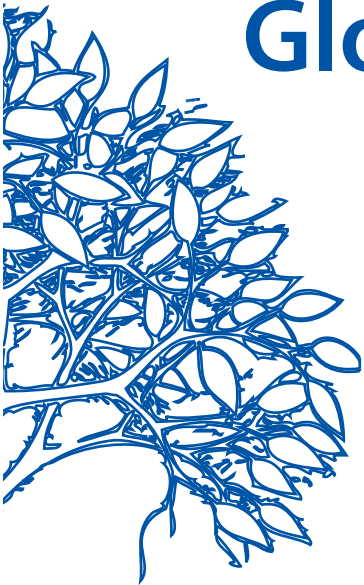# Asian-Arab Philosophical Dialogues on Globalization, Democracy and Human Rights

# Asian-Arab Philosophical Dialogues on Globalization, Democracy and Human Rights

**Editors: Darryl R.J. Macer and Souria Saad-Zoy**

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# PREFACE

Globalization affects us all across the planet. In this volume philosophers from across the Arab and Asia-Pacific world consider issues including globalization, democracy and human rights. Dialogue is essential for developing a better understanding of not only others, but even ourselves. Dialogue is an exchange between different peoples, communities, and entities. The papers in this volume are written by individuals expressing their own opinions at conferences convened in the context of dialogues between philosophers in the Asia-Pacific and Arab regions. Their publication is aimed to broaden intercultural communication, to strengthen the role of philosophy in public policy, and to promote the teaching of non-Western philosophies around the world.
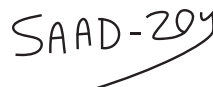
These dialogues have been held over the past five years in Seoul, Rabat, Hiroshima, Paris, and Bangkok. These dialogues occurred with the coordination of the Regional Unit for Social and Human Sciences in Asia and the Pacific (RUSHSAP) at UNESCO Bangkok, UNESCO Rabat, and UNESCO Paris, and the efforts of academics throughout the world. The Interregional Philosophical Dialogue project was born from a resurgence of interest in and a strengthening of philosophy within UNESCO, supported by member countries. As people in many countries of the world express dismay at the directions that their society is pursuing some are reminded of the former important roles of philosophers as navigators of the courses that societies should take.

There have been five working groups established in the Asia-Arab Interregional Philosophical Dialogues, including: 1. Challenges of globalization to philosophy and democracy; 2. Philosophy facing the challenges of modern technology; 3. The roles of philosophy in war and peace; 4. Human dignity and philosophy; 5. Philosophy and environmental ethics.

In this volume we especially thank the assistance of Ms. Raine Boonlong, Mr. Jonathan Kougl, Mr. Leonard Leblanc and Mr. Dieter Schlenker in the preparation of the edited volume.


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# Beyond Minimal Democracy:
# Voices From East and West

*Fred Dallmayr, USA*

Heraclitus notwithstanding, history is not just random flux. Apart from its great or memorable events, every historical period also pays tribute to certain guideposts or guiding ideas—what skeptics call its "idola fori" or idols of the market place. Looking at our contemporary age, it is not difficult to pinpoint a guiding, and probably the guiding idea endorsed almost universally by people around the world: that of "liberal democracy". Although originating in Western societies, the idea today is circulating as an orienting loadstar among people in Africa, the Middle East as well as South and East Asia. As can readily be seen, the guidepost is actually a composite phrase combining the two terms "liberal" and "democracy". Yet, despite the possibility of differentiation, the two terms in recent times have been basically conflated or amalgamated—with the result that, in the view of both ordinary people and leading intellectuals, the "democratic" component has become redundant or been absorbed without a rest in the dominant "liberal" idea. This conflation is particularly evident in, and traceable to, modern economics (with its own idols of the "market"). In large measure, the ongoing process of globalization is fueled by the idea of "neo-liberalism"—a version of the liberal tradition which insists on "down-sizing" political (including democratic) oversight for the sake of promoting individual or corporate "free enterprise".

