing human enterprise" (盛德大業) (Lou 1983, 542), from which can be derived a statement about the usage of material and natural resources which is in accordance with moral thinking.

The following are the main concepts of *Yi-zhuan*. Because the sentences of *Yi-zhuan* are in classical Chinese, I bypass the original rhetorical text researching and express them in English.

2-1-1 Status (wei, 位)

" 成 位 乎 其 中 " (Lou 1983, 536). This sentence expresses the idea that a person embodies oneself through running with Yi-dao, situates oneself properly, and

attains well-being. " 天地之大德曰生, 聖人之大寶曰位, 何以守位曰仁 " (Lou 1983, 558). This sentence expresses the notion that the sage maintains status with benevolence in order to vivify things in the world. The great function of Yi is to vivify beings in the world, and the sage participates in this while keeping the proper status. There is a world view inherent in this meaning. The notion of "Tian-ren-he-yi" (天人合一) (Shiau 2015) is an important theme in Confucian thought. If people wish to accomplish themselves, they must be acquainted with the functions of Nature (namely, heaven and earth), and embody themselves in the functions of Nature, which is named Yi-dao both in *Yi-jing* and *Yi-zhuan*. The meaning of status includes people's acquaintance with these functions, and the ways in which they situate themselves within them. If people are in their proper status, they "run with" Yi-dao, meaning they integrate with Nature to achieve "Tian-ren-he-yi" (天人合一), which is the moral ideal of Confucianism. This is the moral significance of status.

To interpret the various hexagrams, one has to pay attention to the second and fifth yao. These are indicators of whether or not the yin-yao and yang-yao are in their proper status. A proper status means the state of affairs is good for the person involved, while an improper status means that one needs to reflect on oneself and remain humble while one passes through a bad situation. According to the status indicated by the hexagrams, a person can derive implications as a reference for action.

The concept of status, whether in reference to moral significance or the fortune-telling function, constitutes an important part of the meaning.

2-1-2 Appropriateness (shih, 時)
" 其時而惕, 雖危无咎矣 "(Lou 1983, 215). This sentence means that if people have awareness or alertness at the appropriate time, they will not make mistakes, even if they are in a dangerous situation. " 亢龍有悔, 與時偕極 " (Lou 1983, 216). This sentence means that although things may develop towards an extreme, they will return appropriately in the course of time, because of the principles of Yi. That is to say, everything exists in accordance with the order of the principles of Yi. People come to understand that things may develop to an extreme point; however, this does not last long and the situation will always swing back the other way. By observing the way that a state of affairs may run, people can learn to judge the right time to respond to the external world and engage in moral practices. This is not only about the prudence required for survival and everyday life, but also getting close to the initial status which may be the beginning of a state of affairs. " 夫易, 聖人之所以極深而研幾也。" (Lou 1983, 551). This sentence means a sage tries to deliberate on all the aspects of a phenomenon in order to figure out the subtle signs of a state of affairs. The sage may then discover clues for appropriateness, and be ready to predict possible events.

### 2-1-3 Accomplishment of the mean (chung, 中) and conformity (ho, 和)
The judgements of status and appropriateness that a moral person should comprehend will lead the person to practice accomplishment of the mean and conformity, as Yi. Practicing accomplishment of the mean means seeking to be

involved in neither the best nor the worst state of affairs. If a person tries to practice morally, they will behave in a mild and modest way to avoid extremes. Since an extreme state of affairs won't last long, a moral person should try to reconcile the extremes and guide things in the direction of the mean.

Practicing conformity as Yi means that one embodies oneself with the appropriate way in accordance with Yi. Since Yi is not understandable as human knowledge, the sage articulated Yi and created human law in conformity with the law of Yi, with the resultant compendium being named Yi-dao. Yi-dao articulates the principles of Yi, which yields yin and yang and keeps the whole world running in its way. The person who practices conformity as Yi is defined as who one participates in the functions of Yi and creates and fertilizes the world; as such, practicing conformity is the great enterprise that humans should develop with Yi-dao.

2-1-4 Cyclical operation of Yi-dao

Yi-dao is viewed as a collection of principles to run the world, and it is considered to be effective for all beings in the world. The verse, " 日月運行, 一寒一暑 " (Lou 1983, 536), means that the operation of Yi-dao is as natural as the movement of the sun and moon or the change from winter to summer; while the verse " 原始反終, 故知死生之說 " (Lou 1983, 539), means that the sage gets the point of things running from start to end, so that the principle of death and birth can be deduced. " 剛 柔相推, 變在其中 " (Lou 1983, 556), explains that the hard (strong) side and the soft (weak) side interplay with each other, and that changes emerge from this interplay. These statements underpin the view of Yi-dao as operating in cycles, which indicates that although we may understand a state of affairs with its opposite sides, the way the changes emerge from between these two sides seems much closer to the truth. Moreover, everything has its beginning and end, but from the viewpoint of Yi-dao, the end of one thing leads to the beginning of another. Hence, the occurrence of ending is just a process in Yi-dao, as is the occurrence of beginning. Both positive and negative sides are expected.
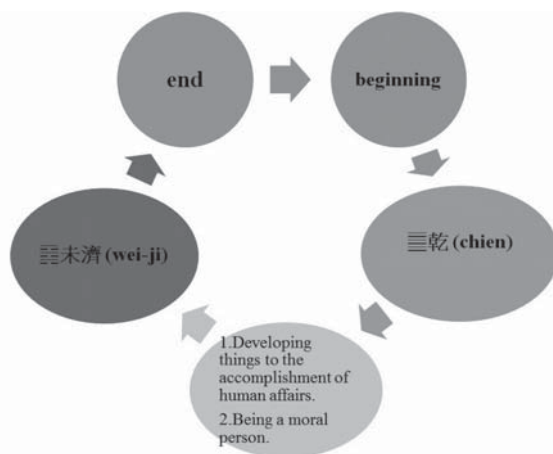
As for death and birth, one thing ends and another begins. And for a state of affairs, one thing weakens and another thing strengthens. All of these things run in a sort of cycle. I have tried to represent this flow in the circle of 64 hexagrams. The 64 hexagrams start with the hexagram of chien（乾）and end with the hexagram of wei-ji（未濟）.

2-1-5 A moral person's sense of crisis

The verse, "無咎者, 善補過也" (Lou 1983, 538), means regardless of whether they are in a good or bad situation, a person needs to build up self-awareness in order to stay alert. Once a person encounters something evil, they need to actively self-correct, and try to be prepared to respond to the external world. A moral person should always practice this kind of attitude in daily life. Through a sense of crisis, a moral person will lead a prudent life, without making big mistakes.

2-2 Understanding thoroughly the truth of all things on earth and thus handling affairs successfully

1. The function of Yi is to continuously generate beings. And the continuous renewal of things is the "thriving" function of Yi. Making all the things flourish is the great human affairs derived from Yi-dao.
2. The sage follows the function of Yi, and develops it, which enables the sage to comprehend Yi in their own inner heart, and then practice Yi as the principle of human affairs.

2-3 A moral person's achievement of the function of Yi

1. If the yin yao or yang yao indicates an improper status in the hexagram, then the hexagram shows that something is incorrect. A moral person will reflect and find the way to solve the problem. If a person has no regret about the state of affairs, it means they have practiced well about predicting signs of the state of affairs and they have been prepared well to solve the possible problem.
2. A moral person studies hard to understand the possible development of things. That is because to detect things as they are happening is easier and more effective than to deal with things that have already happened. If a person can practice it well, then they might be able to master the great function of Yi.

3. The thoughts of *Yi-zhuan* for sustainability

Yi-zhuan is relevant to human affairs, and there is an ideal model of "understanding thoroughly the truth of all things on earth and thus handling affairs successfully" and "making the function of Yi flourish and developing human enterprise" to form human affairs. As *Yi-zhuan* mentions, the sage treats people with benevolence, and brings people together by interests and goods. This implies that the function of Yi is not only to invoke people's moral thinking but also to take care of people's practical

needs of everyday life. Yi-dao is relevant to the need for people to lead a better life. As the interpretations of Yi-dao, *Yi-zhuan* attends to things relating to ethical life, from empirical matters to spiritual realization. *Yi-zhuan* provides the way for a person to engage in moral practice and offers guidance to enable the moral person to conform to Yi-dao.

From the viewpoint of Yi-dao, it is acceptable that things develop well or badly, because either way, any phenomenon or state of affairs is expected to run in cycles. More significantly, a moral person should comprehend the function of Yi and try to practice the mean and conformity without desperately seeking a specific way. Unlike economic utilitarianism, which promotes a deductive optimistic process of development and usually leads to a single way thinking and practicing to try the best and achieve the most benefit, *Yi-zhuan* provides a worldview based on the notion of cyclical running, and suggests people grasp this as a principle for the explication of inner thoughts to the external world. And it reminds people always to notice changes of circumstances and conditions, and to adopt a proper, mild action to deal with the issues. It encourages people to learn to predict the subtle signs of a state of affairs, and not just wait for something to happen before attempting to solve the problems. With its emphasis on this worldview, moral ideals, normative rules and practices in everyday life, *Yi-zhuan* provides a holistic model for the resource of sustainability concepts.

If we adopt economic utilitarianism as a worldview with problem-solving as the practice, the schemata may be represented as follows:
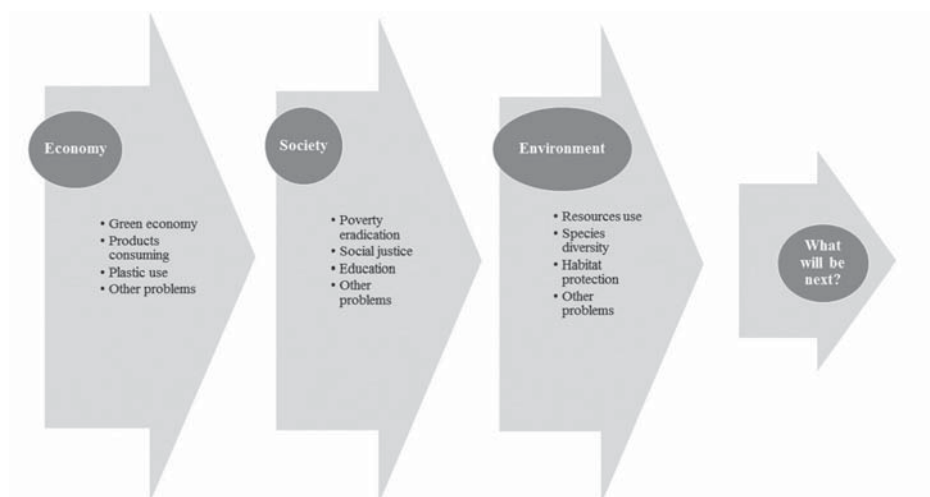
Besides the shortcomings already mentioned, the problem-solving model puts much emphasis on dealing with urgent issues and addressing problems. It can be inferred that this model emphasizes repairing the damage done by previous generations. What if we conducted ourselves more prudently, and predict from what

we have done already how to reduce the burden of the next generation? Will it be possible to lead a more sustainable life? The answer is positive.

If we apply the thoughts of *Yi-zhuan* to sustainability, it can be represented schematically as follows:
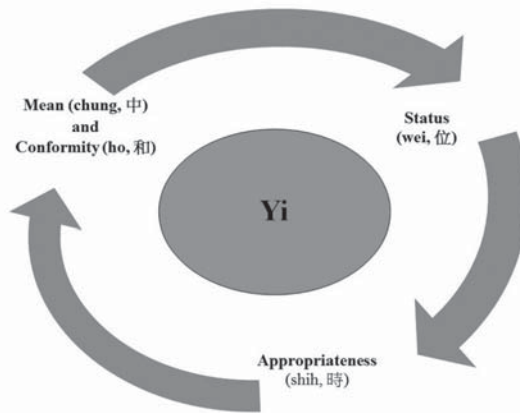
To sum up, the difficulty with sustainability exists in the gap between strategies and actions. The problem-solving model lacks a coherent philosophical foundation, so it is hard for people to acknowledge it and put into practice. I think that the thoughts of *Yi-zhuan,* which cover everything from the macro dimension (the development of human affairs) to the personal level (the practices of a moral person), can provide a rich resource for supporting the concept of sustainability through a modern interpretation.

Conclusion

The concept of sustainability is still being developed and revised. The problem-solving approach may achieve obvious results in the short term. But if we are seeking intergenerational improvement by regarding sustainability as a kind of norm or value, we have to dig more deeply and find what kind of ethical or philosophical worldview we should hold. The important concepts, appropriateness, status, mean, conformity, and the cyclical process of all events, mentioned in *Yi-zhuan*, provide a worldview that can guide people to practice sustainability. This paper has proposed the resources of *Yi-zhuan* as a new framework for exploring the idea of sustainability.

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Differences between Artificial Intelligence and Artificial Morality

<div align="right">

Minao KUKITA

</div>

Introduction

Today, an increasing number and variety of autonomous robots and software applications are working in many areas of our daily life including communication, finance, transportation, healthcare, home maintenance, entertainment, military operations, and so on. We are now, often unknowingly, surrounded by devices that collect and process information, communicate with one another, make judgements, and then take actions for the users. Delivery drones and driverless cars are waiting for us around the next corner.[1] The fear is that their complicated interactions with one another and with humans might lead to unpredictable disasters. The real world is full of unexpected events. If machines and the situations in which they are supposed to function are sufficiently complex, the designers and the programmers will never be able to foresee every possible course of action that the machine can take. For this reason, some researchers insist that we should enable artificial systems to autonomously make a 'good' decision, i.e., a decision that respects society's values. In other words, we need 'moral' machines that we can rely on to behave well. Thus emerged a new academic field known as 'artificial morality,' 'artificial ethics', or 'machine ethics', a discipline that intersects with artificial intelligence, robotics, ethics, and philosophy and attempts to implement human moral judgement and moral action into artificial systems.

According to some researchers in this field, it is sufficient to make an artificial agent only apparently moral, without regard for whether they are fully moral in the same sense as human beings.[2] Just as weak artificial intelligence (AI) can be sufficient for certain practical purposes, limited 'functional morality' will be just as effective for certain practical purposes. Additionally, most projects concerning artificial morality are in line with mainstream artificial intelligence.

In this paper, we critically consider whether this analogy between artificial intelligence and artificial morality holds true. We point out that one of the critical differences is that, while deploying artificial intelligence for certain practical purposes raises no question in general, to deploy artificial morality can be morally

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1   The U.S. Department of Transportation and Federal Aviation Administration released proposed small-drone legislation in February 2015 that may create difficulties for delivery drones as a result of the proposed limitations on the distance between the operator and the drone as follows, 'visual line-of-sight (VLOS) only; the unmanned aircraft must remain within VLOS of the operator or visual observer' (Federal Aviation Administration 2015).

2   For example, see Wallach and Allen (2009), chapter 5.

questionable in some situations.

1. Mainstream approaches to artificial intelligence

There are several different mainstream approaches or 'paradigms' regarding AI. We examine three of them: the logical approach, the neural approach, and the embodied approach.

When using the logical approach, it is important to identify the rules according to which human judgements and actions can be simulated and to implement the rules into the machines in order to make it useful in solving practical problems. Note that the rules are not necessarily the same rules to which human beings consciously conform. For example, one of the classical theorem proving algorithms for clausal logic --- one variety of first-order predicate calculus --- was invented by J. A. Robinson in 1965 and used only one rule of inference called 'the resolution principle', which certainly no human being has ever used but is suitable and effective for automated theorem proving (Robinson 1965). In these cases, the rules are different for humans and machines, but the results are the same. There are also cases in which we make judgements without being aware of rules. We tend to think of such judgements as products of what we like to call 'intuition'. However, AI researchers have shown that, in some cases, rule-based artificial systems can simulate this 'intuition' to produce suitable results. In such cases, humans do not seem to use any particular rule, but a certain set of rules can actually be used as a substitute for intuition. In this fashion, AI researchers have succeeded in producing competent machines whose 'intelligence' is comparable to, or often greater than, human intelligence as far as some limited facets are concerned (for example, playing chess, finding relevant information in a huge data base, or promptly responding to a tiny shift in price in the stock market). However, while this type of AI is fairly adept at logical inference and calculation, it has had difficulty with such tasks as image recognition or navigating in real world situations, with which even much simpler living organisms than human beings have no difficulty. It has been said that the logical approach suffers from a 'frame problem', which is roughly defined as a problem of deciding which information is relevant and which is not. For a robot to make a good decision in a real world situation, it must consider the effects it will bring about, but by logical inference, it can derive an infinite number of conclusions from any given premise. It must be able to distinguish effects that are relevant and effects that are not. However, in order to do so, it must consider every possible conclusion. Thus, the robot cannot make a decision.

Partly in order to deal with these problems, some AI researchers have attempted to make artificial systems more natural, i.e., more like humans or other living organisms. There are two notable approaches in this direction. One is to imitate the way organic brains actually work by what is called a 'neural network.' A neural network is a collection of nodes connected to each other. An input is propagated in the network through the connections and transformed into an output. The correspondence between an input and an output is determined by the structure of the network and the 'strength' of the connection between two nodes

that can be changed through the process of learning. There are no explicit (written) rules governing the inference of the system. Neural networks have been shown to be adept at the type of learning that concerns tasks such as pattern recognition. Recently, a great advance has been made in neural networks by a technique called 'deep machine learning' or 'deep learning', inspired by the recent findings in neuroscience that the neocortex allows pre-processed sensory signals to propagate through a complex hierarchy of modules (Arel, Rose, and Karnowski 2010).

The other approach is to put an artificial system in a physical environment and to behave in harmony with various features of the environment. The idea is that our cognition and actions are inextricably embedded in the environment, and living organisms make constant and direct use of various features of it in order to navigate the real world, often without constructing inner representations of these features for calculation and reasoning (cf. Brooks 1986 and Clark 2001). Living organisms and their cognition and actions are best understood when we think of them as 'situated' in particular surroundings. Unlike the logical approach, the situated-robotics approach does not suffer from the frame problem. However, researchers in this area seem to be unable to develop intelligence for which logical AI can easily develop, e.g., numerical calculations or logical reasoning.

These different paradigms in AI focus on different kinds of intelligence. The developments in AI over the past half century have led philosophers who tended to think of intelligence as logical and rational to turn their attention to other kinds of intelligence and to realise the heterogeneity of intelligence. Thus, AI does not only provide instruments of practical use, but also helps philosophers better understand the nature of intelligence or intelligences. Can we expect the same in the emergent field of artificial morality? I wish we could; however, I will raise a question concerning how current investigations into artificial morality are conducted.

2. Attempts to make artificial moral agents

In May 2014, it was reported that researchers from Tufts University, Brown University, and Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute launched a project supported by the U.S. Navy to develop autonomous robots that can make 'moral' decisions on their own (http://www.kurzweilai.net/can-robots-be-trusted-to-know-right-from-wrong). Mathias Scheutz, a professor of computer science at Tufts University, says that moral competence can be thought of as 'the ability to learn, reason with, act upon, and talk about the laws and societal conventions on which humans tend to agree' and that the question is thus 'whether machines [...] can emulate and exercise these abilities'. Selmer Bringsjord, head of the Cognitive Science Department at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, proposes to use established logical models for ethical reasoning such as deontic modal logic[3] and new logic models created

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3 Deontic modal logic is a type of modal logic concerning how modalities 'ought to' and 'can' --- corresponding respectively to the alethic modal notions of 'necessary' and 'possible' --- behave. One of its important axioms is 'if one ought to do A, then one can do A', which is not

specifically for certain tasks that the system must address.

Both Scheutz and Bringjord are conducting their research in line with the logical approach of AI researchers as described in the previous section, which Donald Gillies (1999) calls the 'Turing tradition'. Gillies characterises the Turing tradition by two features: namely, use of logic and close attention to practical problems. It should not be surprising that researchers in artificial morality follow that tradition, given that, throughout the history of Western philosophy, morality has almost always been associated with reason rather than our more primitive, animal nature (feeling, emotions, instincts, embodiment, etc.).

This tendency is common to other proponents of artificial morality. For example, Susan Leigh Anderson, one of the leading figures in the 'machine ethics' project, says that they assume that ethics can be made computable and that their job is to create a program that produces correct answers to actual ethical dilemmas (Anderson 2012). This suggests the striking similarity between logical AI and machine ethics. In fact, Anderson and others have developed an 'ethical' AI called MedEthEx, an ethical advisor concerning how caretakers should behave when faced with certain ethical dilemmas. MedEthEx is a variation of the machine-learning system employing a method called 'inductive logic programming'[4] that learns from instances of human experts' judgements and infers some general rules. MedEthEx then, according to the general rules, can make its own judgement when faced with new cases (cf. Anderson, Anderson, and Armen 2004, or Anderson and Anderson 2007).

Wendel Wallach and Colin Allen, authors of *Moral Machines: Teaching Robots Right from Wrong*, are also notable proponents of artificial morality. They propose a hybrid approach in which a top-down (rule-based) mechanism and a bottom-up (learning- or evolution-based) mechanism are merged into one model. Specifically, they propose to employ Stan Franklin's learning intelligent distributed agent (LIDA) model, but furnish it with moral-related information processing components. However, its overall structure remains the same and is not specific to moral-related activity. Wallach and Allen write:

> Within the LIDA model, moral decision making is a form of action selection similar to any other. From the perspective of action selection, a more human-like AMA does not need specially dedicated moral reasoning processes. Rather, the system needs only the normal set of deliberative mechanisms, applied to inputs having relevance to moral challenges (Wallach and Allen 2009, 173).

Thus, their imagined artificial moral agents can be classified as a version of classical AI. Moreover, their emphasis on practical utility is also in accordance with the Turing tradition. Their aim, they say, is to build a system that produces

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generally accepted in the standard modal logics.

4 Inductive logic programming is based on the system of clausal logic and the resolution principle described in the previous section. Cf. Muggleton (1992).

judgements or actions that tolerably conform to our moral standards. It does not matter whether or not the artificial moral agents are actually moral (or at least fairly close to it), and we should simply allow this 'functional morality' in the artificial agents.

What, then, is new regarding artificial morality? Is it just another branch of AI (indeed, logical AI) or something essentially (or significantly) different? Does the difference lie only in the problems artificial morality attempts to solve? Does an artificial moral agent calculate, for example, whether it should shoot a particular person in the battle field, while an AI system calculates whether it should capture a particular piece on the chessboard on its next move? Looking at what researchers have been saying and doing thus far, it seems they think of artificial moral agents as just another kind of artificial intelligence system that perform calculations, producing a desired solution to a specific practical problem. Moreover, as is evident in Anderson's opinion cited above, some researchers even seem to identify morality with a certain type of logical reasoning or calculating. They attempt to justify this reduction of morality by claiming that their goal is to make a practically useful machine, not a fully moral artificial agent. They explain that limited, apparent morality is sufficient for their purpose. However, I claim that to deploy machines with such limited morality in practical situations in which their decisions and actions may lead to morally significant consequences may sometimes be morally problematic, even if the behaviours of the machines are acceptable in terms of functional morality. The following section will discuss in greater detail the differences between artificial intelligence and artificial morality.

3. Differences

In this section, we will consider several important differences between artificial intelligence and artificial morality when used in practical situations of moral significance. However, because there are no explicit artificial moral agents used in real world situations, our arguments here cannot but be more or less speculative.

3-1 Necessity of dealing with emotion
One factor concerning ethics on which many people seem to agree is that being ethical includes taking into account the emotions of others --- avoiding unnecessary damage to the emotional well-beings of others. Indeed, Wallach and Allen put a significant amount of stress on the emotional aspect of ethics. The above-mentioned artificial ethical advisor developed by Anderson and others computes how much a particular judgement will hurt a patient's sense of autonomy. If taking care of the emotions of others is essential to ethics, it adds to the complexity and difficulty in designing artificial moral agents. This is partly because emotions are highly context-sensitive. The same response in similar situations can result in different emotional effects. In fact, the sameness of the response itself can be the cause of bad effects. For example, imagine that you always repeat the same remark whenever your spouse prepares your favourite dish. The remark may please him or

her once or twice, but will eventually come to irritate him or her. Another example is politeness. Politeness is a good thing in general, but as people get closer to each other, the same polite manner can be a cause of frustration. Social relationships are dynamic. An action can change the relationship so that what is considered to be appropriate behaviour will change thereafter. It would be extremely difficult to calculate how this change takes place.

3-2 It matters not only what is done, but who does it

In our moral practice, in addition to what is done, it sometimes matters who does it. A particular action taken by an agent that is accepted as ethical could be rejected as unethical if it had been taken by another agent. Take punishment, for example. Not just anyone can inflict certain punishments. If a person is condemned to death, only officially assigned executers are permitted to inflict the punishment.[5] The same holds true for education, preaching, etc.[6] One reason for this is responsibility. A morally significant decision or action is often accompanied by responsibility for the consequences. A machine, however, at least as of now, cannot be held responsible for the consequences of its decisions and/or actions. Delegating an action to someone when he/she cannot take responsibility for the consequences is morally unacceptable. Perhaps this problem can be solved by always assigning a human being to be responsible for the consequences of a machine's decisions or actions. Even so, the increasing complexity and autonomy of machines will make it more difficult to decide who is to blame.

Another reason why it matters who does it in addition to what is done is the necessity for the occasional modification of our moral practice.[7] A morally significant action often calls for our deliberation both before and after the action is taken. Prior to taking the action, we must consider our accepted norms and derive from them the proper course of action. After the action, we must evaluate the consequences and question if the decision was right or wrong. If necessary, we must rethink and modify the norms with which we started. I call this process the 'morality cycle.'[8] The morality cycle is essential because it is always possible that our moral consideration can lead to the wrong decision and action. However, in order to know that it was wrong, the agent must be able to reflect upon the effects of the decision and action. This step of reflection and feedback requires the agent to pay attention to and have intimate empathy for those who are affected by his/her decisions and actions and to have higher cognitive capacity of reasoning about one's own reasoning and behaviours and the rules governing them. The morality cycle

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5 Kukita (2014b) pointed out an ethical problem concerning killer robots, including the execution robot.

6 Ethicists' favourite cliché, 'An ethicist need not be particularly ethical', suggests that people tend to think that in order for one to teach ethics, one must be more ethical than the general public.

7 Here, I assume that ethics should not be fixed, but modified over time. Some may object to this assumption, but, for the purposes of this paper, I put aside the justification.

8 Cf. Kukita (2014b).

will not work if the decision and action is taken by someone who is carrying out the task only mechanically and is strictly applying existing rules, without empathy for those who are affected by the decision and action, as long as those decisions and actions are within the permissible range of the rules. Similar effects are caused by putting the machine between human agents and patients to make decisions and actions on our behalf according to pre-set/pre-programmed 'ethics' (be they deontological, utilitarian, etc.). Machines that make moral decisions and take actions for human agents will create greater physical and psychological distance between agents and patients. Not only can this distance have significant effects on our moral judgement,[9] it can also make it difficult for us to question the existent norms on which we base and derive our reasoning and behaviour. As a result, the morality cycle will be stagnated and we will be fixed to existing moral practices. I submit, however, that if people truly desire to be moral, they should be able to question their moral practices.

Allowing a machine to do certain morally significant tasks can be morally suspect. If an artificial moral agent is to obtain general artificial morality, or is to be a 'strong' artificial moral agent, it must be able to calculate when and where it should assign itself a morally significant role. Otherwise, if it remains 'weak' artificial morality, we must decide when and where we should permit an artificial moral agent to act. In short, whether to use an artificial moral agent in a given situation is itself a moral decision. In general, this is not the case with artificial intelligence. Allowing AI to guess whether an e-mail is spam or to recommend books that are likely to be of interest for the user is neither morally good nor bad.[10] In these cases, questions only arise concerning the machine's efficiency. However, if the decisions and actions are of moral significance, we must carefully consider whether we should replace humans with machines, even if the machine's performance is comparable to or even greater than that of a human.

3-3 Impact on our sense of morality

Not only can it be morally problematic to use a functionally moral machine, but it may also have a great impact on our sense of morality, for it will indicate to society what morality is all about. For example, emphasis on functional morality or on the logical approach will lead to the mindless 'bureaucracy' of morality (cf. Gunkel 2012, 87) or 'ethical nihilism' (cf. Beavers 2011). This is even more problematic given that the direction in which researchers are moving seems to be determined largely by the consideration of which moral theory is more feasible.

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9   Studies in psychology have shown how distance affects our morality. Cf. Aguiar, Brañas-Garza, and Miller (2008) or Aguilar, Brussino, and Fernndez-Dols (2013).

10 It is arguable that if system administrators force users to be controlled by AI, then moral questions may arise. The user's autonomy is at stake here. In many cases, however, we use these kinds of services knowing that machines exert some control over us and we tolerate that. Nevertheless, considering such cases reveals how vague the distinction between artificial intelligence and artificial morality is. Artificial intelligence can easily be put to morally significant use.

This point is closely connected to what Sherry Turkle says about social robotics (Turkle 2011 and 2012). Companion robots are designed to appear to care for the users so that they can elicit their emotional responses. Turkle calls it the 'ability to push down our Darwinian button' (Turkle 2011, 71). She blames such robots for impairing our social relationships, because only authentic sentient entities can enter into a caring relationship with humans. Even if the user believes that the relationship with the robot is authentic or meaningful --- in other words, even if the robot passes the Turing test --- the relationship is not authentic unless the robot and the human care for each other. According to Turkle, 'simulated thinking is thinking, but simulated feeling is not feeling and simulated love is never love' (Turkle 2011, 72). Her remark is all the more important when some manufacturers advertise their robots as a 'family robot'[11] or having 'emotions.'[12]

The same thing holds true for moral machines. Even if the robot passes the 'moral Turing test' for moral agency (Allen, Varner, and Zinser 2000) or the 'Turing triage test' for moral patiency (Sparrow 2004), allowing it to become a part of our moral relationships may compromise those relationships. To paraphrase Turkle's words, simulated intelligence is intelligence, but simulated morality is not morality.

This may sound too sentimental to professional philosophers and ethicists, but the intuitions are, I think, important if we take the coexistence of humans and machines seriously. What is missed in the discussion of artificial morality by ethicists and philosophers is the consideration of the impact on the feelings of a third party to an action. A moral action is not relevant only to the agents or patients involved, it is also relevant to the community or society around them. An action can be morally blameworthy if it goes against the sense of morality of many members of the community, or, at least, an action is morally questionable if acceptance of that action demands a significant change in the community's moral common sense or/and moral practices.

For example, the acceptance of organ donation from brain-dead patients demanded the change of our definition of death.[13] Therefore, organ donation from brain-death patients is an action that calls for serious and careful discussion among members of society. Likewise, the acceptance of drone attacks will change our conception of what it means to fight a war or to be a soldier, and therefore, this will

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11 The Jibo website once advertised its robot as 'The World's First Family Robot,' but it is now advertised as 'The World's First Social Robot for the Home.' The change occurred somewhere between March 15 and May 26, 2015. See Internet Archive Wayback Machine: http://web.archive.org/web/20150315060158/http://www.jibo.com/ and http://web.archive.org/web/20150526234304/https://www.jibo.com/. I asked Jibo's support team why they changed the catchphrase, and one of them replied 'I don't believe there was any specific reason, just a small change in our marketing!'

12 Softbank recently announced that their humanoid, Pepper, 'has evolved to have emotions.' See Softbank's website: http://www.softbank.jp/en/corp/group/sbm/news/press/2015/20150618_01/.

13 Morioka (2014) describes how the definition of 'death' changed in two Presidential commission reports in the 1980s, and how 'breath' regained the central role for life.

also be morally significant.[14]

    We claim that the same thing will hold true regarding the acceptance of certain artificial moral agents including care robots, companion robots, or autonomous lethal weapons that act according to ethics in wartime (cf. Arkin 2009). Therefore, we need, at the very least, to carefully consider and discuss what implications and impacts the introduction and acceptance of a certain kind of moral machine will have on our sense of morality or our moral practices.

Conclusion

Artificial morality is a field of research of both practical urgency and academic attraction. It is technically challenging and philosophically inspiring. However, we must pay attention to how the investigation has been conducted. Thus far, researchers in the field have conducted their investigations in a similar fashion to research regarding artificial intelligence. Specifically, the proponents of artificial morality focus on morally acceptable judgements and behaviours that can be implemented in artificial agents and can be put to practical use. The problem is that deploying such artificial systems in a given situation can be morally problematic, especially when it may lead to a significant shift in the moral common sense of the community. In such cases, we need serious consideration and discussion, at the very least, before we replace humans with machines. We do not object to every moral machine or the idea of a moral machine itself. As Wallach and Allen insist, it is necessary to address problems posed by today's technological developments. Technology and society's sense of morality go hand in hand, and change is inevitable. However, a great shift in morality is accompanied by the suffering of many who have difficulty in adapting themselves to the new social norms. Thus, philosophers and ethicists should take great care in order to ensure that the shift is as painless as possible.

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14 Riza (2013) points out that drone technology imposes more risk on non-combatants than soldiers and thereby dramatically changes how wars are fought.

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Differences in Japanese Women's Career Preferences by their Age at Childbirth

Rika TAKAMARU

1. Introduction and objective

After the implementation of the Equal Employment Opportunity Law of 1986, women's participation in society increased, and women's values regarding work and motherhood changed. According to the 2012 Labor Force Survey (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication), the percentage of dual-career couples has increased each year. Moreover, research on women's career awareness found that 67% of female university students and 58% of unmarried women in their 20s desire to work outside the home after life events such as marriage, childbearing, and child-rearing (NTT.com 2014). However, in Japan, the age-specific labor force participation ratio of women still reflects the M-curve, with notably lower rates of participation among those of child-rearing age (Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office 2013). This shows that childbearing is still an obstacle for women's careers and that women feel the pressure of demands such as family planning and the timing of childbearing.

It is recognized that the M-curve of women's labor force participation is related to traditional gender ideology, such as husbands concentrating on work and wives staying at home for family. For instance, the couples who affirm traditional gender ideology tend to have the belief that the mother should leave her job and care for her small children at home (Nakamura 2013). Hence, women find it hard to continue working due to their preference for taking care of their small children at home (Otobe 2010). Therefore traditional gender ideology is the career-barrier of mothers (Ito 2010).

During the period when Japan's economy expanded rapidly, gender ideology prescribed that wives should be full-time homemakers who supported their husbands because male workers' long work hours affected the company system and the family (Kimoto 1995). Salaried workers' families were economically dependent on companies; therefore, the corporate system served as a social welfare safety net. However, the rapid disintegration of corporate welfare programs and company security encouraged women to enter the workplace. At that time, both families and companies had to depart from the traditional paradigm of a sole male economic provider.