This preponderance of liberal or neo-liberal agendas is by no means fortuitous. Taking a broad view, the entire trajectory of modern Western history can be seen as a movement of progressive human liberation, above all liberation from clerical and autocratic modes of control. This trajectory was present already in the work of Thomas Hobbes, in his rupture with classical and medieval conceptions of community. The movement was carried forward by John Locke with his accent on the persistence of "natural rights" —especially the right to equal liberty—in the confines of an established commonwealth. The latter emphasis was deepened and fleshed out by later liberal thinkers, like John Stuart Mill and Benjamin Constant—whose arguments in favor of minimal government (laissez-faire) were by then powerfully buttressed by the rise of capitalism and modern market economics. Small wonder that, in view of this long-standing trajectory, individual freedom became at last a catchword or shibboleth. As we know, the Western world calls itself, somewhat boastfully, the "Free World", while America celebrates itself as the "land of the free". As a corollary of this development, democracy as a political regime has come to be equated with an arena of free individual choice—that is, with liberal or libertarian democracy. But how plausible is this outcome? Has freedom in the modern world completely replaced such traditional categories as virtue and the "good life"—with the result that Aristotle's distinction between just and unjust regimes would be leveled into that between free and unfree forms of life?

In the following I want to pursue this line of thought. In a first step, I shall briefly recapitulate arguments (mentioned in the opening above) favoring liberal democracy in the sense of a minimal or minimalist democracy. Subsequently I want to examine efforts to correct this liberal conception, turning first to the South Asian and next to the East Asian context. By way of conclusion I shall review again the relation between liberalism and democracy, invoking chiefly arguments of such American thinkers as Walter Lippmann and John Dewey.

## Minimal Liberal Democracy

As previously indicated, liberalism has a long history in the course of which it has assumed many different shapes and shadings. During the early period, the time of Hobbes and Locke, liberalism—in the sense of the defense of "natural" individual rights—served precariously as an adjunct or supplement to monarchical and even absolutist regimes. In the post-revolutionary era, liberalism became affiliated with various republican or democratic regimes—but in such a manner that the latter would progressively be trumped by the former (a development in which, as stated, the rise of capitalism played a major role). In the opinion of nineteenth-century liberals, the role of government—including democratic

government—was meant to be minimal: seen chiefly as protectors of private property, political regimes were said to govern best when governing least. The dismal experiences of the twentieth century with populist and totalitarian governments have reinforced the liberal preference for political or public minimalism—despite occasional concessions to "welfare" programs during times of economic hardship. As a result of these experiences and developments, the notion of individual freedom has come to be equated preponderantly with "negative liberty" (to use Isaiah Berlin's phrase) or the freedom to be left alone—with only limited allowance made for active or "positive freedom" (mainly on the level of voting rights and lobbying). In his study of John Dewey (who opposed this entire trend), Raymond Boisvert has sketched the stereotype of the minimalist liberal: "an individual with no roots and little connectedness to community; . . . a highly competitive individual fixated on narrow purposes whose practice is marked by expedience rather than conventional ethics".[1]

On a sophisticated level, aspects of democratic minimalism can be found even in the writings of theorists or intellectuals otherwise strongly committed to democratic politics. As stated above, an example is Robert Dahl's celebrated text *A Preface to Democratic Theory* (first published in 1956). In the very Introduction to his study, Dahl delineates two basic approaches in this field: a "maximizing" theory (relying either on ethical principles or formal axioms) and a purely "descriptive-empirical" and to that extent minimalizing approach. Traditional political theory, he notes, has tended to be "maximizing" by emphasizing "internal checks"—such as conscience and ethical dispositions—to restrain possible excesses of governmental power. This approach, however, has gone out of fashion since the revolutionary period and, in America, since the writings of James Madison. From Madison's perspective, the traditional ethical approach was simply no longer viable given the increasingly competitive and interest-based character of modern politics.[2] Another example of a democratic theorist leaning in the minimalist direction is Giovanni Sartori, well known for his text *The Theory of Democracy Revisited*. Like Dahl's study, Sartori's text distinguishes at the outset between a "prescriptive" or normative conception and a "descriptive" or empirical conception—with the latter version involving greatly reduced demands on democratic politics. In his view, to introduce normative expectations is likely to overburden the democratic regime such as to render it unviable. In view of the alleged danger associated with public ethics, Sartori prefers to employ "minimalist" language and to leave phrases like "political morality, social morality, professional ethics" aside. Democracy or "democratic machinery" coincides for him—and many other empirical theorists—with voting behavior, pursuit of individual interests through pressure groups and political parties, and public policy-making on the basis of these interests.[3]