Although the Child Care and Family Care Leave Law was amended in 2011 to advance fathers' involvement in child care, parental leave among fathers remains at approximately 2%, and most fathers take parental leave for periods of one month or less (Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare 2013b). Therefore in reality, family leaves do not increase fathers' involvement in childcare, even though fathers' beliefs about participating in childcare have shifted (Ishii-Kuntz 2013). One reason

regarding fathers' lack of increased childcare participation is that if a breadwinning father takes parental leave, the level of household income decreases (Matsuda 2013). Another reason is that companies have fewer family-friendly environments and opportunities for challenging work for women. Takahashi et al. (2007, 117) showed that family-friendly environments and challenging work encourage the continued employment among working mothers and that working mothers who consider their work challenging are more satisfied with the division of housework, income, and life as a whole. Hence, it is crucial to reduce differences in wage and treatment between men and women.

Internal factors affecting women from their parents or social pressure, such as "the myth of the first three years (having the norm under three years child need mothering at all time)" and the desire to be full-time homemakers, have also been examined in many sociological researches concerning the continuing employment of women. According to Aoshima (2009), female university students whose parents adhered to the traditional gender ideology tended to plan for traditional career trajectories (e.g., resignation and reemployment as temporary or part-time employees or having no occupation). Parents of females may also have ambivalent expectations for their daughters, wishing them to have rewarding careers on one hand while wanting them to get married and give birth to a child during their 20s on the other (Nakano 2014). Meanwhile, problems such as the idea of egg aging (the deterioration of egg quality as a woman ages) and the low pregnancy rate in Japan are widespread and have added to the pressure on working women to start families (Kobayashi 2014). Thus, women generally have a vague intention to get married and give birth to a child by the time they are 30 years old, and they think the best age for bearing their first child is 28 years old (Nakano 2014). However, that intention is detached from reality of working women.

The average of woman's childbearing age gradually increases every year (Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare 2013a). Data from 2013 show that the peak childbearing age is between 30 and 34, but the percentage of mothers over age 35 has increased. Simultaneously, requests for fertility treatment have increased (National Institute of Population and Social Security Research 2010). These data indicate that one in six couples receive fertility treatment, which is one of the factors caused by women's tendency to marry late. These kinds of information pressure in their thirties into thinking they should have children immediately; simultaneously, this is the period where career development is the greatest (Kobayashi 2014). Therefore, women wanting both children and successful career face the challenge of balancing the timing of career advancement and pregnancy. How do working women select their occupational career when they have their first child?

Working women's choices are influenced by individual career preferences, such as whether to highly prioritize childbearing or career development. The goals of this paper were to investigate the career preference and choices of working mothers according to their age at childbirth. Data were collected through interviews with women who continued working after the birth of their child/children, and these data were used to explore the association between women's career development and

child rearing.

2. Research method

The data used for this research dates from a 2013 research project on female career design (Representative: Yuka Sakamoto, Ochanomizu University). The interviews were conducted between May 2013 and January 2014 in a semi-structured way with 20 working women that gave birth to children when they were between in their 20s and 50s. Members of the research project carried out the sampling using the snowball sampling method. The respondents' characteristics are listed in Table 1.

The ages of the women who volunteered to be interviewed ranged from 32 to 52 years. Of the respondents, eight women gave birth during their 20s, and 12 women gave birth at 30 or older. In terms of the women's type of employment, 10 were employed as regular employees, 4 were employed as temporary employees, and 6 were self-employed or had other employment. Almost all the women had high educational levels (university or postgraduate academic degrees).

The data were analyzed using the constant comparative method (Flick 1995). In this analysis, the data is limited for theoretical saturation (Kinoshita 2003). Specifically, the view point was configured for coding; how different career preferences led to giving birth to their first child their 20s and 30s or later. In this procedure, the collected data were first divided into two groups: those who gave birth to their first child during their 20s and those who gave birth to their first child during their 30s or later. Second, I coded the women's career preferences from each transcript, and compared the codes to each other to create several category types. The transcript data was analyzed until no more original codes were identified. In this way theoretical saturation was reached. Finally, I created a conceptual diagram based on the relationships among the generated codes and categories.

3. Results

3-1 Common characteristics of working mothers

The participants commonly had unclear plans for marriage and pregnancy (such as "by around 30 years old" or "after I can get a specialized career"), but they could not precisely time their pregnancies. Even among women who reported "the result (of the pregnant timing) was good," their pregnancies were unexpected ("I could not plan unexpected things at all"). Furthermore, the business person facing company pressure such as recruitment of staff that should exclusively concentrate on their respective jobs for at least few years. Thus, these women did not welcome pregnancy all of the time. One participant, who became pregnant shortly after starting at a new company, worried that her boss might detect her pregnancy:

It was unplanned. Oh, no. The timing was bad (because I just entered the company). (...) It embarrassed me. I really hesitated about pregnancy, but

Table 1. Participants' characteristics

Code	Age	Age of giving birth to 1st child	Age aof 1st child	Age of youngest child	Number of children	Type of employment	Industry types	Occupational position	Working years	Eductional status
20-A	35	29	5(F)	3(M)	2	Regular	Paper wholesale business	General affairs	11 yrs. 2 mos.	University
20-B	35	29	6(M)	4(M)	2	Temporary	Science practical teacher	Other	1 yr. 4 mos.	University
20-C	46	25	20(M)	15(F)	2	Temporary	NPO	Other	7 yrs.	University
20-D	49	26	22(M)	15(M)	3	Temporary	NPO	Other	3 yrs. 5 mos.	University
20-E	48	27	21(F)	13(F)	2	Regular	Electric power	Managerial post	22 yrs.	Postgraduate school
20-F	47	29	18(F)	11(F)	2	Self-employee persons	Licensed social insurance consultant	Other	3 yrs. 2 mos.	University
20-G	48	29	17(F)	-	1	Regular	Business deveropment	Managerial post	15 yrs.	University
20-H	50s over	29	26(M)	21(M)	3	Regular	Academic	Managerial post	18 yrs.	Postgraduate school
30-A	35	30	5(F)	-	1	Regular	Insurance business	General affairs	13 yrs.	University
30-B	32	32	0(F)	-	1	Self-employee persons	Wholesale business	Managerial post	7 yrs.	University
30-C	39	33	5(M)	3(M)	2	Other	Councilor	Other	13 yrs.	Postgraduate school
30-D	40	33	7(F)	0(M)	2	Temporary	Planning and creative development	Other	4 yrs. 4 mos.	University
30-E	44	32	11(F)	9(F)	2	Regular	Bank	Managerial post	21 yrs.	University
30-F	57	30	26(M)	23(F)	2	Regular	Public organaization	Managerial post	12 yrs. 5 mos.	University
35-A	36	35	1(F)	-	1	Other	NPO	Other	6 mos.	University
35-B	46	38	9(F)	3(M)	2	Regular	Insurance business	Managerial post	23 yrs.	University
35-C	41	40	1(F)	-	1	Regular	Academic	Other	14 yrs.	Postgraduate school
35-D	42	41	1(M)	-	1	Other	Councilor	Managerial post	6 yrs. 1 mos.	University
35-E	49	43	6(M)	-	1	Regular	Business outsourcing	Managerial post	20 yrs.	University
35-F	52	50	2(M)	-	1	Other	Councilor	Managerial post	26 yrs.	University

finally my co-workers agreed to not disclose it to the boss. I remained silent [about my pregnancy, to the boss]. (Ms. 20E)

The women could not plan their pregnancies because they faced serious dilemma and challenges after giving birth. They could not work as much at their offices after childbirth as did women without children, so they risked being evaluated negatively by their companies. At home, they became exhausted by breastfeeding or putting the baby to sleep every few hours. In Ms. 35B's case, she and her husband decided her husband would take care of the baby. This enabled her to return to work immediately after her parental leave ended. However, she realized that her husband could not perform certain tasks, such as breastfeeding. Therefore, she, like other working women, tried various scheduling strategies to continue working:

> So until the baby was one month old, my husband brought our baby to my office by car. There is parking in the basement of the company, and he brought the baby during my lunch hour. Then I breastfed the baby while eating a rice ball, I'd think, "OK, done," and I'd return the baby to my husband. (Ms. 35B)

Another common feature was that the women tried to work continuously despite such obstacles. During parental leave, they felt the stress and anxiety of having nothing to do other than staying at home alone with the baby. Ms. 20B was among those reporting such feelings. She hoped for a family-centered life after giving birth, but she said that she felt depressed by the contrast between independent professional life and the isolation of family life:

> After giving birth, it was slightly different from how I imagined it would be. I had not imagined staying alone at home with my baby all the time. (Ms. 20B)

Most working women said outright, "I am not suitable for a full-time homemaker job." Such experiences motivated the women to continue working.

Although common features were seen in the women's working situations, their career paths differed. In the next section, I will examine the differences in career preferences of women according to childbearing age.

3-2 Differences in career preferences of women according to childbearing age

The different career preferences of working women according to their age of childbearing can be evaluated based on three perspectives: their attitudes and opinions about taking parental leave, their choice of working pattern, and their desire for career advancement.

3-2-1 Differences in attitudes and opinions about taking parental leave

Women who gave birth to their first child in their 20s reported different attitudes from those who did so in their 30s or older. These results indicated that women in their 20s tended to take longer parental leaves than those over 30.

Women who gave birth to their first child in their 20s resigned during pregnancy or took parental leave until the child was at least 1 year old, regardless of their desires (except one woman, Ms. 20E, whose husband was unemployed at the time of childbirth). They did not do so because they lost their motivation to work; instead, they recognized that their leave was limited to one year of family-centered life until the child gets older, or in the case of resignation they didn't choose to continue to their previous work.

Those who resigned did so because of company pressure (such as the belief that women should concentrate on housework and childcare). After time spent solely caring for their children, they tried to return to work. However, returning to work was not easy for them. For example, Ms. 20C was a teacher before her marriage. When her youngest child was in third grade in elementary school, she took a part-time job as NPO staff. After a few years, she needed full-time work because of her husband's unexpected death, but she was no longer qualified for a teaching job because of her long absence from the profession:

> I know that I should have returned to my teaching job when I decided to support my family in place of my late husband. But I could not feel positively about it by any means, because I had lost confidence in my teaching abilities due to a long absence from this field. (Ms. 20C)

After taking parental leave and returning to the workplace, Ms 20F was transferred to another company as a seconded stuff. It was good deal of companies' arrangement for working mother, because she needed not have overtime and took shorter working hours due to care for children. However, after re-staffing, she faced significant stress because she had to perform tasks that were entirely different from those she performed before parental leave. Additionally, she had to rebuild her professional network and balance her time between work and childcare:

> After I went back to work after parental leave, the company was embarrassed to re-staff a working mother. So, I was sent seconded to another company. There I had to build new relationships with co-workers, but I was keeping my feelings bottled up inside because I was raising children. I left work at around half past 4 (in order to pick up my child) without taking the time to communicate with co-workers. Then my co-workers might have thought, "What does she think about this job? She does not even have the ability to do the job yet." (…) In addition, I thought that I would never go through the same emotions before I became pregnant, but on the other hand, if I couldn't have responsibility in my work, there was no point in working at this company. (Ms. 20F)

These women had two options: change jobs or choose to take a working pattern and position with less responsibility during the childrearing years. I will elaborate on these working patterns in the next section.

Women's values were affected by social norms pressuring women to withdraw from the workforce until their children reached 3 years of age. In addition, they experienced intense stress about their inability to balance work and childcare, and they lost confidence because of their difficult work patterns. However, women giving birth in their 30s or later took almost no parental leave and immediately returned to work, except for Ms. 30A, Ms. 35C, and Ms. 35E, who had no other choice to return to work in April because of the timing of their job rotations or the beginning of preschool sessions. Ms. 35A choose to resign in order to focus on her pregnancy; Ms. 30F, who had been a housewife for 17 years, returned to work only after her husband passed away. Ms. 30B was told that her parental leave should be short:

> In my opinion, as I experienced things, I thought my parental leave should be as short as possible. In my case, I returned to work immediately, so the timing was the same as childcare little by little getting more difficult and gradually getting used to my work. Then, I slowly began to change to balance the demands of work and parenting. (Ms. 30B)

One factor affecting the women's values was company pressure to return to work immediately. The working mothers also thought that if they did not return to work immediately, it would be mentally and technically difficult to do so because of organizational changes in their companies. In addition, the women in their 30s or older were more attached to their jobs and had more confidence in their professional skills. Thus, they could not imagine withdrawing from the workplace.

3-2-2 Differences in the choice of working pattern

The results indicated that women who gave birth during their 20s tended to work part-time or as temporary employees to ensure time flexibility. Women took advantage of benefits such as flex time and childcare leave while working full-time; however, after their child birth, they could no longer able to work to the same degree of ability. Working mother sought new work environments that demanded less time commitment. Ms. 20A, for example, planned to resign from the company she had worked at for 11 years. One reason for her apprehension about full-time work was her fear that she would not have spare time and would feel exhausted. Therefore, she wanted to re-evaluate her work strategy:

> I need the time to do my own things outside of work. I think that full-time work was not best for me, because I thought that I wanted to experience a lot of different things in my current life situations, a little more. Thus, full-time is not the best choice for me. (...) I can work as a part-time or temporary employee, so I thought that I did not need to work as a full time employee. (Ms. 20A)

The women also thought that they would eventually have the opportunity to return to full-time work because, as one said, "I am still young, so I can go back to work after the children grow up."

However, women who gave birth during their 30s or older tried to remain in their current jobs and prioritize career advancement. These women had enough experience with their companies to know how to prioritize their tasks, and they could accept lower positions and still have confidence in their professional abilities. In particular, working women over 35 held managerial positions and could determine their own schedules relatively freely. Consequently, it was easier for them to balance childcare and work. Ms. 35B said that when her first child was born, she found it difficult to balance a challenging job and the demands of parenting, but when her second child was born, she was promoted to a more flexible high-level position.

> Because it was a position where I controlled the task portions of the team, it was easier to manage things, so I could say, "Do it now" or "I'll take a rest today." I knew I was more comfortable schedule-wise after becoming section chief. (Ms. 35B)

Ms. 35E was also in a high-level position when she gave a birth to her child. Her boss would not permit her to change her level of work by working part-time, but she had control over her task scheduling. Because of this, she thought her company was "a friendly working environment for me."

Furthermore, women in their 30s or older felt it was difficult to change jobs because of Japanese corporate customs and age limitations. In some cases, the husbands of women in their 30s or beyond were older than their wives, who worried about providing financial resources for their child or children after their husbands retired. Therefore, they chose to continue working as regular full-time employees.

3-2-3 Differences in desire for career advancement

Women who gave birth to their first child during their 30s or older tended to have a stronger desire for career advancement than did those who gave birth during their 20s. Furthermore, women who resigned after childbirth and worked as full-time homemakers for at least a year tended to have a lower desire for career advancement if they gave birth to their first child during their 30s or later. The longer the women worked as full-time homemakers, the less they desired career advancement. The women who worked as full-time homemakers were satisfied to simply get the job and feel be a member of society, and they did not want a job with intense responsibilities. However, all the participants expressed motivation to perform challenging work. In other words, the women did not abandon their career advancement but instead changed their definition of "challenging work." The working women faced challenges building relationships in new employment sections and completing parent-related and work-related tasks after childbirth. They understood that taking a position with less responsibility was reasonable for working mothers, but they were frustrated about being unable to realize their full

capacities. Thus, working mothers tended to prefer work arrangements that were personally satisfying while significantly prioritizing childcare. Specifically, when working mothers found that their work responsibilities were uninteresting or felt alienated from their work, they revised the relative values they placed on work and childcare.

For instance, women who gave birth to their first child during their 20s, especially those who took parental leave for over 1 year, considered childcare an important job and chose to work part time or as temporary employees. In the meanwhile, there are the women in their 20s looked resolutely toward career advancement by acquiring professional qualifications to improve their skills. Ms. 20F and Ms.20H could obtain new occupations because they acquired additional professional qualifications during their time as full-time homemakers. They gradually increased their working hours as their children got older.

> I was usually busy (with study and work), so I decided to attend my children's school events as often as possible to express that my children are special. (...) I made sure to get days off from my part-time teaching job to attend the children's events since the children are in kindergarten, and I said to children, "Mother was here!" (...) [Now that the children are older] I can't get a day off now [because I'm a full-time employee]. (Ms. 20H)

These cases offer examples of women successfully advancing their careers both from home and the office. Other women in their 20s also explored opportunities to perform challenging work again.

In contrast, women who gave birth during their 30s or older tended to continue working at the same company. Therefore, they needed to be promoted to higher positions to engage in satisfying work. However, they did not follow the standard business strategy, which typically involved building relationships with other employees to gain advantages. Because these women realized that women in general are at a disadvantage for promotions, they developed a flexible working style distinct from that of their male counterparts. For instance, Ms. 30E realized that women in management positions were not bound by the constraints imposed on men in corporations:

> I do not care about the constraints (imposed by a company). Businessmen follow company precedent and worry about impacting relations with co-workers by disrupting routines; but I do not have the constraints and connections of businessmen. So, I never mind failure in novel approaches to business, as long as I'm trying something new. I've noticed that nobody tries to obstruct my new approaches any more. (Ms. 30E)

In addition, first-time mothers over 35 felt relieved from the pressure to have children to become a full-fledged member of society; thus, their desire for career advancement increased. Ms.50C said being childless always bothered her, even

though she was confident in her work. Ms. 40J also felt unsatisfied and inadequate after she was employed at a stable job:

> At that time, I thought that they [people with children] were full-fledged members of human society. I was having a rough time. I could not feel satisfied only having a job. I felt that it was necessary to have both a family and a job. (Ms.40J)

Therefore, the women who gave birth during their 30s or older, especially those over 35, had positive attitudes about having children (e.g., freedom from the social stigma of being childless). Such feelings reinforced their desire for career advancement.