An even more resolutely minimalist approach is propagated by a perspective which, in recent times, has increasingly gained prominence in the social sciences: rational choice theory. This outlook basically transfers neo-classical economic assumptions to social and political life. As can readily be seen, what is jeopardized or called into question by this model is not only public ethics, but politics, particularly democratic polities, as such. For, even when seen as a minimally shared regime, democracy is bound to be a burden or hindrance for the ambitions of an unrestrained economic agenda. No one has articulated this burden more forcefully than William Riker, a founder of this model, in his book *Liberalism Against Populism* (of 1982). As Riker states at the outset: "The theory of social [or rational] choice is a theory about the way the tastes, preferences, or values of individual persons are amalgamated and summarized into the choice of a collective group or society". Since these preferences are not ethically ranked, the primary focus is on something measurable or quantifiable: in economics monetary profit, in politics "the theory of voting" which is the core of liberal (or libertarian) democracy, barring any interference with voting preferences. Like Dahl, Riker distinguishes between a normative-ethical and an empirical or "analytical" conception of politics—placing rational choice clearly in the second category.[4]

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1   Boisvert, Raymond D. and Dewey, John. 1998. *Rethinking Our Time.* Albany, NY, State University of New York Press, p. 51-52. Compare also Berlin, Isaiah. 1977 *Four Essays on Liberty.* London, Oxford University Press; and for a critique Taylor, Charles. 1979. What's Wrong With Negative Liberty? Alan Ryan (ed), *The Idea of Freedom, Essays in Honor of Isaiah Berlin.* Oxford, Oxford University Press. .

2   See Dahl, Robert A. 1956. *A Preface to Democratic Theory.* Chicago, University of Chicago Press, p. 2, 18-19. To Dahl's credit, one has to acknowledge that he stressed not only formal procedural limits but also "inherent social checks and balances". He also refers (p. 22, 82-83) to an "underlying consensus on policy" existing "prior to politics". But the origin of this consensus is not disclosed.

3   Sartori, Giovanni. 1987. *The Theory of Democracy Revisited,* Vol. 1. Chatham, NJ, Chatham House Publ., p. 12-13, 17-18, 241-242; vol. 2, p. 476-477.

4   Riker, William H. 1982. *Liberalism Against Populism: A Confrontation Between the Theory of Democracy and the Theory of Social Choice.* Prospective Heights, IL, Waveland Press, p. 1-3.

Again like Dahl, though with modified accents, Riker delineates two different genealogies of modern democracy: a "liberal or Madisonian" type and a "populist or Rousseauistic" type. In the liberal (or libertarian) version, he notes, "the function of voting is to control officials, and nothing else". By contrast, "populists"—presumably following Rousseau—desire a more active, participatory role of the people and policies that create "a moral and collective body" endowed with "life and will," especially the (in) famous "general will". At this point, Riker endorses whole-heartedly Isaiah Berlin's notion of "negative liberty" and his indictment that "positive liberty, which appears initially innocuous, is the root of tyranny" or oppression. Tellingly, Riker also alludes to some ideological background—not unaffected by the geopolitics of the Cold War. "No government", he asserts, "that has eliminated economic freedom has been able to attain or keep democracy". On the other hand, "economic liberty is also an end in itself because capitalism is the driving force for the increased efficiency and technological innovation that has produced in two centuries both a vast increase in the wealth of capitalist nations and a doubling of the average life span of their citizens".[5]

## Beyond Minimalism: Voices from South Asia

In large measure, liberal democracy—in the sense of a minimalist, libertarian regime (or non-regime)—tends to occupy centerstage in recent Western social and political thought. As it is important to note, however, this has not always been the case. During important phases of Western political development, minimalist liberal democracy has been criticized or contested by able thinkers and public intellectuals. One such phase was during the American colonial period when the Puritan John Winthrop proposed the formation of an ethical-communitarian republic in Massachusetts Bay. Another, post-revolutionary phase was the era of "Jacksonian democracy" when the ideal of an egalitarian republic was pitted against the laissez-faire ambitions of the emerging manufacturing elite (epitomized by the Bank of America). On a theoretical or philosophical plane, however, the most important development was the rise of "pragmatism" in the late nineteenth century, and especially John Dewey's eloquent defense of "radical" democracy as an antidote to laissez-faire liberalism. In Boisvert's words: for Dewey "democracy as an ideal for community life is not a mere provision for a minimal state which simply leaves citizens alone. Such an individualistic ideal is inimical to the kind of associated living which is democratic". To quote Dewey himself: "The clear consciousness of a communal life, in all its implications, constitutes the idea of democracy".[6]