In summary, women in their 30s or older still felt pressures, such as a lack of fulfillment regarding their full professional potential (as did those in their 20s), but they ultimately accepted being relocated or transferred to less stressful positions that enabled them to experience different responsibilities. In other words, the working mothers aged 30 or older might have felt forced to work in less stressful positions, but such positions gave them a wider view of their self-chosen working styles.

4. Conclusion and discussion

The working mothers faced serious challenges. They could not work as much as those who did not have childcare responsibilities, and they risked negative evaluations from their companies. However, they rationalized this by thinking that although they could not work at full capacity while caring for their young children, they would be able to reenter the workforce and attain professional success in the future. These findings are consistent with Takahashi's (2007) observation that performing challenging work encourages working mothers to continue their employment.

These data also highlight several important observations about the career preferences of working women who have children (Figure 1). First, women who had their first child during their 20s tended to take longer parental leaves than those who gave birth during their 30s or older.

Second, women in their 20s were more likely to choose part-time or temporary employment, while those in their 30s or older continued their existing careers because they had superior experience and skill. Women aged 30 and older who had more professional experience could more easily decide which tasks needed immediate attention. In addition, they were aware of the Japanese corporate custom of putting new mothers in positions with fewer responsibilities; therefore, they accepted lower-ranking positions so that they could dedicate more time to childcare. Japanese corporate customs make it extremely difficult to gain reemployment after resigning, and those who have worked longer have a better chance of promotion. Women aged 30 or older could maintain their companies' confidence in their

expertise, but they found it difficult to find another job after resigning. Women in their 20s preferred to work as part-time or temporary employees; thus, they had fewer opportunities for promotion. However, these women also expected to become full-time workers again after having children, and they gradually increased their working time, thus, taking up central roles in jobs during the child-rearing stage.

Third, the longer women worked as full-time homemakers, the less they desired career advancement. Women who were long-term full-time homemakers tended to prioritize childcare and family. However, some working mothers worked towards their future career advancement by acquiring new professional qualifications while serving as full-time homemakers. In contrast, women who immediately resumed full-time work after giving birth had a strong desire for career advancement and readily accepted challenges to increase their chances of promotion. At the same time, however, they also tried to balance their work and home life. Thus, working women had to choose which tasks are important at home and at the office, and these choices were influenced by their professional confidence and sense of responsibility. Hence, when women had opportunities and a strong desire for career advancement, they made efforts to obtain full-time employment.

The limitation of this study is that almost all the participants who gave birth to their first child in their 20s were in their late 20s during the time of this study. Thus, they were not much different in age from the participants in their early 30s. However, studies on how age differences of several years can affect women's career preferences have shown that the period around age 30 is significant meaning for job continuation.

This study suggests that women should be able to decide freely how to balance their careers and motherhood. Nevertheless, pregnancy and childbearing do not necessarily occur as scheduled. It is necessary to create flexible work environments that can accommodate the timing of childbearing.
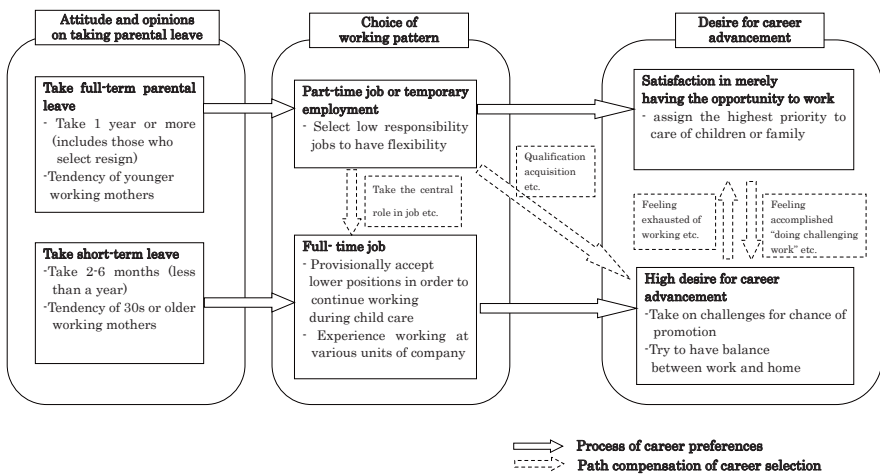

Figure 1. Development of career preferences in working women who have children

Acknowledgement

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Marginalisation and Women of Fishing Community: An Experience from India

Tulika CHAKRAVORTY

Introduction

Marginalisation, as a complex process of relegating specific group(s) of people to the lower or the outer edge of the society, operates as function, as cause and also as a social product. It has been delineated in many intellectual and development discourses as a social process that operates and promotes through the practice of discrimination, oppression, subjugation, and domination which gets legitimized and reproduced through the normative and institutional arrangements of society. Marginalisation as a dynamic process has got socially reformulated and reshaped and intellectually redefined with the impact and expansion of capitalism, imperialism, modernisation, industrialisation, globalisation and related processes of social transition.

In the Indian subcontinent and especially within the broad fold of Hindu social orders, the marginalised are designated to be the out- castes represented by the antyajas and the shudras[1] belonging to the social categories of untouchables and others practising unclean ascribed occupations and extra- mural manual activities of various sorts. Within the conventional cultural framework of the varna system[2] they are provided with stigmatised existence and are considered to be impure and are kept away from varieties of social and cultural interactions with the higher varnas, like the Brahmins, kshatriyas and vaishyas .They are conditioned to survive at the margin of society – socially, culturally, politically, economically and even geographically. Traditionally they have remained associated to ascribed occupations compelling them to concentrate on low – paying jobs, or 'unclean' occupations to accept exploitative terms and conditions of work and to remain insecure socially and politically. Many of these social and cultural stigmas are also extended to women, tribal and religious minority groups.

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1 Lower castes of the Indian society

2 In ancient India, society was divided into four classes (varna) with relation to their aptitude and vocation, based on the four duties of human beings and for society, not based on birth. These were the Brahmins, the Priests or Spiritual class, the Kshatriya, the Ruling class, the Vaishya, the Business class and Farmers, and the Shudras, the Servants and 'Unclean' oc-cupation holders. This stratification system was called Varna system which has two meanings one is 'colour' and another is 'Veil'. Colour means the colour of human qualities or energies of human nature and a veil in which divine self is hidden in human beings in four different ways. Now a days this system of determining natural aptitude has degenerated into the caste system which prevails now only in form.

1. Marginalisation

In the context of globalisation, it has been widely used to describe the social categories which have remained only partly integrated or remained excluded from the 'mainstream' of society (UNDP, Human Development Report 1996). Within these wide spectrum sociologically marginality is understood in a societal context in terms of 'non – participation', 'non- integration' and also in 'reference to exclusion' of groups or sections of population from several of the key activities of society.

The phenomena of non- participation may arise several conditions and get operationalised through several processes. The dominated groups may not be provided with adequate social, economic and political opportunities in acquiring the desired potential for full participation in decision – making, having access to the source of power, and in sharing of societal, economic and other resources. Hence, the marginalised may have the desire for full participation but lack the opportunities for the same (Germani, 1980).

Marginalisation is again examined in reference to a continuum in society running through inclusion, marginality and exclusion (Luhmann, 1982). An individual is situated depends to a large extent on his or overall possession of and capacity to mobilize not only economic resources, but also social, cultural and symbolic resources (Moller, 1998, 6-21).

Marginalisation as a process is conceptualised as cumulatively acquired and spatially related phenomena of social, economic cultural and political denials and deprivations, in – securities and uncertainty, hierarchy and domination which get legitimized and reproduces by the functioning of several normative and societal arrangements to relegate several sections of the population at the social margin despite their protests and resistance (Singharoy, 2010, 48).

As the marginalised people have little resources to alter the normative and societal arrangements through legitimised means, they remain as function of the unequal arrangement of the society, and cause of many of the social unrest, protests and movements. The broad process of socio – economic transition and routinized state action only strengthen the process of marginalisation of the marginalised as these actions are executed through the pre – existing societal and institutionalised arrangements (Singharoy, 2010, 48).

The capability approach is a conceptual framework developed by Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum for evaluating social states in terms of human well being. It emphasises functional capabilities, these are constructed in terms of the substantive freedoms people have reason to value, instead of utility or access to resources. Someone could be deprived of such capabilities in many ways, e.g. by ignorance, government oppression, lack of financial resources, or false consciousness. Deprivation of these capabilities take people towards marginalisation. This approach to human well being emphasises the importance of freedom of choice, individual heterogeneity and the multi-dimensional nature of welfare (Sen, 2004, 30-53). Nussbaum (2000, 312) frames these basic principles in

terms of ten capabilities, based on real opportunities including personal and social circumstances.

In the Indian context (Louis, 2007, 1-12) the following are the excluded and marginalised persons: Social Groups: Dalits/untouchables/lower castes, Tribals/ Adivasis/Indigenous Peoples, religious and linguistic minorities, the most backward castes, especially women and children among these social groups.

Sectoral Groups: agricultural labourers, marginalised farmers, child labourers, domestic workers, informal workers/unorganised sector workers, contract workers, plantation workers, fisher communities, manual scavengers, rural and forest based communities, vernacular speaking social groups, people with disability etc.

2. Marginalisation, social exclusion and women

Women are the most excluded and discriminated segment of the population in society. Patriarchy is at the core of the structural element in discriminating women. Patriarchy constrains women in all facets of life. Control of women's reproductive abilities and sexuality is placed in men's hands. Patriarchy limits women's ownership and control of property and other economic resources, including the products of their own labour. Women's mobility is constrained, and their access to education and information hindered. Over the years, it has been recognised that the experiences of the majority of women are grounded in both poverty and patriarchy. Both these feed into each other and subject women to exclusion and exploitation (Chakravorty, 2014, 101).

The women who is considered naturally inferior is bound to suffer exclusion from social, political, economic and religious realms (Chakravorty, 2013-14, 130-133). Discrimination and exclusion marginalise women from full participation in the social, economic, political and cultural life of the country. Exclusion, discrimination and identity formation are both individual and collective processes. Further, exclusion and discrimination take different form in different societies. Moreover, they adapt and change themselves according to the changing social reality. Hence, to state that in the modern, liberal society and polity, exclusion and discrimination are reduced or eliminated seem to be not in tune with reality. In the same vein to deny the scope of identity formation of even the most discriminated social group also seems to be unrealistic.

In almost every social category women form a subset that is often disadvantaged, discriminated against and marginalised in most spheres of life as compared to men within the same category. Such marginalisation and subordination is reflected in wide male – female disparities in virtually all aspects of social well – being, at every scale from the local to the national and international (Dutta, Sinha, 1997, 51-65).

3. Women of fishing community in India

In a caste based stratified society in India, with persisting economic backwardness and social inequality, marginalisation of a vast section of population has remained attached to its social structure. Herein the interrelated dynamics of denial, deprivation, insecurities, social hierarchies and political dominations have generated rampant poverty, unemployment. illiteracy, ill – health, and downward mobility of vast section of population.

Women are the most excluded and discriminated segment of the population. The process of marginalisation and exclusion of women can be seen at various levels i.e., in family, society, workplace and all spheres of life. However, women of some particular marginalised communities like fishing community is more marginalised than other 'excluded women' in society.

The process of exclusion, discrimination and marginalisation takes place both in individual and collective plane. Moreover, the degree of exclusion and discrimination has different dimensions in different societies. They adopt and change themselves according to the changing social reality. Feminist scholars argue that women are marginalised due to the patriarchal structure of society. In Indian society, sexuality, reproduction and social production are regulated by patriarchal values expressed through specific cultural metaphors.

Fishing communities in India are quite widespread. Fishing communities adjacent to coastal areas are facing different kinds of problems rather than those who are located and working in inland waters. Security issues are problematic for coastal fishing communities whereas receding up of rivers are the main problems for inland fishing communities. Because of versatile problems that they encounter in everyday life, the fishing communities located in various parts of India faces lots of challenges. In fact, many a times, they are forced to leave their occupation and find some other livelihood alternatives. Conditions of their female counterparts are more vulnerable and precarious in most of the times. Due to nature of their work with low income, women are forced to look for alternative source for livelihood, apart from helping their male counterparts in fishing.

In the context of women of fishing community in India. They have to participate in income generating activities which has created a kind of triple burden for them. As a women in general, as a helping hand within the four walls of the home and as a women from the marginalised community such as women from fishing community who is forced to look for alternative source of livelihood due to her poor and vulnerable status.

In India, women constitute around 48% of the total population and comprise one-third of the labour force. The socio-economic development of this vast population, therefore, presumes great importance in any developmental strategy.

Most of the women play secondary role in fishing. They mend nets, selling fish door to door, involve in processing fish and assisting their male counterparts in fishing related activities.. Women of such community are still quite behind of their men counterparts in the area of education and economic empowerment in India.

They usually have less access to medical care, property ownership, credit training, and in employment. They are far less likely to be politically active and far more likely to be victims of domestic violence compared to men. Despite of urbanisation and development women of fishing community is still double marginalised and excluded.

In India, fishers are part of the cast hierarchy. Thus, fisheries are different from agriculture in region as there is a lot of tradition that goes into determination of this activity as an occupation. While there exist social barriers to entry into the traditional fishing sector, these barriers do not exist in centralized fishing, which is seen simply as any other economy enterprise.

The people belonging to fishing community are, by and large, not only economically weak in terms of earning and availability of work, the majority of them are not able to procure the minimum nourishment and the conditions of their women are worse than their male counterparts. So fishing community is a marginalized community and the women of this community are in margins within it in India.

4. Facets of marginalisation and exclusion of women of fishing community in India

Women's inequality is universal, its magnitude and severity vary from one country to another, even within a country, from one region to another and from one community to another community. It is important to highlight this, because women's issue should be dealt with carefully and their needs to be addressed in policy planning and implementation (Choudhury, 2013, 40-45).

4-1 Marginalisation and exclusion of women in fishing community in education

It has been long argued by various UN agencies that the critical determinant of women's socioeconomic status is education, and that education, education and more education is the key to achieving social development by improving the wellbeing of girls and women and thus promoting gender equity.

As far back as 66 years, the Constitution of India promised to provide universal education to all children up to the age of 14 years. This goal was to be achieved by 1960.while considerable progress has been made in this regard in the decade of the 1990's, much still remains to be done for girls' education. Enrolment rates at the primary level have risen considerably, but many of the students who enrol dropout and only a very small number manage to get beyond the primary stage. Gender inequality in education is one important aspect of educational disparity. Inequalities and differences between communities is another critical aspect of this broader phenomenon of disparity in India. 80% Women from fishing community cannot complete their school education after primary education due to poverty and social structure.

4-2 Marginalisation, exclusion and identical privileges of women from fishing community

The question of who is a woman has, in India as elsewhere, traditionally been very narrowly defined (Chakravorty, 2014, 102). The overwhelming societal conception of womanhood viewed as women those who were 'biologically female' (Mishra, 2009, 8-16), heterosexual, and bearers of children. Within this overarching categorisation, women who were married, did not do paid work, were submissive and faithful to their husbands and belonged to the dominant religion or ethnic group in society were viewed as the marginal within the margins. Through NGOs take some effort for promoting small – scale entrepreneurial development in culture fisheries; they are not receiving proper attention. Spending their lifetime as peeling workers women are not still included under the category of fisherwomen by the government and are not provided with benefit of any of the welfare measures.

There are many dividing lines between those who are considered ideal women and those who are not. Married women are viewed with greater esteem than unmarried women, able-bodied women than disabled women, adult women than adolescent women, and wealthy, high-caste women than poorer, low-caste women like women from fishing community.

4-3 Marginalisation and exclusion of women in fishing community and disability

The last decade has been a testimony to the relentless efforts of disabled people in India. Disability legislation, inclusion in census and representations in media are some of the features of this struggle. Although the pace is slow and efforts fragmented, nevertheless some visibility has been attained for the lives marked as disabled in a society that still largely ignores their existence. Their voices have been subsumed by the male leaders, who have largely reflected their masculine bias by completely overlooking concerns such as sexuality, family and motherhood. To survive as a disabled person in such a blinkered social environment, has meant, coming to terms with unequal power relationships. This is reflected most clearly by an absence and invisibility in the most forward-looking social movements and dialogues , including the women's movement.

'Ek toh ladki oopar se apahij, is se toh accha mar jaati (in Hindi) (A disabled girl is better dead than alive)' marks the reality of a woman with disability (Ghai, 2001, 30) in India. That would be more vulnerable if the disabled woman belongs to a weaker community like fishing community. As a six-year-old girl affected with polio says, "My mother laments that a disabled daughter is a punishment, and she cannot figure out what past sins are responsible for my disabled existence." Leading a stigmatised life, a disabled woman in India belongs to a marginalised and invisible category. Whether disability is congenital or acquired, the oppression starts very early in life. With no opportunities for improving the quality of life, the disabled girl-child has no option but to live a life of subordination.

Just as society fails to acknowledge the social identity and significance of disabled lives, even policy discourse is coloured by its biased orientation towards the notion of the 'perfect body'. Policies too are thus remiss in their neglect of

women's issues related to disability. However, over the past ten years, issues concerning disabled women have been highlighted within the realm of the women's movement. But still disabled women from marginalised communities like fishing community are still untouched.

4-4 Marginalisation and exclusion of women of fishing community in employment and livelihood management

Women of fishing community struggle more than their counterparts. Women's roles in nurturing and sustaining the family and community, and their economic contribution to household, are rarely recognized. They face gender discrimination at home, as individuals. Their public and private rights are denied; they are excluded from decision-making processes also. They face atrocities in markets from local thugs and middlemen; their health is adversely affected; and they face sexual harassment and physical violence.

Though the phenomenon of women's inequality is universal, its magnitude and severity vary from one country to another, even within a country, from one region to another and from one community to another community. Women have been subjected to a number of humiliation, harassments and ill-treatment even today. Women continue to be the most helpless beings in the society. It is important to highlight this, because women's issue should be dealt with carefully and their needs to be addressed in policy planning and implementation.

Studies have also focused on differential rates of labour force and workforce participation by women and men and consequent underrepresentation of women in workforce; as well as the sex-based discrimination in family and society in the spheres of education and skill formation and attitudes towards women's work –– forms of discrimination that precede discrimination in the labour market and influence the gender based differences in employment and earnings. There has been a decline in the wage gap: the female to male wage ratio that was estimated to be 0.60 in 1994-95, increased to 0.67 in 2009-10 (Chakravorty, 2014, 108). In spite of all these developments, still marginalised communities like fishing community are truly untouched from that betterment. However, the disadvantage and discrimination faced by women continues to be large and the equality between sexes in the labour market is still a distant dream.

4-5 Marginalisation, exclusion and economic status of women from fishing community

Women in India are the most excluded and discriminated segment of the population. Patriarchy limits women's control on property and other resources, including the products of their own labour. Poverty and patriarchy are the two issues which subject women to marginalisation and exploitation. Women's mobility is constrained, and their access to education and information hindered. Patriarchy is at the core of the structural element in discriminating women. Control of women's reproductive abilities and sexuality is placed in men's hands.

Despite many developmental efforts, women are still much more likely to be poor and illiterate than men. They usually have less access to medical care,

property ownership, credit training and in employment. They are far less likely to be politically active and far more likely to be victims of domestic violence compared to men. Some communities like fishing community is a marginalized community and the women of this community are in margins within it at different perspectives.

In Human Development Report, 2013, it is observed that very low "Income index" component of the GDI essentially reflects the low workforce participation of women in India, which in turn suggests a combination of greater restrictions on women's economic agency as well as social lack of recognition of women's unpaid work. Both of these suggest a major undercurrent of gender discrimination in society.

4-6 Marginalisation, exclusion and marriage of teenage girls of fishing community

Across the globe, girls are systematically excluded from participation in social, economic and political life. The absence of girls in these arenas has implications not only for the young women themselves but also for society as a whole, exacerbating poverty and perpetuating disparities in health, education and economic achievement. These circumstances prevailing more in marginalised communities.

Female social exclusion begins early in life and is especially notable at life transitions such as puberty and marriage. Due to their vulnerable conditions, girls of fishing communities are directly victims. They cannot complete their school before that they get married at the age of 14-15. In addition to poverty, early marriage is an important reason for discontinuing education as far as young girls are concerned (Hasan and Menon, 2004, 98). Exclusion is also evident in many of the obstacles girls encounter barriers to entering and staying in school, finding work, making friends, learning life skills, accessing health services and participating in civic life, In India , sex selective abortion and female infanticide reduce girls chances of even starting life. It works more in marginalised communities than any other community in India.

Girls tend to have limited mobility relative to their male counterpart, so services and opportunities that are not in a girl's immediate neighbourhood can be far out of reach.

Boys experience more freedom of decision making and mobility, while the movement of girls outside the domestic sphere becomes increasingly circumscribed, often because of parent's fear of male attention, the temptation of unsanctioned activities and the potential damage to their daughter's reputations (Chakravorty, 2014, 109).

4-7 Marginalisation, exclusion and health of women from fishing community

Every social group in the world has specific traditional cultural practices and beliefs, some of which are beneficial to all members, while others are harmful to a specific group, such as women in fishing communities. These harmful traditional practices include forced feeding of women; early marriage; the various taboos or

practices which prevent women from controlling their own fertility; nutritional taboos including lacking of proper food, traditional birth practices with preferring home delivery ; son preference and its implications for the status of the girl child; female infanticide; early pregnancy; unhygienic sanitary system and dowry price. These traditional cultural practices, harmful health practices are harming not only the individuals but also the society. However, it seems impossible to change the harmful practice as it takes on an aura of morality in the eyes of those practicing them.

This state of ignorance ensures their acceptance-and, consequently, the perpetuation of harmful traditional practices affecting their well-being and that of their children. Even when women acquire a degree of economic and political awareness, they often feel powerless to bring about the change necessary to eliminate gender inequality. Empowering women is vital to any process of change and to the elimination of these harmful traditional practices.

Home is the primary workplace for the majority of Indian women. Lack of space, lack of proper ventilation, electricity, toilet facilities make the home a far from ideal working environment for poor women in both urban and rural areas. In addition many women are constantly at the mercy of their husbands, in-laws, landlords and municipal authorities. However, there is very little data on women's occupational health and safety. Good health is not just about doctors and drugs. A clean living environment with access to safe drinking water and sanitation, adequate nutrition, protection from disease and a decent standard of living are the basics of good health. 62.4% of the mothers had 3 or more antenatal care visits for their last birth (Chakravorty, 2013-14, 90-102).

4-8 Marginalisation and exclusion of women and domestic violence

According to the World Health Organisation 5, 000 women are murdered in the name of honour worldwide each year. In India in 2008, there were over 8, 000 "dowry deaths", whereby women are killed or driven to suicide when their husbands or in-laws abuse them in order to extract a larger dowry. This is not to say that women who are high up the ladder do not suffer abuse – domestic violence and forced marriage, for example, happen in all social and wealth categories, to the married and unmarried, young and old.

In India, women are subjected to violence even before they are born. An estimated 1300 female's foetuses "go missing" everyday. The national sex ratio, according to government figures for 2011, stood at 914 girls aged 0-6 for every 1000 boys of the same age. A cultural preference for sons along with the increasing availability of pre-natal sex screening, which is officially banned in the country, has led to a worsening of the ratio in the age group of 0-6, even as the ratio for the population as a whole has increased. A society that is dominated by men in terms of numbers is not likely to be in any hurry to end systematic discrimination against women (Bhandare, 2015, 1-4).

But violence against women who are lower down the hierarchy is in general much less reported than abuses perpetrated against those inside what Rubin has called society's 'charmed circle'. Women of marginalised communities

are less accessed by government and they also cannot report their problems to government officials. They become used to of these practices of violence against them. The men's violence against women in many forms such as rape, intimate partner violence and sexual harassment. National Women Commission (1998), found women in the unorganised sector in India, are more vulnerable to sexual harassment than women in the organised sector as fishing is the unorganised sector in India.

5. Measures for removing the status of 'Excluded'

Source – self drawn

Raising Voice against Violence

Following the declaration of 2001 as the "Year of Women's Empowerment" Government of India has announced that more stringent civil legislation enacted to combat violence against women. Women should not keep silence about violence they face in their day to day life. Breaking isolation and bringing marginalised women together has led to these groups becoming more visible and being able to speak out against the discrimination and deprivation that they face. It also enables specific

groups to begin to voice their needs and demands, which in turn leads to building a collective agenda for change.
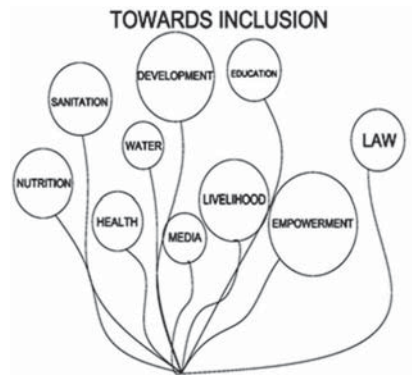
Sometimes, the mere act of meeting regularly in a particular place creates visibility and helps others understand that we are not isolated individuals or deviants from the social norm, but a larger group within society that cannot be easily dismissed. Coming together in this way also builds a sense of collective power and inspires the potential for creating larger movements that can challenge social norms and policy at many different levels.

All Issues are Women Issues

The feminist slogan "All issues are women's issues" has an equally important corollary- "Women's issues are everyone's issues". These two slogans encapsulate a possible strategy for change.

Growth With Work, Opportunities and Equality

The process of economic growth must be linked to an expansion in opportunities for women, and must decrease inequalities. Women's access to basic social services must be increased – awareness, access, availability and affordability of education, nutrition and health services must be ensured.

Building Strong Leadership

Women must be given the chance to speak for themselves, and to become involved at all levels of decision – making so that no decisions are taken without taking their perspectives and interests into account. Women leaders at every level must be supported to build their capacities to function effectively and advance women's interests.

Influencing Stakeholders, Legal frameworks, Legislation and Policy

Building collective power and voice has also enabled marginalised and stigmatised groups to challenge laws and policies that discriminate against them, at both national and international level. Although some Government initiatives and schemes like SJSRY(swarna jayanti sahari rojgar yojana), Indira Awaas Yojana, Janani Suraksha Yojana etc wield much needed hope in this battle for securing social and financial equality. In this respect, Indian Government has taken some more steps like issuing Identity cards and stopping catches of small fish.

Gaining Public Interest by Media Persons

These marginalised women groups through media can influence public attitudes through leaders and jointly creating more pressure on policymakers.

Starting User Friendly Services

For upliftment of Women of fishing community some user friendly services should be provided them like alternative vocational trainings, credit trainings, bank loans etc.

Research and information

One of the strategies that marginalised women's groups have used to tackle their invisibility is research and information generation about their numbers, issues and the particular nature of their exclusion from social, economic and political participation. Available data does not capture the multidimensional nature of work undertaken by women of fishing communities. Not surprisingly, few policies are formulated with these realities in mind. This assumes great importance when the national surveys or census systems in many of our countries have no mechanism for counting women with marginalisation.

Instead of Women's issue, It's a people's issue

The movement for gender equality must move from being an exclusive concern of women, to being a people's issue (Sen and Kumar, 2001). Everyone who is committed to women's freedom and equality must join hands to work together to promote awareness, to mobilise action, to draw the attention of decision- makers, to break social barriers and to ensure justice.

Conclusion

Despite India's record of rapid economic growth and poverty reduction over recent decades rising inequality in the country has been a subject of concern among policymakers, academics and activists alike. Poverty and deprivation in India focuses on marginalisation and social exclusion, which has its roots in India's historical divisions along lines of caste, tribe and the excluded sex, that is women. These inequalities are structural in nature and have kept entire groups trapped, unable to take advantage of opportunities at economic growth offers. Culturally rooted systems perpetuate inequality and rather than a culture of poverty that afflicts women, it is in fact, these inequality traps that prevent poor women from breaking out.

For centuries, the search for social justice has been accompanied by the struggle to understand injustice, to grapple with the rationale behind inequality, discrimination, exploitation, oppression and violence committed by some groups and individuals against others; it is hoped that through this understanding, we can discover more powerful ways of combating oppressive social systems and build better ones. For a long time, most of us believed there was some single power that was behind all inequalities, and that there was one magic stick that could cure all social ills.

But the limitations and exclusions are a reminder to all of us that still we have to go miles. By recognizing and valuing the labour that goes towards the creation and sustenance of life, we also simultaneously value and respect nature and its resources. Redefining what is valuable also means redefining the power relations that exist between the rich and the poor, between men and women, and between races and nationalities. Such a perspective like feminist perspective is important in the quest for sustainable, equitable and gender-just fisheries.

A feminist perspective seeks to reshape gender relations. Gender issues thus focus not only on women, but on the relationship between men and women, their roles, rights and responsibilities, while acknowledging that these vary within and between cultures as well as by class, race, ethnicity, age and marital status. All of us play different roles at different points in this chaotic drama. The least we can do is to strive for equal justice and ethics in our life and work, to create a world for all, to live life with dignity, freedom and respect.

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A Global Environmental Approach for Cross-Cultural Dialogue: From Noah's Ark to the security of sustainable flourishing homelands

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Introduction

Cross-cultural dialogue is the straightforward answer to the ecological problems our planet is faced with. Evanoff (2007) rejected Callicott's universal claims concerning Leopold's Land-Ethics. To the contrary he proposed an alternative bioregional perspective based on pragmatic constructivism. Nevertheless we adopt Leopold's two basic ideas governing this deep ecological concept: autonomy and integrity of the particular homeland. We modify Leopold's Land-ethics by shifting the communitarian paradigm from oikophobia to oikophilia.

Therefore - as proposed by Baird Callicott - we endowed Land-ethics, however, with an alternative metaphysical Leibnizian concept of space and time, leaving the Newtonian conception, to provide the land with proper moral standards in a way that the land shapes all participants, human as well as non-human. Moreover, we adopt Warwick Fox' claim that self-identification of any individual of the Land exceeds personal identification and will be extended to the particularity of the land and all its participants. Third, we leave Enlightenment's absolute rationalism to adopt Gadamer's hermeneutics of the multicultural traditions present on the common homeland. Care for the Land evolving from the universal ethical status of the foreigner in the homeland results into a renewed internal and external cross-cultural dialogue. Within boundary conditions of the land human action offers the land the status of sustainability.

While the Newtonian conception of space and time involves oikophobia, the Leibnizian conception of space and time, the transpersonal self-identification and the methodological adoption of hermeneutics makes room for ethical concern for biotic and abiotic participants within the ecotopois or the boundaries of local homeland, . Moreover, this global modified Land-Ethics implies anthropological needs, such as security and the flourishing feelings of belonging to a cozy and sustainable place at particular places and times, called the oikophilia. Cross-cultural dialogue actualizes different traditions by hermeneutical mutual understanding of all participants of 'Noah's Ark'.

1. "Après Moi, le déluge" (Louis XV de France)

Eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we die; after us the deluge! These famous words summarize the worldwide policy of encouraging consumption of products evolving from the economical dynamics of the cyclic triad 'science-technology-capital growth'. Governments all over the world create social terms and technical infrastructure in order to support this 'First World lifestyle' adopted by a large amount of middle class people. This flourishing lifestyle caused the proliferation of man's ecological footprint, exceeding the maximum earth capacity since 1972 while most people live according to the third world lifestyle, however, deprived of fresh water, suffering from air pollution, malnutrition and diseases. This inequality provokes illegal and wild migration disturbing not only the social and economical life of the country of departure but involves loss of feelings of security as collateral damage in the country of arrival. In consequence a more dramatic management of prime matter, energy, food and planet population is required because our planet has become depleted.

Richard Evanoff (2010) claims that the main reason for this ecological catastrophe is the way how our Planet is economically, politically, culturally and socially globalized. All these forms of new colonialism are no longer a notion of 'white man's burden' and the imposition of Western values on non-Western societies, the newer forms are more cosmopolitan' (2010, 2014). We quote:

> "...Charges of 'Western imperialism' in debates over globalization simply obscure the fact that the problem is not so much the imposition of specifically Western values on non-Western cultures as it is the imposition of first-world values on the non-first-world cultures..."

Furthermore, according to Evanoff the widely adopted and globally accepted development dominant paradigm is responsible for an unsustainable world without social justice and well-being for all. Evanoff proposes the bioregional paradigm and therefore he reformulates Steiner's human ecological triangle (Steiner, Nausser, 1993:57) in support of the paradigm shift. Moreover, he rejects any global ethic theory, particularly Callicott's ethical approach (1986) to Leopold's land-ethics (1949) because it joins the globalization without reference to the particularity of the place and time of human action.

We appreciate Evanoff's bioregionalism greatly and we agree with his analysis of the consequences of the development dominant paradigm. However, his analysis is lacking the above mentioned metaphysical background in which modern states and their development are rooted. Indeed, the dominant development paradigm is but the economical dynamics of progress in the scope of a more fundamental metaphysical conception of public space, individual space, eventually common and proper time of any man, rooted in the early beginning of the Modern Times and to date still vital.

Since the creation of the actual national states, space and time or territory and national history have become a discursive public good represented and mirrored in

public institutes and administration. The public area has become a-topic and meta-temporal because every individual receives direct access to the public area of the modern state (Charles Taylor, 2004). Human interests exceed the topic interests of medieval corporations and because any action of any citizen is not derived from a form of transcendence and time becomes a linear evolution of progress. Time is desacralized because citizens do not need any symbolism to participate in the public area. The modern governments, ruled top-down, impose universal philosophical ideas about progress and adopt one official religion and language to unify their subjects, while cross-religious, cross-linguistic, cross-philosophical and cross-cultural dialogue within the state is discouraged or even prohibited.

The philosophical foundation of the above mentioned politico-social and economical development will be analyzed in the second section and we start with the Newtonian concepts of space-time to end into times and places of fear and threat provoking feelings of 'oikophobia' in man's mind. In the third section we defend a global modified Land-Ethics in spite of Evanoff's criticism and we emphasize the core position of the foreigner in order to attribute moral concern to all participants of the land. Evanoff's bioregionalism will be refuted because it is stuck in a Modern conception of space, time and rationality. The fourth section articulates space and time as places of security, flourishing and sustainable, with moral concern to the environment, biotic and abiotic. In the fifth section we analyze the ethical and social foundation of this 'oikophilia' involving the cross-religious, cross-linguistic and cross-cultural dialogue in 'Noah's Ark' as a sustainable refuge for all. It starts with a cross-life view of education and, eventually, we propose a world of eco-homelands generated by bottom up social dynamics.

2. In defense of global environmental Land-Ethics

Aldo Leopold published in 1949 the foundation of what is called 'Land ethics'. We summarize his ideas in six headlines: (i) the individual is a member of a community of interdependent parts, (ii) conservation as strategy of precaution, (iii) the land is a community and object of ethical concern, (iv) the ethical care changes the role of Homo sapiens from conqueror of the land-community to plain member and citizen of it, (v) we belong to the land, not otherwise, (vi) anything is right when it tends to preserve the integrity, stability, and beauty of the biotic community. It is wrong when it tends otherwise (1949, 224-5). The latter is for Aldo Leopold a key value for all participants to the land. Unfortunately, Leopold did not properly define the land. Nevertheless, he claimed the moral need for integrity and intrinsic value of the land. Baird Callicott (1994I, 1994II) has proposed that Aldo Leopold's land-ethic be adopted as a single global ethic of the land.