For present purposes, given the contemporary global expansion of liberal (or neo-liberal) democracy, I want to turn my attention to non-Western intellectual contexts. An important context of this kind is South Asia and particularly India, the home of Mahatma Gandhi. As is well known, Gandhi was not only an astute politician or public leader but also a thinker or intellectual with deep insight into public affairs, including the requisites of democracy. On the latter issue he has pronounced himself repeatedly, but perhaps most forcefully and pithily in his early book of 1909 titled *Hind Swaraj* (or Indian Home Rule). In this text, Gandhi takes to task forms of democracy found in Western countries which are often upheld as shining models to the rest of the world. Concentrating his attention particularly on the British model, he delineates a long list of shortcomings or defects, ranging from the venality of parliament, or its subservience to vested interests, to the fluctuating whims of public opinion under the impact of power-hungry politicians or businessmen. Surveying these and a host of related blemishes, Gandhi does not hesitate to trace the malaise to a central underlying cause: the unrestrained pursuit of self-interest and self-indulgence, at the cost of shared ethical commitments to the public good. To be sure, as he acknowledges, modern life—even life in corrupt democracies—has brought greater freedom for many people in different strata of society; this advance, however, is marred and nearly eclipsed by prevailing abuses. In terms of *Hind Swaraj,* the main problem is the sway of self-centered materialism, the fact that people in the modern West "make bodily welfare the [sole] object of life".[7]

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5    *Liberalism Against Populism*, p. 7, 9-12, 246.

6    See Boisvert and Dewey, p. 58. Compare also Boydston, Jo Ann. (ed.), 1981-90. *John Dewey: The Later Works: 1925-1953* .Carbondale and Edwardsville, IL, Southern Illinois University Press, vol. 2, p. 328; and Winthrop, John. 1630. A Model of Christian Charity. Robert Bellah et al. (eds), 1987. *Individualism and Commitment in America Life.* New York, Harper and Row, p. 21-27.

7    Gandhi, Mohandas K. 1997. *Hind Swaraj and Other Writings.* (ed. Parel, Anthony J. ). Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 30-37.

The remedy proposed in *Hind Swaraj* for this state of affairs is precisely self-rule or "swaraj"—which does not mean selfish rule or promotion of self-centered ambitions, but rather the ability to rein in such ambitions for the benefit of the common good, that is, the good of all people. As Gandhi points out, egocentrism or individual self-seeking is contrary not only to ethical and spiritual "rightness" (one sense of dharma) but also to the teachings of practically all the great religions of the world—including (next to Hinduism) Christianity, Islam, Judaism, and Zoroastrianism (he might have added Buddhism). What all these religions try to teach us, he writes, is "that we should remain passive [or reticent] about worldly pursuits and active about godly [or ethical] pursuits, that we should set a limit to our worldly ambition, and that our religious [or dharmic] ambitions should be illimitable". Despite differences of accent or detail, all religions and ethical-spiritual paths can thus be seen as "different roads converging to the same point". In Gandhi's terse formulation: "Civilization is that mode of conduct which points out to human beings the path of duty. Performance of ethical duty . . . means to attain mastery over our mind and our passions. In so doing, we come to know ourselves". Even more importantly: in so doing, we come to rule ourselves both as individuals and as people. The clear implication of this view is a new understanding of democracy: in the sense not of the pursuit of individual or collective self-interest but of a transformative popular self-rule (that is, rule of people over themselves) or swaraj: "It is swaraj when we learn to rule ourselves".[8]

Although composed relatively early in his life (and during an arduous sea voyage from London to South Africa), the basic tenets of *Hind Swaraj* remained firm guideposts during Gandhi's mature years. Although willing to revise minor details, he never disavowed his early text; in fact, he reconfirmed its central argument on repeated occasions in subsequent years. A few examples should suffice to document this continuity. In his "Constructive Program" submitted to the Indian National Congress in 1941, Gandhi strongly reaffirmed his commitment to swaraj, explaining the meaning of the term as denoting "complete independence through truth [satya] and non-violence [ahimsa]" and "without distinction of race, color or creed". A letter written to Jawaharlal Nehru a few years later made explicit reference to the text of 1909, stating: "I have said that I still stand by the system of government envisaged in Hind Swaraj". In retrospect, what appeared to Gandhi as the central lesson of his book was the emphasis on ethical self-rule and self-restraint, on a conception of individual and public agency performed within the limits of rightness or truth (satya) and non-violent generosity toward others. The most dramatic and direct application of the idea of swaraj came in his "Quit India" speech delivered in Bombay in 1942. In that speech, Gandhi—now the leader of a nationwide "satyagraha" (civil resistance relying on "truth power")—contrasted his vision of Indian self-rule with the kind of freedom and political rulership found in Britain and the Western world, saying:

I do not regard England, or for that matter America, as free countries. They are free after their own fashion: free to hold in bondage the colored races of the earth. . . . According to my own interpretation of that freedom, I am constrained to say: they are strangers to that freedom which their [own] poets and teachers have described.[9]

Profiled against dominant Western approaches, Gandhi's idea of swaraj discloses a conception of democracy—an ethical conception—sharply at variance with interest-based models of liberal or libertarian democracy. Despite his fondness for Western writers like Ruskin, Thoreau, and Tolstoy, Gandhi was not a radical individualist (in the modern "liberal" sense) ready to separate a vast arena of private freedom from a narrowly circumscribed, perhaps minimalist, public-democratic domain. Faithful to older philosophical traditions (both in India and the West), he preferred to stress a qualitative distinction between modes of human and political conduct—a distinction that cannot readily collapsed into modern private/public or internal/external polarities. Without blandly fusing individual and society or subordinating one to the other, his thought was able to hold the two elements in fruitful, perhaps tensional balance. This aspect is clearly shown in another letter Gandhi wrote to Nehru in 1945. Picking up Nehru's suggestion regarding the importance of human and social development, he fully agreed that it was crucial to "bring about man's highest intellectual, economic, political and moral development," that is, the "flourishing" of all human abilities. The basic issue was how to accomplish this goal. For Gandhi this was impossible without thorough attention to rightness (dharma) and without

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8    *Hind Swaraj,* p. 42-43, 67, 73.

9    These and similar statements are collected in the "Supplementary Writings" attached by Parel to his edition of *Hind Swaraj*, p. 149-150, 171, 185. The sources can be found in *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*. New Delhi, Government of India, 1958-1989, vol. 75, p. 146-147; vol. 76, p. 339-401; vol. 81, p. 319-321. By "their (own) poets and teachers" Gandhi seems to refer to some of his favorite Western authors like Thoreau, Ruskin, and Tolstoy.

social engagement and responsibility. Echoing Aristotle, and countering the modern Western focus on self-centered individualism carried over from an atomistic "state of nature" into society, he wrote: "Man is not born to live in isolation but is essentially a social animal independent and interdependent. No one can or should ride on another's back". A similar view was expressed in an interview of summer 1946 where Gandhi stated that, although the individual does count in important ways, this "does not exclude dependence and willing help from neighbors or from the world. It will be a free and voluntary play of mutual forces".[10]

In speaking of interconnectedness and the "play of mutual forces" Gandhi displays an affinity with the spirit of Jamesian and Deweyan pragmatism. But the parallel can be carried further. Like William James and John Dewey, and perhaps even more emphatically, Gandhi was an ethical and spiritual pragmatist, in the great tradition of Indian spirituality. As is well known, the most important source of inspiration for Gandhi throughout his life was the *Bhagavad Gita,* a text which delineates several paths (or yogas) guiding toward liberation and blessedness (in the sense of flourishing). Among these paths, Gandhi deliberately chose the path of action or praxis (karma yoga) demanding continuous ethical engagement in the affairs of the world. Again like Dewey, he did not assume that human beings are free and equal by nature (or in an original "state of nature"); rather freedom and equality for him were achievements requiring steady practice—a practice involving not only change of outward conditions but primarily self-transformation. In Gandhi's own words, freedom is not an instant boon, but is "attained only by constant heart-churn" or self-giving in service to others. As Ramashray Roy explains, in his thoughtful book Self and Society, karma yoga for Gandhi was not just a form of activism or worldly busy-ness, but rather a soteriological path or a process of sanctification which sees performance of action as sacred duty: "This sacred duty lies in exerting oneself to the benefit of others, that is, service".[11] Viewed from this angle, achievement of self-rule or swaraj involves self-transcendence and a diligent training in the ways of freedom. In a manner akin to Deweyan political thought, pursuit of liberating paths (or yogas) demands steady practice and habituation, facilitated by sound education. In a more directly Aristotelian view, such practice revolves around the nurturing of a set of virtues—which Gandhi reformulated under the rubric of ethical and spiritual "vows" (yamas).