2-1 Baird Callicott's approach for global environmental ethics
Leopold failed to give adequate arguments in support of this eco-philosophical point of view that is rooted in Arne Naess´ outstanding paper about Deep Ecology (1973). Deep ecology assigned intrinsic value to humans as well as to non-human

life and the landscape. But all types of deep ecology struggle with the same fundamental problem: what is a metaphysical foundation of non-humans and the landscape in order to assign intrinsic value? The anthropogenic root of morality is out of the question. To provide such metaphysical ground Baird Callicott (1986) added the principle of inherent value to Leopold's conception of the land. Callicott's concept does not imply the intrinsic value of the land – the land is not a moral value in its own right – neither is the moral value of the land embedded in the instrumental or aesthetical value attributed by self-reflective human beings. The land is a value in its own right.

Callicott's claims started from disagreement with the individualistic point of view of Singer (1975) and Regan (1976) in their approaches to formulate an extended ethics for animals as centers of life, potentially suffering from pain. In order to formulate a moral philosophy containing moral considerations for non-humans Callicott suggested a new paradigm based on the biotic communities as most appropriate unit for moral considerations. It is straightforward that Callicott adopted the basic ideas of Aldo Leopold, particularly the integrity of the land. This 'holistic' vision is completed by making room for the Darwin's evolutionary concepts with his claim that the care for the land is a next stage of human evolution (1993, 10) as a speaking and writing being. Eventually he is following David Hume for whom morality is grounded in feelings, not in reasons (1992, 253).

Baird Callicott concluded that collectives such as ecosystems or biotic communities are appropriate objects of value since the human self as continuous with the world suggests that if the self is intrinsically valuable, then the nature must be intrinsically valuable (1989). The word value, however, should be used as verb, not as a noun. Nature and all its non-human participants do not have intrinsic value, but by their function within the ecosystem they obtain an inherent value, for their own sake regardless of any instrumental value for men.

He claimed universality for the world community because the basic concepts of his land ethic are interaction of all participants with the land, extended moral feelings as next stage of evolution and feelings instead of ratio as origin of morality. Due to this argument and the current global environmental crisis Callicott claimed the emergence of a global environmental moral consciousness out of any cultural tradition or particular condition of a special ecosystem. In consequence, land-ethics embody a single global moral concern for all participants of the world despite differences in culture and human needs according to the particular environmental conditions at a particular time.

Furthermore, Callicott's suggested that land ethics has to be developed as a complete ecological metaphysics as discussed by Warwick Fox (1990). Therefore there is need for a renewed metaphysical conception of space and time. However, he did not accomplish his ambitious aim.

2-2 Evanoff's criticism against Callicott's global Land-ethics

Evanoff's criticism against Callicott is focused around his conception of community as independent moral subject and as a measure of autonomy to its constituent parts. In fact Callicott tried to reconcile the so called anthropocentric 'Shallow Ecology'

with the ecocentric 'Deep Ecology', but at what price? Bryan Norton, however, developed his convergence theory with arguments that the unbridgeable chasm between Shallow and Deep is completely rendered irrelevant when policy makers need a device for environmental management. He proposed that deep ecologists must make assumptions about the relative priority claims of unit of life against unit of life. Moreover protecting the long-term human factor needs the protection of the ecologically robust context in which they have evolved (Norton 1991, 240).

Despite both global ethical attempts, Evanoff (2010) suggested that there is no need for Callicott's universal monism or for Norton's convergence hypothesis because both are reductionist and totalizing. Callicott, particularly, focuses exclusive moral value on the land and on community as a whole. He forgets the different ways how humans can legitimately interact with the land and its non-human participants. Callicott does not make room for individual and societal moral choices and responsibilities in their interaction with the land. The latter is considered as a static unit and so he denies the possible evolution of the land by human intervention and by natural processes as well. In defense of Callicott we refer to later writings (1996, 372) where a more dynamic conception of the care for the land appears:

"A thing is right when it tends to disturb the biotic community only at normal spatial and temporal scales. It is wrong when it tends otherwise".

Evanoff (2010) proposed an alternative bioregional perspective based on pragmatic constructivism. The boundary criterion of this constructivism is how successful it enables humans to function in different geographical regions and cultural contexts. Common ground must not be found on the level of moral premises but on agreement about the relationship between humans and nature.

... "Precisely because nature and non-human participants cannot make choices for us and for themselves that we have to engage in reflective dialogue on the courses of action we will take and actively construct ethical norms to guide us in our interaction with natural environment" (2010, 116).

Evanoff wants to embed care for land and environment into the aim for a sustainable society, governed by social justice and wellness for all. He rejects the actual dominant development paradigm because it creates inequality between rich and poor;, it disturbs the carrying capacity of the planet and it denies cultural diversity, biodiversity and the particularity of any ecosystem. Therefore he adopts a trans-actual bioregionalism. This means that any interaction with nature must be the object of human dialectic thinking and be calibrated according to moral standards based on the local and actual efficiency of this action. The final aim consists of enforcing the dynamic integrity and autonomy of the participants of the land. Moreover, the new constructivist approach joins the synchronic space-like relations to diachronic relations of all organism, humans and non-humans.

He calls his model the third alternative to both capitalism and Marxism, and it is opposed to the centralization of decision making power in either the hands of the state and government elites or in the hands of private enterprise and business elites (2010, 193). Furthermore, in the scope of a dialect interaction of the self with the society and environment he adopts again Hegel's conception of *Gemeinschaft* cultures which are based on personal relations and adapt economic structures to the needs of people rather than the *Gesellschaft* culture in which human relations are depersonalized and people are expected to adapt themselves to the needs of the economic system (2010, 193).

In order to realize this transition to a bioregional "World Order" he starts with a personal transformation (2010: chapter 16) based on three initial boundary conditions. First, there must be a change not as the result of a top-down fashion but through a process of inclusive deliberation. Second, there must be a pluralistic way to achieve such symbiotic relations with the local ecosystems. Third, there must be room for a plural strategy for implementing change. The accompanying social transformation can follow many paths as Murphy suggested, but finally he prefers curtailing current levels of production and consumption, and creating sustainable communities at the local level (2008). Concerning political transformations Evanoff makes wide room for Rensenbrink's suggestions that a political task is reserved for the Greens in order to build a more authentic democracy (1992, 1999). Finally, Evanoff adopts a global transformation from power concentration as actually is the case by institutes such as the United Nations, IMF, OESO, at the global level to economical and political dispersion at the local level.(2010, 226-8).

2-3 Our criticism against Evanoff's transactional bioregionalism

As Evanoff suggested, the paradigm's unfortunate motto 'think global, act local is completely useless because it denies humans' and non-humans' tight connection to a particular place and a particular history. In consequence, the diversity of social and cultural organizations according to the environment contributes substantially to the implementation of moral care for the biotic and the abiotic elements of the environment. However, we argue against his claims by epistemological arguments, by anthropological arguments and eventually by social arguments.

He adopts Hegel's idealistic pitfall of dialectic thinking and as a consequence he takes it for granted that every thinking subject is able to separate itself from the object of his intellectual consideration. In consequence, *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* are idealistic concepts and the result of global thinking. Even by adopting Steiner's human ecological triangle most bioregionalists tacitly accept the isolated thinking subject in relation to the concepts of environment and community. The latter is not the valuable community of Baird Callicott that merits our moral considerations but nothing else than the meeting of free deliberating dialectally participants. In fact the environment is nothing else than an open space-time-like container to be filled up with the fruits of modern progress, that means by goods satisfying private wants and needs.

Furthermore, Evanoff's transactional approach takes into account the individual human choices, the individual and common responsibility and the

particularity of space and time. However, moral values evolve from the balances of efficiency of interactions and efficiency can only be calibrated by humans within the scope of cultural and economical standards. What about natural interactions that are not efficient such as the sexual life of species like giant pandas, what about the social behavior of some societies, sanctioned as good within the particular society, but catastrophic for the environment such as the slaughter of the wild bison, the hunt for rhinoceros' horns, the introduction of cattle on Greenland by the first Norwegian immigrants. Moreover, this transactional approach leads to complete moral relativism because why sanction some action as good on a particular place and time while it is rejected in another place and another time. What is the ultimate criterion: the efficiency for a few in this place and time? In that case this bioregional approach produces the same moral inequality as the perfidy dominant development approach. Moreover, thinking according such a criterion is as much totalizing as Callicott's ultimate moral appreciation of land's integrity.

Finally, Evanoff keeps silent about the unavoidable key for any subject to meet the environment and to take care of it, namely the civil society, cornerstone of any citizen responsibility. The fundamental role of the civil society is to integrate the individual in the ethical community by intersubjective interactions (Althusius, 1995). Therefore, the institutional community, the so-called nation, has to invest in the proper immaterial and material infrastructure.

We discern different conceptions represented by Peter Selznick (1992) and Etzioni (1996). According to Selznick the civil society is the first step to civil responsibility and the ethical society. Civil societies encourage the participation of the individual in the ethical public area and they are the go-between in order to conserve and to enlarge the common ethical tradition. The civil society has its own procedures and regulations and acts as a buffer between the total power of the nation and the individuals (Selznick, 1992, p. 517-18).

Furthermore, the civil society provides a moral infrastructure for the individuals and guarantees diversity and differences of nationals within the nation (Etzioni, 1996). The nation isn't the final goal, neither is an ultimate super-society, but it is the instrument to balance the moral participation of the nationals and the national moral requirements.

3. From oikophobia to oikophilia: modified Land-Ethics

3-1 Newtonian conception of Space-Time implies oikophobia

The ideas of oikophobia and oikophilia were already mentioned in a completely different context by Bachelard (1969) and Yi-Fu-Tuan (1974). They called it respectively topophobia and topophilia, places providing safety and places causing fear. Within this continuous reality the external ultimate order is imposed top-down as Newton imposed the absolute beginning of time and space. Rijnvos (1996: 83-84, chapters 2, 3 4.1 and 4.2) emphasized the complete external position of the thinking and moral subject, the environment of any event can be observed from outside,

while neither the event nor the observer is influenced by this act. Subject's position is very similar to the absolute status of the Aristotle's 'Prime Mover' and the whole continuous space and time is top-down filled with naked events. The origin of the latter starts with Modern times in the 17th century by Descartes and has never ended up to now. Indeed, not only the environment is opposed to the thinking subject, subject is opposed to a vague continuous reality as mentioned by Descartes. Particularly continental philosophers as Bergson (1970) and Poincaré (1913) claim a reality that can be completely constructed by the thinking subject while space and time are just transcendental concepts as asserted by Kant, and recently claimed by Allinson (2002: 42).

Education, work, integrity of life and body, autonomy of any walk, culture and creativity are governed by an authority whose legality is based on rational arguments of the Enlightenment, law and moral life submitted to the declaration of rights, timeless and without any connection with the local dos and don'ts. The modern world is like the monotonous world of Swift's Gulliver Travels, wherein all is correctly organized, all looks the same in any place and at any time but it is a boring world of sad men. Swift wrote a sketch of the coming modern world. Piranesi performed the modern world by his famous painting called Carceri, jail, prison. All rooms are similar and painted in the same grey colors. It is impossible to find your way and some parts are just like the imaginary castles and houses you can find in computer games. This 18th century art predicted the architecture and organization of our post-modern global world. Finally it ends into the postmodern world of Lyothard (1983) where everybody cries in the desert, not finding any identity while nobody answers to this cry for recognition, self-identification and moral claims.

In consequence of the enlightened ratio, formal procedures reduce the human subject to procedures represented by ID-Cards, civic service-numbers and bonus cards that refer to the subject's consumption pattern. Moreover, the own identity built up by mother tongue, culture, religion and the homeland is banned to the private sphere because these aspects of life are particular and difficult to manage according to some procedure. Any subject does not become citizen of a village, town or homeland, but an anonymous momentum in a concatenation of administrative procedures. The living space is codified according to quantifiable parameters that measure the wellness, welfare, education level of subjects. No trace of tradition of homeland can be recognized within the management of the modern state.

Subjects get a life codified by Brussels, Beijing, Washington or Moscow. Objects of any walk lose their space-like and time-like connotation and so does any subject. This is what we call oikophobia.

On the other hand, public space and time are morally ordered according to public rules governing all human relations with the environment according to formal procedures. Therefore, the public institutes claim also an extern position of space and time, by idealizing the irreversible order of facts and transforming it to a phenomenon of eternal return of the global progress (Roshwald, 2006). In order to enforce their meta-temporal position public institutes behave as meta-religious

institutes (Smith, 2003) and organize pseudo-religious memorials. Vick (2002) and Zerubavel (2003) consider this external position as a strategy to present the government as the universal and unique common good so that the insignificance of the citizen becomes straightforward.

Social media give you the impression to have contacts all over the world but instead of contact with human beings as real friends, you just meet standardized profiles, consuming the same normalized food in a globalized but virtual world. There is no longer room for diversity, tradition, mother tongue and proper social and economic action because time-like and space-like being is against the universality of the human rights declaration and a source of fear. There is only equality, but only as consumer of the same products and homogeneous cosmopolitan citizenship without cultural and traditional background because of fear for being from a particular place and in a particular time. That is in a nutshell what we call times and places of oikophobia.

3-2 The modified Land-ethics

In the scope of phenomenology Jim Cheney (1989) considers the local space as room for ethical considerations of the postmodern man. The moral subject finds his inspiration for self-understanding and understanding of the environment in bioregionalism. We, however, prefer the term eco-regionalism because we start from the two basic ideas governing Leopold's Land-Ethics: autonomy and integrity of the particular homeland (1949). Furthermore, we endow land ethics, with an alternative metaphysical concept of space and time – as proposed by Callicott - to provide the land with proper moral standards in a way that the land shapes all participants, human as well as non-human. Moreover, we adopt an enlarged phenomenological anthropology and modify classical rational methodology by making room for hermeneutics. Eventually, it is the cornerstone position of the foreigner to give support to the core problem of any deep ecology: "how formulating metaphysical ground in order to attribute moral value to non-human beings and the land." (Verstraeten & Verstraeten, 2014).

3-2-1 The metaphysical conception of space and time

We adopt the Leibnizian conception of space and time, leaving the basic Newtonian conception adopted by the Enlightenment. The latter conception renders any reflexive being the status of observing and judging subject outside a four-dimensional space-time-like container.

The Leibnizian worlds, however, are different worlds, with particular times and places, produced by the participating units, biotic as well as abiotic. The essence of all participants evolves from creation of the space and time as a dynamic system in every particular world. And in consequence this essence is space-time-like. It is out of the question to define human essence outside the particularity of this world since human essence, like other biotic or abiotic units, depends on complete ensemble of any possible spatial and temporal interaction. Above this Leibnizian infrastructure phenomenology of space and time adds the conception of space as authentic place of dwelling, the guarantee for organic unity and

constancy, creating a new reality that exceeds the sum of the parts. Space is the boundary condition of human activity and determines how borders, environmental organization and institutes are sustained (Norberg-Schulz (1980). Moreover Jacobs (1995) and Cheney (1989) put phenomenological claims of identity, self-understanding and ethical care, both constituted by the interrelations of all participants and resulting in a new private trustworthy reality. This is the homeland that owns all participants in their mutual care for integrity.

Intrinsic value is an absolute concept that implies the possibility of a perfect and complete distance between subject and object as formulated by Newton and adopted by the Modern thinkers of the Enlightenment. As the homeland is just one Leibnizian world besides others, it has no intrinsic value, nor do all different forms of participants. In the scope of the Leibnizian world there is no room for the absolute intrinsic being inside or outside the land. Nevertheless it emphasizes the inherent value of the homeland and its participants. The inherent value of the land is generated by its creative power while the inherence of all beings is the consequence of the organic essence of the homeland, as place of self-understanding, security and integrity. Participants are not just instruments for the physical survival of others; they guarantee the identity of others. What is more, the inherence is also implied by the fact that outside the land all participants are reduced to foreigners.

3-2-2 Transpersonal self-identification

Secondly, we adopt Warwick Fox' claim (1990) that self-identification of any individual with the Land exceeds personal identification and will be extended to the particularity of the land and all its participants. While metaphysical roots of the land are based on the Leibnizian space-time, moral concepts of care and values are completely anthropogenic. This implies a moral human subject. Subjectivity, however, is characterized by self-identification as the result of the creative power of the land the subject belongs to. The creative power of the land and the ethical self-understanding of the self-reflective human being are mutually enclosed in what is called ´the homeland´. Moreover, in the scope of Fox' concept of transpersonal self-identification any subject reaches more self-understanding, the more he stands in mutual relationship with his environment, particularly with participants who are able to produce self-reflective behavior. But by discovering his identity as a self-reflective being he is faced with his power over non-reflective beings and landscapes. Care for those non-humans is a question of mastering human power that gives more insight in human propensities to create and to destroy. Morality is balancing between these human powers and the more objects of moral care, the greater insight in human self-understanding and individual identity. Hence, moral care for all participants of the homeland is the highway to self-understanding and individuality. The homeland as the synthesis of participating communities and individuals, however, creates a gauging of the social public area of all communities, while the integrity and autonomy of the homeland is the a priori condition for its function as gauging authority.

3-2-3 Hermeneutics, the way to asymmetric moral relations

Evanoff's dialectic approach looks like a return to an idealistic relation between self-reflexive moral subjects arguing among themselves about the environment instead of acting with the environment.

However, transpersonal self-identification is a reflexive activity which is space-like and time-like. To the contrary, the rational metaphysics of the Enlightenment reduces understanding to a non-spatially situated and timeless activity of the isolated self-consistent subject, though the latter is an ambition that is rather unrealistic. As a consequence, Enlightenment's metaphysical claims are in vain. Indeed, it is totally out of the question for a human to escape from the land without losing his identity and his inherent value. Escaping or preferring the refuge of the splendid isolation of universal observer implies the end of the mutual relations that guarantee the identity and the subjectivity of any participant of the homeland. As the homeland is a rather particular affair, so is the metaphysical status of the self-understanding subject. His metaphysical status depends on the wholeness and integrity of the land that coincides with the reference system that guarantees a subject's metaphysical significance and moral consideration. Contrary to classical understanding, Gadamer's hermeneutic understanding (1975, 1977) has a spatial and a temporal momentum, and it connects tradition to the actual context of homeland's space and time.

The latter involves some consequences for subjects from the tradition of the land, called the foreigners. The foreigner does not make part of the particular land. Besides in case of moral judgments any foreigner can just be metaphysically and morally qualified according to the moral perspective of the particular land. In consequence, prejudice is involved. The prejudice with respect to the foreigner is consequently a first hermeneutical step in order to attribute ontological status to the foreigner, his foreign tradition and his foreign land.

Hermeneutical understanding of the foreigner is recognizing and accepting the existence of the foreigner's tradition and the categorical imperative of the foreigner's status as enrichment of the own transpersonal self-identification. The moral consideration for the foreigner, however, is completely asymmetric since his considerations for the guests starts from his own tradition, his own homeland and his own prejudices. This asymmetry is also present in our moral considerations for non-human biotic units of the homeland and its landscapes. Furthermore, our claims, based on the deep relationship between homeland and subject and the particular position of the foreigner open the way to an enlarged ethical care for non-humans and the land. Care for the homeland evolving from the universal status of the foreigner in his homeland results into a renewed internal and external cross-cultural dialogue.

4. Oikophilia and Ecotopois as Topophilia of the Homeland

The land has to invite the population to develop civil virtue in order to take a common responsibility for the commonwealth. Therefore symbolism is a

cornerstone of any homeland. These space- and time-like phenomena we call ecotopois (Verstraeten & Verstraeten, 2013, 2014). Ecotopois are space-like symbolic witnesses of any homeland. Ecotopois are places where all participants of the land can identify themselves with the land. Ecotopois are mountains, valleys, fields, rivers and artifacts. These landscape elements are not just geographic or geological items but are identified with the interactions of all homeland participants with these phenomena of our planet. Ecotopois can refer to historical facts (Flanders Fields, Hastings, Masada, Wounded Knee) but also places like Monument Valley, The Chinese wall, Foz de Iguasu, Crough Patrick are places embracing citizens of any walk. The Congo river symbolizes the land even like the Amazon, the Fujiyama, and the Sahara do. Ecotopois by their constancy of place enlarge the self-identification. Like any symbol they cannot be substituted by other places or other landscape items. They invite visitors to take care of that place and as any symbol they join all citizens of the homeland. As cornerstone of the homeland ecotopois form part of a homeland's tradition.

In case of artifacts ecotopois are no memorials, because the latter remember the heroic facts of history. The mentioned ecotopois do not refer to a particular time or a particular event; they are for all times, for all seasons. Monuments inspired by nationalism refer to particular battles or particular heroes. Annual celebrations around those memorials create an eternal actuality because the nationalism needs a timeless atmosphere for its own legitimating. However, ecotopois are renewed at any time by attributing new meanings to them according to the actual state of the participants of the land. Ecotopois are not referring to a national state but to the actual way of life of the community. This meaning is not a nationalistic petrified relict that needs a mythical civil and religious admiration by people in formal uniforms. Ecotopois refer exclusively to a territory, but they do not claim the monopoly of these territories. For example, Irish from all over the world come to Crough Patrick. It does not matter if they are catholic or protestant. It does not matter if they have an American, Australian, British or Irish passport, it is the ecotopois of all Irish and when they are climbing up to the top all climbers belong to the Irish land at least at that moment. Monument Valley became the ecotopois of all Americans but also all people who choose for a new future in their new land. It does not refer to a particular fact; it refers to all former and actual brave citizens. On the contrary, the Lincoln Memorial refers just to the civil war. While camps of Dachau and Auschwitz refer to the industrial way of genocide, Masada, however, is the real ecotopois for the land of Israel.

What is the place of the ecotopois in the public area? In both places individuals behave according to public decencies. Ecotopois enforce the communitarian feelings, while any citizen dwells in the public space as an individual. Even in institutional public places like the court or the post office and the city hall a citizen behaves according to a local code for the individual citizen. Ecotopois invite the individual to join the land and even to join the community of non-human beings like animals and the characteristic trees of the land. The latter does not have to symbolize freedom like the lime trees of French marketplaces that refer to the revolutionary acquirements, ecotopois-trees on the contrary transform the land in a

common land of all participants, humans as well as non-humans.

5. The cross-cultural dialogue

From the ethical care for the homeland's particular landscape – natural and artificial – with all organisms – natives and foreigners – an internal cross-cultural dialogue starts between inhabitants of different cultural traditions. This will be the unavoidable step to enforce a sustainable, secure and flourishing homeland. The above three steps, introduced to modify Leopold's Land-Ethics, are three times support for cross-cultural dialogue, accounting for care for all biotic life and the a-biotic environment of the homeland. In particular, hermeneutics and the central role of the foreigner for man's self-identification make room for narrative traditions in spite of Enlightenment's dialectical thesis-antithesis attempts, often prototype of the cross-cultural discourse. In addition, the Leibnizian space-time transforms the Newtonian globalized despotic relation between mankind and nature into a homeland of mutual participation.

We need, however, irrevocable convergence of initial and boundary conditions within the homeland with respect to three fundamental a priori questions:

1) Who belongs to the homeland in order to enforce the sustainability?
2) How can we feel safe and how secure is the homeland?
3) What is the future of the homeland?

Unfortunately mutual hermeneutical understanding is not always straightforward. Mythical understanding e.g. can be hermeneutically understood by one land and its moral subjects, but it cannot understand the reality from without because outside the circular mythical understanding nothing else can exist. Though this kind of prejudice cannot converge to any other way of hermeneutical understanding at first glance, the myth of Noah's Ark involves three universal and eternal anthropological claims: the Ark is our new sustainable homeland, the Ark is our secure place, our new hope is at the horizon. Noah's Ark symbolizes the good place and time and involves stability in order to create the appropriate political institutions that are a necessity to establish the homeland. It gives the basic coherence of the community of which the participant of any cultural, religious or political walk has to identify himself in order to create oikophilia instead of the actual alienating oikophobia produced by the actual world order while the open horizon produces a common future for all biotic and abiotic participants. Nevertheless in the case that a particular land petrifies its tradition in eternal unchangeable institutes and reduces time to the ideology of the eternal and every time and everywhere returns actuality embedded in a national ideology, hermeneutical convergence is not possible. In that case the ethical claims are reduced to formal procedures or protocols in order to organize mutual contacts without a real cross-cultural and cross-religious dialogue.

'Noah's Ark': a cross-cultural and cross-religious pedagogical project for primary school children in Flanders

he aim is to awake moral considerations for all biotic and a-biotic participants of the land and to start cross-cultural as well as cross-religious dialogue. Instead of situating these three steps in the scope of Newtonian *dialectical* thinking of thesis and antithesis, we introduce the self-identification of the respective particular religion or ideological tradition in order to actualize the self in a cross-cultural world. The latter is symbolized by Noah's ark, containing Noah's family and a pair of all animal species.

Who is going on board?
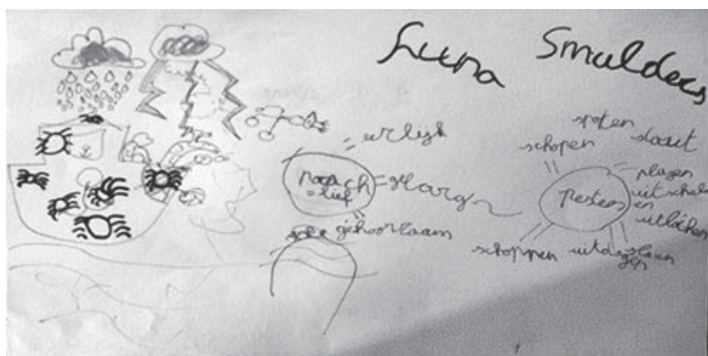
The children (7-8 years) decided which species are allowed in the ark. Besides cats, dogs, horses, cattle and all exotic big animals from the zoo, it was remarkable that also less sympathetic animals like spiders, snakes, bees were allowed to the ark, as well as pigs, though these animals are not clean according to some traditions.

Noah's Ark as place of security

The children expressed by drafts their feelings about the ark when rain was falling and the rising sea was flowing over the land. Unlike the bad weather, thunder and lightning, the children considered the ark as a safe place for all biotic life.

Horizon of Hope
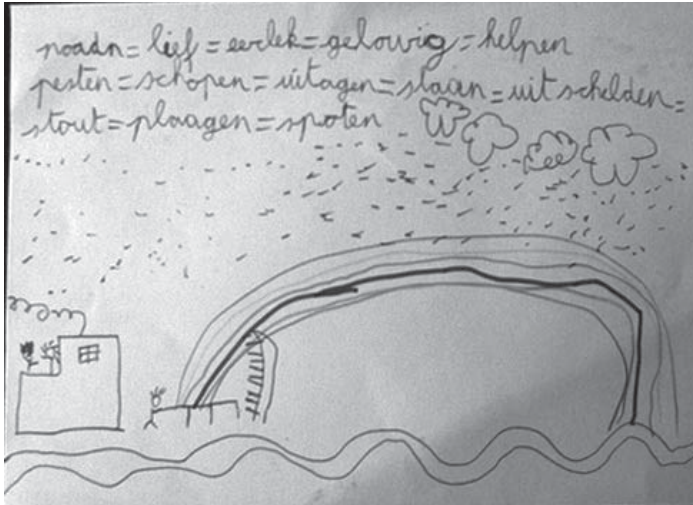
The third step consists in organizing everyday life while visualizing their stay in the ark. The children discovered themselves beyond their tradition, and found themselves connected to human and non-human life and the landscape. Finally all children exchanged thoughts, feelings and impressions. This results into new attitudes, towards all participants of the planet.

Conclusions

We conclude that the metaphysical ground of land ethics based on the Leibnizian conception of space and time, the anthropological option of transpersonal self-identification and the methodological adoption of hermeneutics makes room for ethical concern for biotic and abiotic participants of the local homeland. Moreover, this global modified Land-Ethics imply concepts like freedom, responsibility and anthropological needs, such as security and the flourishing feelings of belonging to a cozy and sustainable place at particular places an times. Cross-cultural dialogue actualizes different traditions here and now by hermeneutical mutual understanding of all participants of 'Noah's Ark'.

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Relation among the Children's Value of the Self-employed Father, Father's Nurturing Behaviors, and Adolescent's Academic Achievement: Focusing on the Family of Self-employed of Shanxi Province in China

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1. Background and object of study

Under the slogan "let some people get rich first" proposed by Den Xiaoping since the Chinese economic reform, the occupational class that became rich first seems to be a self-employed business. According to the survey results on self-employed workers in Tianjin, the capital and economic income of self-employed workers are rapidly growing in the same way as private entrepreneurs, while psychological distortion is observed in self-image. In other words, the standard of living improved in the case of self-employed workers in comparison with the other classes and they economically have middle-class awareness; however it was pointed out that they are not given opportunities to equally compete with others, leaving the root of social inequity in terms of "income," "occupation," "academic background," "region," "hometown," etc. (Sonoda 2001). On the other hand, the process of "father's income

investment into education   child's income" was pointed out in the case of the economically rich class according to the review on transmission between the father-child generation (Guo and Min 2007). However, it seems like fathers' involvement in children in the setting of home education has not been fully reviewed yet in the case of self-employed businesses.

This focuses on families with self-employed businesses, and "Shanxi merchants" (merchants in the Shanxi Province) are discussed as a case example. First of all, the origin and historical changes of "Shanxi merchants" are traced. The idea to "value agriculture and undervalue commerce" was rooted in traditional Chinese society. The economy of the Shanxi Province is characterized by agriculture as the pillar of the local economy along with commercial prosperity at the same time, and its surge as "Shanxi merchants is renowned nationwide. The "exchange shop" (predecessor of a bank) has been particularly active since Min and Ching dynasties and a shop called "Ri Sheng Chang" has expanded on a large scale throughout the country. 14 branches were established at various locations including Beijing, with business affiliations with the U.S. and other overseas countries (Li 2009). After the Xinhai Revolution in 1911, many "Shanxi merchants" within the country went bankrupt or are barely surviving, except "Shanxi merchants" who moved to overseas due to social confusion after the Xinhai Revolution as well as wars that lasted for years (Li 2009). "Shanxi merchants" are referred to as "rich people of 100 years ago" (Zhang 2002), and still have a strong influence on the financial history of China to date. The "exchange shop" was also positioned as the

"grandfather in the countryside" for the modern financial mechanism (Li 2009). This could be essentially considered as the ending of a historical mission of Shanxi merchants. Nevertheless, the spirit remains to boast the name of and succeed the pride of "Shanxi merchants" who were comparable to Zhejiang merchants and praised for their respect to "righteousness." The yellow land still has a climate to desire a self-employed business as an occupation to be proud of. The People's Republic of China was founded in 1949. The socialist state began being built in order to restore the national economy that was in a catastrophic situation after wars that lasted for years prior to foundation of the nation. Many national corporations were incorporated in accordance with a planned socialist economy from the 1950s to 1978. A political campaign to "cut the tails of proprietary classes" was rolled out from 1966 to 1969, which greatly damaged successors of Shanxi merchants once again who had barely been surviving until then. After basking in the "spring breeze" of economic reform after 1978, commerce revived and prospered again. An opportunity of great success came up once again for Shanxi merchants through many twists and turns.

This study focuses on the nurturing behavior of self-employed fathers in the Shanxi Province for the purpose of clarifying two points: (1) whether or not there are differences in nurturing behavior of self-employed fathers depending on income, and (2) how nurturing behavior of self-employed parents influences the accomplishment of children's education. Hypotheses are established in the next chapter by comparing the results of previous studies in Western Europe, Japan and China.

2. Previous studies and hypotheses

2-1 Previous studies

Social class and parents' nurturing behavior

According to studies in Western Europe, families in a low social class rarely have relatives who experienced higher education and have less information on college; therefore children are under a disadvantageous cultural environment (McDonough 1997). Parents in a high social class are not only active in performing what is requested by the school but also in engaging in children's education in terms of nurturing behavior within the family. On the other hand, parents in a low social class only perform what school requests, not more than that (Oakes and Wells 2004). According to the study by Kataoka (1987) that indicated the relationship between social class and nurturing behavior, Japanese parents in a high social class emphasize on social order and "being polite," (Kataoka 1987:47) and getting along with external authorities. At the same time, they actively take actions to adapt to society and put a strong expectation on children as well. On the other hand, as parents in a low social class emphasizes on "fairness in family roles and within a family" (Kataoka 1987:47), there is a "tendency to emphasize on defensive socialization about performing roles in a private 'setting' called a family as well

as personal acts in the case of a low social class (Kataoka 1987:47). Furthermore, parents in a low social class put relatively less expectations on children. Thus, it was concluded that a high social class emphasizes the formation of a social self while a low social class emphasizes the formation of a private self.

Preparatory schools in China are categorized into key high schools and general high schools, and superior teachers and educational facilities are gathered at key high schools, while educational resources are relatively poor for general high schools. According to the survey results in the Shandong Province, parents in a high social class desire to send their children to key high schools by using money and personal connections in order to have their children achieve good grades, clarifying the mechanism through school education to reproduce academic performance (Zhang 2010). Although studies on the influence of parents' social class to children's performance were conducted, only a few studies have been accumulated on what kind of nurturing behavior of parents within a household influences children's performance. Thus, it is necessary to conduct an empirical study.

Academic performance and self-esteem
Educational accomplishment in this study means academic performance. In addition to academic performance, feelings of self-esteem are also addressed as an index of psychological development. In Western Europe, people with high self-esteem generally tend to attribute successful experiences to an internal factor and failure experiences to an external factor (Bradley 1978). In Japan, there is also a positive correlation between self-esteem and children's performance (Iwasaki 1999). The same directionality was also observed in China (Dong 1988). Children's efforts to studies are promoted by expectation to high academic performance based on various life/learning experiences as well as on the nurturing attitude of guardians. The feeling of self-esteem is further promoted by accomplishing good grades (Dong 1988). Based on these study results, academic performance is assumed to be high when the feeling of self-esteem is high.

Parents' nurturing behavior and children's educational accomplishment
In Western Europe, children's educational accomplishment is low when parents are extremely strict or negligent in their nurturing behavior (Taris and Bok 1996). Children with authoritative parents also have high autonomy to respond to parents' clear and high demands. It means that when the monitoring level of parents is high with much support to emotional growth of children as well as with involvement in their lives, children acquire more autonomy and perform better with their grades (Lam 1997). In Japan, adolescent children have high self-esteem when mothers' emotional support increases, while in the case of relationship between parents' involvement in studying and feeling of self-esteem, it has been reported that the influence of parents' emotional support to children's self-esteem decreases when there is more involvement in studying (Suemori 2000). In China, more support to children's emotions from fathers and mothers leads to children's high academic performance, while more nurturing behavior including strict control and excessive

intervention brings low educational accomplishments by children (Li et al. 2000). It is assumed in this study that academic performance by adolescent children increases when supportive nurturing behavior increases.