Comparing Gandhian swaraj with dominant forms of modern Western thought, the differences care stark and obvious. What needs to be noted right away is the distance of swaraj from prevalent modern conceptions of freedom: those of "negative" and "positive" liberty. In this binary scheme, negative liberty basically designates the freedom to be left alone (that is, liberalism's retreat into private self-satisfaction), whereas positive liberty denotes the unhampered pursuit of collective goals—a pursuit sometimes shading over into social engineering on behalf of ideological panaceas. As can readily be seen, neither of these options shows kinship with Gandhian swaraj. Even when highly spiritualized, negative liberty still bears traces of individual self-centeredness, while the positive type—in stressing worldly activism—seems ignorant of self-restraint, releasement and non-attachment to the fruits of action. This distance is clearly pinpointed by Ramashray Roy. As he observers, negative liberty insists on social aloofness, on the retreat into a private realm often coinciding with selfishness or the wanton "satisfaction of desires". On the other hand, while emphasizing social and political engagement, positive liberty sidesteps the task of self-curtailment and self-transcendence by extolling the benefits of collectively chosen goals. For Roy, it was "Ghandi's genius" to have squarely faced this dilemma and have shown an exit from this binary dilemma. The central point of Gandhian swaraj, he notes, was the emphasis on self-rule as a transformation process—whereby people are able to rule not so much over others than over themselves.[12]

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10   See "Supplementary Writings" in *Hind Swaraj,* p. 155, 189. Taken from *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi,* vol. 85, p. 32-33, and Nehru, Jawaharlal. 1958. *A Bunch of Old Letters.* London, Asia Publishing House, p. 512.

11   Roy, Ramashray. 1984. *Self and Society: A Study in Gandhian Thought.* New Delhi, Sage Publications India, p. 78. A similar point is made by Bhikhu Parekh in his stellar text *Gandhi.* Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 75-76: "For Gandhi swaraj referred to a state of affairs in which individuals were morally in control of themselves and ran their lives in such a way that they needed no external coercion. . . . For Gandhi, swaraj thus presupposed self-discipline, self-restraint, a sense of mutual responsibility, the disposition neither to dominate nor be dominated by others, and a sense of dharma".

12   Roy, *Self and Society*, p. 63, 189-190. The possibility of a transformative freedom was actually acknowledged by Isaiah Berlin; but he confined this mode narrowly to mystical or ascetic life-styles—a confinement aptly criticized by Roy (p. 186-187).

The arguments regarding freedom or liberty can readily be transferred to the basic meaning of democracy. The difference between Gandhian swaraj and the liberal-minimalist conception of democracy has been ably highlighted by the Gandhi-scholar Ronald Terchek, especially in his essay titled "Gandhi and Democratic Theory". Right at the outset Terchek states the crux of the matter: that democracy for Gandhi was not merely "procedual" or minimal but "substantive" in the sense of being grounded in a non-oppressive way of life. He cites Gandhi himself to the effect that, under democracy "the weakest should have the same opportunity as the strongest. And this can never happen except through [political, social, and psychological] non-violence".[13] Basically, for the Mahatma, democracy is a regime not organized or imposed "from the top down" (or from the state down) but one nurtured "from the bottom up". This explains his emphasis on village life and village self-government (through councils or panchayats) as well as on economic decentralization and local industries.

In Terchek's presentation, Gandhi believed that the means of production (at least of the basic necessaries of life) should remain ultimately in the hands of the people—and not be relinquished or alienated to corporate elites. In contrast to the rampant competition unleashed by the capitalist market, he stressed the need to cultivate cooperative dispositions so that the brute "struggle for survival" would be transmuted into a "struggle for mutual service" or "mutual existence". Such dispositions, in turn, presuppose the fostering of mutual respect and the practice of such civic virtues as inter-personal and inter-group tolerance or recognition. As Terchek observes, paraphrasing Gandhi's own arguments: "Tolerance implies a mutual regard for others; and if it is missing, the [bottom-up] dialogue of the democratic process is diminished, if not destroyed". Gandhi in India, he adds perceptively, "like Dewey in America, saw dialogue as necessary to both individual growth and to the democratic prospect. Indeed, democracy received one of its primary justifications from Dewey because it promoted tolerance and fostered development".[14]

The central point of Terchek's essay is the differentiation of the Gandhian approach from (what he calls) "the dominant model of democracy today" which relies on the unhampered pursuit of self-interest and, politically, on competitive elections where voters choose delegates maximally committed to promoting their interest. From the latter (liberal-minimalist) perspective, interests are individually generated and by no means in a "pre-established harmony". Among a larger group of people, pursuit of self-interest is liable to lead to strife or conflict—whose settlement is secured either through shallow compromise or the intervention of sovereign power. For Gandhi, such settlement is defective under democratic auspices. As Terchek shows, democratic life for him required "both freedom and interdepenence" and the two could only be sustained through ethical dispositions cultivated over time. Moreover, on both the individual and group levels, it was necessary to distinguish genuine needs from private "interests" which are often artificially created by the media (and privilege "greed" over need). Apart from stressing some Deweyan affinities, Terchek also links Gandhi's thought with aspects of the "civic republican" tradition from Cicero to the present. In his words: Civic republicans believed "that freedom could be secured only if people restrained themselves. . . . Accordingly, they attempted to disperse power, institutionalize cooperation, emphasize service, and promote widespread participation" in the political process. Differently phrased, for republicans as well as Gandhi, democracy was predicated on self-rule (in the sense of swaraj) and a non-domineering type of public agency—an agency captured by the Gandhian labels of non-violence (ahimsa) and "truth-force" (satyagraha).[15]

An argument along similar lines has been presented by the Indian political theorist Thomas Pantham, in his article "Beyond Liberal Democracy: Thinking with Mahatma Gandhi". As Pantham points out, Gandhi repeatedly criticized the liberal democratic model—its "objectification and technocratization of the political" (in the state) and its concomitant "alienation of the people's political rights" (by reducing such rights to private interests). The alternative he put forward was that of swaraj which, in addition

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13   Terchek, Ronald J. 1986. Gandhi and Democratic Theory, in Pantham, Thomas and Deutsch, Kenneth L. (eds), 1986. *Political Thought in Modern India*. New Delhi: Sage Publications, p. 308. The citation is from Gandhi, M. K. ed., 1948. *Non-Violence in Peace and War*, Vol. 1. Ahmedabad, Navajivan, p. 269.

14   Terchek, Gandhi and Democratic Theory, p. 309, 312. See also Duncan, Ronald. 1951. *Selected Writings of Mahatma Gandhi*. Boston, Beacon Press, p. 78-79.

15   Terchek, Gandhi and Democratic Theory, p. 317-319.

to self-rule, can also be translated as "participatory democracy" where the gulf between "subject and object", between ruler and ruled is erased. For Gandhi, modern liberal thought was based largely on a "one-dimensional conception" of human beings as self-contained and self-seeking creatures whose pursuit of selfish ends could only be tamed by power and non-moral force. It was impossible in his view to escape "the inherent contradictions" of this model "without abandoning the liberal-individualistic conception of humanity and the atomistic, amoral conception of its interests". The escape route he proposed was reliance on "truth-doing" (satyagraha) and non-violence (ahimsa) as "the most important moral norms"—norms which are "not cloistered virtues" but to be discovered and formed through "the ordinary activities of life" in the social, economic, and political spheres. Once these norms are widely cultivated and taken to heart, a different version of democracy comes into view, one in which freedom and interdependence are closely linked. To quote a statement by Gandhi, written in 1946 and carrying distinct Deweyan (and Aristotelian) echoes:

"I value individual freedom, but you must not forget that man is essentially a social being. He has risen to the present status by learning to adjust his individualism to the requirements of social progress. Unrestricted individualism is the law of the beast of the jungle. We have learnt to strike the mean between individual freedom and social restraint."[16]

## Beyond Minimalism: Voices from East Asia

When turning from India to East Asia, similar reservations regarding liberal democracy can readily be found. The critique of radical individualism proceeds there mainly (though not exclusively) on Confucian premises, a philosophy well known for its emphasis on human relationships. Given the essential relatedness of human beings, freedom for Confucians cannot mean either internal retreat or external manipulation and domination. This point is eloquently made by the Chinese-American scholar Tu Weiming. As he observes, Confucianism basically opposes the binary scheme of negative and positive liberty, that is, the construal of freedom in terms of either private self-withdrawal or domineering self-enhancement. "It rejects," he writes, "both an introspective affirmation of the self as an isolable and complacent ego and an unrestrained attachment to the external world for the sake of a limitless expansion of one's manipulative power". In lieu of these alternatives, the Confucian "way" or "tao"—akin to Gandhian swaraj—involves an "unceasing process of self-transformation as a communal act," and thus a linkage of ethics and social engagement whose seasoning effect "can ultimately free us from the constrictions of the privatized ego". As can readily be seen, human freedom from this angle is limited or circumscribed not by the state or external procedures but by the ability of ethical transformation, that is, the ability of people to rule themselves rather than ruling others.[17]