Parents' nurturing behavior and children's feeling of self-esteem

Parents' nurturing behavior has been reviewed by categorizing it into a control act and a support act in Western Europe (Holmbeck et al. 1995). In regards to control act to children, they tend to recognize rules stipulated by parents and take actions to obey parents when parents take proper control act (Maccoby and Martin 1983). If parents' democratic nurturing and emotional support is more frequent in their support act, children's self-esteem increases (Holmbeck et al. 1995). In Japan, fathers' control act increases the psychological distress of middle school students (Ishikawa 2003), while in rural areas of China, direct and clear control act of fathers leads to improved self-esteem for adolescent children (Liu 2010). In this study, self-esteem of adolescent children is expected to increase with much supportive nurturing behavior.

Parents' nurturing behavior and marital relationship

According to studies in Western Europe, mothers get involved with children more often despite poor marital relationships, leading to a good influence on children (Engfer 1988). On the other hand, there is also a "spillover hypothesis" that believes distortion to be caused in nurturing behavior when there are conflicts between a married couple. It is supposed that frequent fights between a married couple drive them to take indifferent and negative nurturing behavior to children (Krishnakumar and Buehler 2000). According to previous studies in Japan, discord in marital relationship results in decrease of warm nurturing behavior to children and increase of strict and non-receptive nurturing behavior (Horiguchi 2006). On the other hand, Takahashi (1998) reported that fathers' participation in parental care stipulates well-being of marital relationship, and that fathers' involvement in children increases wives' satisfaction with marital relationship and further gives a good influence on mental health of adolescent children. It is believed in China that the adjustment process between a married couple upon conflict occurrence influences on children's adaptation to society, i.e., frequent conversation between a married couple for communication to solve problems positively influences mental health of adolescent children (Pu et al. 2012). Based on Takahashi's conclusion (1998), this paper uses a hypothesis that fathers' nurturing behavior influences the marital relationship and mothers' nurturing behavior, leading to increase in children's self-esteem.

Parents' value of children and their nurturing behavior

As a result of international comparison among four countries including the U.S., Japan, England and Korea in regards to values of children, 70% answered that they raise children because "it is fun" in Western Europe, especially in England. In Japan, on the other hand, 60% considers that it is for "parents' growth as human beings" (General Administrative Agency of the Cabinet 1982). In the case of China, Chinese Academy of Social Studies, Institute of Sociology, Marriage and Family

Section (1994) pointed out strong traditional awareness that people in a large city bear and raise children mainly for emotional satisfaction and realization of the parents' dream, while people in a rural area raise sons to maintain family genealogy as well as for their old age. This paper assumes that supportive nurturing behavior is often taken when fathers put values on their own parental care.

Children's gender and parents' nurturing behavior

Regarding gender difference, more than three fourths of subjects acknowledge gender difference in parenting according to international comparison although countries including the U.S., West Germany, etc. are below Japan (General Administrative Agency of the Cabinet 1982). Mothers' nurturing in Japan promotes girls' independence in daily living, so that girls can do things on their own; however expectation to children remains the same despite different ideas on parenting by gender (Iino et al. 1988). In China, boys succeed family genealogy and are fathers' heirs, and it seems that there is a tendency to consider a boy as a person who performs important family roles in the future, rather than one individual. On the other hand, girls are considered to be costly to raise. This is because girls will have to leave home as brides when they grow up, unlike sons (Lynn 1978=1981). Characteristics of rural areas in the northern region include strong traditional awareness of raising boys to maintain family genealogy and for one's old age, as well as high expectation to boys for continuation of genealogy (Liu 2011). A hypothesis that fathers take more nurturing behavior to boys is formed and verified in this study.

2-2 Hypotheses and schematic diagram

Main hypotheses are indicated in accordance with these previous studies.

> Hypothesis 1: Children with higher self-esteem get higher scores in their academic performance.
> Hypothesis 2: More involvement in children by fathers increases wives' satisfaction with marital relationship, and more involvement in children by mothers increases children's feeling of self-esteem.
> Hypothesis 3: Self-employed fathers with higher income take more supportive nurturing behavior to children leading to higher scores in children's academic performance.
> Hypothesis 4: Fathers who put more values on fathers' parental care take more nurturing behavior leading to higher scores in children's academic performance.
> Hypothesis 5: Fathers take more nurturing behavior to boys.

3. Method

3-1 Study method

A questionnaire survey was conducted in a small city in A Prefecture, Shanxi

Province, China, in September 2009, and in B City where government agencies are located in September 2010, respectively, in order to consider disparities between the rural area and urban area. Samples were extracted from public high schools in A Prefecture and B City (two key schools and two general schools, respectively) by using judgment sampling. Subjects included second-year students of those days as well as their fathers and mothers. A group survey was conducted at school to high school students and survey forms were distributed to guardians through high school students. Each form was distributed and collected in a special envelope for privacy protection. 900 sets were distributed to children, fathers and mothers, and 746 sets were collected. The collection rate of matching data with three parties including parents and children was 74.8%.

3-2 Attributes of subjects

First of all, fathers' academic background in the rural area consists of 13.1% with elementary school graduates or less, 51.4% with middle school graduates, 23.5% with high school graduates, and 12% with college (three and four years) and graduate school graduates. In the case of the urban area, on the other hand, 34.6% is comprised of college (three and four years) and graduate school graduates, occupying a high proportion. The dissemination rate of compulsory education in the Shanxi Province was the highest in the central district of China in 2009 (National Bureau of Statistics of the People's Republic of China 2009), while it was clarified that fathers' academic backgrounds in urban areas is higher than the rural area. As for fathers' annual income in the rural area, 24.7% earns less than 5, 000 yuan (approx. 76, 000 yen), 36.4% earns 5, 000 yuan (approx. 76, 000 yen) to less than 10, 000 yuan (approx. 152, 000 yen), 37.3% earns 10, 000 yuan (approx. 152, 000 yen) to less than 50, 000 yuan (approx. 760, 000 yen), and only 1.6% earns 50, 000 yuan (approx. 760, 000 yen) or more. In the urban area, on the other hand, 10.1% earns less than 5, 000 yuan (approx. 76, 000 yen), 15.7% earns 5, 000 yuan (approx. 76, 000 yen) to less than 10, 000 yuan (approx. 152, 000 yen), 57.9% earns 10, 000 yuan (approx. 152, 000 yen) to less than 50, 000 yuan (approx. 760, 000 yen), and 16.3% earns 50, 000 yuan (approx. 760, 000 yen) or more. In comparison with the average household income of 13, 119 yuan (approx. 200, 000 yen) per person for the residents in urban areas of Shanxi Province (National Bureau of Statistics of the People's Republic of China 2009), the annual income for the subjects of this study in the urban area was found to be slightly higher than the average for the whole province. It was also clarified that the income in the rural area is lower than the urban area.

3-3 Variables used for analysis

Academic performance

Academic performance is based on the academic record as of the time of moving up to the second year of high school. The academic record means the results of standardized testing in the Province. High school students completed their academic record for language art, math and English upon obtaining consent. Higher

scores mean that the academic performance is excellent.

Children's self-esteem
A self-esteem scale was prepared by using scales including diligence, self-distrust, feeling of acceptance and self-expression by Harada et al. (1995) and also in reference to results obtained from the preliminary survey. Answers were requested from high school students with four steps from "applicable (4 points)" to "not applicable (1 point)" to each question on children's self-esteem. This scale was measured with 10 items including "I research on my own until I understand, if I have questions," "I am confident with my performance at school," "I would make my best efforts when I face difficulties," "my parents understand my feelings," "I am very happy," "I play a leadership role by collecting people's opinions, etc.," "I can say my opinions in front of everyone," "I am good at entertaining people around me," "my teachers like me," and "my friends like me" (α=0.70). Higher scores for each item mean that the child has higher self-esteem.

Fathers' nurturing behavior
In reference to the scale of Hombeck et al. (1995), fathers were requested to answer 23 items by adding involvement in and instruction to children's living to strict control, persuasive control, monitoring, emotional support, and democratic nurturing with four steps including "frequent (4 points)," "sometimes (3 points)," "rarely (2 points)" and "not at all (1 point)." As a result of analysis with the major factor method that uses promax rotation, six factors were extracted, excluding three items with small numbers. The first factor consists of five items: "I always gently interact with my child," "I encourage my child," "I let my child make decisions on his/her own," "I listen to my child," and "I listen my child's opinion when my opinion is different from my child's," which are categorized into "emotional support and nurturing" (α=0.72). The second factor represents involvement in children's living that consists of four items: "I clean up my child's room," "I wash my child's clothes," "I prepare meals for my child," and "I wake up my child, so he/she will not be late for school," which are categorized into "involvement in child's daily life" (α=0.71). The third factor consists of three items that indicate observation of children's relationship with friends and life attitude: "I ask my child about school life," "I ask my child about his/her friends," and "I observe my child's expression and behavior," which are categorized into "monitoring in child's daily life" (α=0.72). The fourth factor uses two items that represent instruction to living: "I often tell my child to 'clean up his/her room'" and "I often tell my child to 'wash his/her clothes,'" which are categorized into "instructions in child's daily life" (Cronbach's α could not be measured with two items). The fifth factor represents democratic nurturing of children that consists of three items: "I explain the reason when my child asks me 'why,'" "when I scold my child, I give advice by telling him/her what I think," and "when I talk with my child, I clearly explain my ideas," which are categorized into "interact in a democratic way" (α=0.61). The sixth factor represents fathers' strict discipline of children that consists of three items: "I strictly scold my child so he/she has good manners," "I keep saying the same thing until my child

obeys what I say," and "I nag my child with anything," which are categorized into "control in a strict way" (α=0.610).

Quality of marital relationship

In reference to Suemori (2008), quality of marital relationship was divided into two parts: marital relationship satisfaction and marital conflict. Mothers were asked to answer questions about their amount of satisfaction in their current marital relationship based on the three items: "involvement with housework"; "involvement with children"; and "overall marriage", on scale from 1 (I agree (4 points)) to 4 (I do not agree (1 point)) (α=0.67). On marital conflict, mothers were asked how often they argue about their children over the following four items: "discipline"; "grades"; "future"; and "daily life" from 1 (Everyday (4 points)) to 4 (Never (1 point)) (α=0.87).

Children's value

Referring to a scale established by the Management and Coordination Agency (1987), fathers were asked to answer ten items, and the five highest-ranking items selected by the principal factor method were used for analysis. The five items were "I am raising an heir to pass down my vision to", "I need my child to be a worker for the family", "My child will take care of me when I am old", "I had a child to carry on the family name", and "My child strengthens the bond within the family", and was named "attitude toward family continuity" (hereon referred to as "attitude toward family continuity"). Fathers answered these questions on a scale of 1 (I agree (4 points)) to 4 (I do not agree (1 point)) (α=0.74）.

Gender ideology

Fathers were asked the following items on a scale of 1 (I agree (4 points)) to 4 (I do not agree (1 point)); "Men should work and women should be devoted to household chores and raising children"; "Household chores are a women's job, so men don't have to help"; and "Men should also do household chores" (α=0.70).

3-4 Analysis method

In this section, we will discuss the descriptive statistics and correlations for each variable and the result of analysis using path model in AMOS based on a conceptual model. Missing values due to the lack of responses concerning gender, the number of siblings, the fathers' age, and the father-son residence distance were excluded, and missing values of other variables were replaced with the mean value, resulting in 119 sets of participants (357 fathers, mothers and children) for analysis.

4. Results

4-1 Descriptive Statistics

Results of descriptive statistics with variables used for analysis are indicated in Table 1. Academic background of self-employed fathers was not high in general, and a majority answered with "middle school graduates." The value of children

considered by fathers was 11.32 on average (range 5~20), indicating that father's awareness to bequeath a house to a child is at a medium level, not strong, even with the high standard deviation. A fathers' view on gender roles tends to be relatively conservative.

4-2 Correlation analysis

Results of correlation analysis are indicated in Table 2. The total score of a child's academic performance is positively correlated with self-esteem, i.e., results indicated that good academic performance leads to high self-esteem, while high self-esteem leads to good academic performance. Self-esteem was also positively correlated with father's emotional support, father's democratic nurturing, mother's emotional support, mother's monitoring, mother's democratic nurturing and satisfaction with marital relationship. Child's self-esteem tends to be high with more emotional support from a father as well as more democratic nurturing of a father.

4-3 Path analysis

Results of path analysis are indicated in Figure 2. Indices indicating consistency of the model include χ^2 (88)=196.624, GFI=.926, AGFI=.888, and RMSEA=.46; therefore, conformity between this model and data seems to be appropriate. It was indicated as a result of analysis that more emotional support of a father leads to a child's higher self-esteem and better performance, supporting hypothesis 1. It was also indicated that father's emotional support is effective in order to increase a child's self-esteem and academic performance. Characteristically, fathers with a wider social network and more income relate to more democratic nurturing of children, supporting hypothesis 3. Furthermore, each factor of a father's nurturing behavior influences each factor of a mother's nurturing behavior. Regarding the influence of a father's nurturing behavior to marital relationship, more involvement in a child's development by a father reduces conflicts between a married couple; however more instruction to and strict control of child's development by a father increases conflicts between a married couple. Significant results were not obtained in the influence of marital conflicts to mother's nurturing behavior; however a high satisfaction level between a married couple increases mother's emotional support; therefore hypothesis 2 is supported. A higher value of parental care considered by a father increases a father's involvement in a child's development and strict control, supporting hypothesis 4. A father monitors a child more in the household where a wife is a homemaker. Emotional support to a child, involvement in development, monitoring, and democratic nurturing increases in the case of a father with a liberal view on gender role. Father's monitoring and democratic nurturing increases in the case of boys rather than girls. Therefore, hypothesis 5 is supported.

5. Conclusion and discussion

According to the results obtained from the survey in this study, the proportion

of self-employed parents was extremely high, clarifying approximately one self-employed worker out of five people. The high proportion of self-employed workers in comparison with other regions as indicated here is considered as a phenomenon succeeding the historical flow in the Shanxi Province. The pride to remain as successors of "Shanxi merchants" that was passed down in this region seems to be strongly rooted.

In the case of self-employed families, a father also tends to democratically raise children when he has higher income with a wider social network. For example, when a child asks "why?", the father is able to explain the reason, and also rightly gives advice by telling why he thinks so when he scold his child. Self-employed parents keep proper communication with children in mind, including emotional support, etc. for their children. For this reason, the educational awareness of self-employed parents is considered to be high.

This study clarified that fathers in the Shanxi Province have a strong idea to maintain self-employed families. What is the reason? In other words, why do self-employed workers in the Shanxi Province try to raise successors? When large-size national corporations are being privatized and foreign companies intensify their offensive, it would be extremely difficult for individual self-employed workers to maintain economic activities to compete aginst them. Why do they still try to raise successors to inherit the household under such difficult circumstances? First of all, it is not easy to "catch a weasel asleep," i.e., to raise successors who can survive the fast-moving law of the jungle. Emotional support to children's academic performance is only effective in the case of self-employed fathers, probably because it reflects the ardency of fathers who fight on the commercial forefront and struggle to survive every day. Children look at the back of such fathers and accept their ardency in performing daily business activities; therefore children seem to devote themselves in studies to follow them. Furthermore, with the benefit of high income from self-employed businesses, the economic capital is converted into investment into education by sending children to key high schools so that they can receive a good education.

Self-employed fathers also have a strong idea of boys' survival and awareness to education, but what is the cause? In other words, why do boys have to be successors? There are almost no self-employed workers who try to let girls take over their family business even though children's inheritance rights are equal between males and females under the law. According to the results obtained from the nationwide survey, parents spend more money on boys' education (Zhang 2004). Parents' attitude to totally support boys' education is observed; however educational expenses for girls are low. 9-year compulsory education from elementary school to middle school has been thoroughly disseminated since 1990, and there are fewer cases to select child's gender due to implementation of the one-child policy. Thus, boys' dominance in education has been less obvious, but why does boys' education remain emphasized? There seem to be two reasons. First is the traditional idea that girls will be owned by someone else some day, as imagined in the expression "a grown-up girl is like spilled water." When a family is considered as a unit, on the other hand, there is no return on investment

into girls which is wasteful, and parents still have strong traditional awareness to "raise boys for their old age." Second, supposing a girl becomes a successor, she will also succeed father's family business and become a female entrepreneur. In Chinese society, however, difficulties are expected for a female entrepreneur who bears corporate responsibility. Because of this serious responsibility carried by this female entrepreneur, a father who fully understands this situation through reality experiences would prioritize other methods over raising a daughter as a successor. Therefore, before head-on confrontation with a difficult problem called women's social advancement, response according to traditional ideology by making a son a successor might be a kind of strategy based on severe reality. An unexpected possibility involving the one-child policy emerges at this point. In other words, there is no choice but to leave inheritance to a girl if parents can actually have just "one child," however they desire a boy to be the successor. Whatever difficulties are awaiting, some parents may try to raise girls to be female successors. This hopefully promotes women's social advancement making a great opportunity to realize substantial gender equality.

6. Limitation and future tasks

First of all, the survey in this study was conducted in the Shanxi Province and samples were extracted and analyzed in the rural area and urban area (suburban city) of the Shanxi Province, respectively. One of the limitations is that this study is limited to the Shanxi Province, while disparities between the rural area and urban area in collected data are taken into consideration. Second, matching data of three parties including a father, a mother and a child was used in this study; however analysis is limited to families with a father and mother. As explained in the above, this study intends to clarify how nurturing behavior of fathers and mothers influences children's academic performance; therefore families with single parents were excluded from this analysis. It will be necessary to work on studies targeting single mothers and single fathers as a future task.

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