In addition to social engagement and connectedness, Confucianism also fosters the relatedness between human beings and nature as well as the "mutuality between man and Heaven". Ultimately, Tu Weiming notes, the Confucian trajectory points to the human reconciliation with "Heaven, Earth, and the myriad things—with clearly spiritual or religious connotations. In an instructive manner, he also points to the Confucian stress on exemplification, that is, the need not merely to hold fine theories but to exemplify them in daily conduct. Despite his deep modesty, Confucius himself can be seen, and was seen, as an "exemplar" or "exemplary person" (chün-tzu) who taught the "way" not through abstract doctrines but through the testimony of responsible daily living. At this point, the affinity with Deweyan philosophy comes clearly into view—a fact which is perhaps not surprising given Dewey's extended visit to China

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16    Pantham, Thomas. Beyond Liberal Democracy: Thinking with Mahatma Gandhi. Pantham and Deutsch (eds), *Political Thought in Modern India,* p. 334, 337-339. The citations are from Harijan (March 31, 1946) in *Gandhi, Democracy: Real and Deceptive*, comp. R. K. Prabhu. Ahmedabad, Navajivan (1961), p. 32; and Harijan (May 8, 1937), p. 98.

17    Tu Weiming. (1985). *Confucian Thought: Selfhood as Creative Transformation*. Albany, NY, State University of New York Press, p. 59, 76-77. Regarding transformative freedom, he adds (p. 78), in a passage critical of modern Western liberalism: "Historically, the emergence of individualism as a motivating force in Western society may have been intertwined with highly particularized political, economic, ethical, and religious traditions. It seems reasonable that one can endorse an insight into the self as a basis for equality and liberty without accepting Locke's idea of private property, Adam Smith's and Hobbes's idea of private interest, John Stuart Mill's idea of privacy, Kierkegaard's idea of loneliness, or the early Sartre's idea of [radical] freedom".

after World War I.[18] As in the case of Gandhian swaraj, leading a responsible life in society involves self-restraint and the abandonment of domineering impulses. In Confucius's own words, humaneness or to be properly human (*jen*) means "to conquer oneself (*k'e-chi*) and to return to propriety (*fu-li*)". As Tu Weiming comments, however, the notion of "conquering oneself" should not be misconstrued in the sense of self-erasure in favor of heteronomous forces. The Confucian idea, he writes, does not mean "that one should engage in a bitter struggle" of conquest; rather the concept of *k'e-chi* is "closely linked to the concept of self-cultivation (*hsiu-shen*)" or self-transformation and hence to the task of responsible and responsive social agency.[19]

More difficult to assess is the relation of Confucian thought to modern democracy seen as popular self-rule and self-government. In large measure, the difficulty arises from the fact that, in contrast to the Gandhian legacy, traditional Confucianism is silent on democracy and the political implications of human agency. This silence is often taken as evidence of the utter incompatibility of Confucian teachings and democratic regimes. In the words of the China-scholar Ni Peinim: "The dominant view today still holds that Confucianism and democracy are like water and fire, totally incompatible and antagonistic to each other". According to this view, the former is "authoritarian, repressive, and typically associated with totalitarian policies, uniformity of ideology, social hierarchy, and discrimination against women"—while democracy is "the very opposite".[20] In a similar vein, William Theodore de Bary has pointed out that, during much of the twentieth century, Confucianism "was made to stand for all that was backward and benighted in China: it bore all the burden of the past, charged with innumerable sins of the old order". When in 1999—he adds—the "Goddess of Democracy" was publicly displayed in Tian-anmen Square, the display was a revolt not only against Communist repression but also against the older Confucian tradition.[21] In this context, traditional Confucian sayings like "The common people are the root or foundation of society" (from the Shujing) are widely regarded as pious placebos devoid of concrete political connotations.

At this point, it becomes important to ask what precisely is at issue. Does the claimed incompatibility prevail between Confucianism and democracy tout court, or between the former and a certain kind of liberalism or liberal democracy? In the latter case, the meaning of "liberal" and "liberalism" becomes decisive. Do these terms refer to the ethical kind of liberalism which can be traced from Montesquieu and Hegel all the way to Dewey's definition of democracy as an ethical community? Or do we mean the self-seeking, laissez-faire liberalism which ultimately reduces social life to an atomistic state of nature? In the former case—making room for creative adjustments—it seems quite possible to envisage a harmony between Confucianism and modern democracy. In the latter case, harmony or compatibility is clearly excluded—but only because self-centered liberalism is at variance with democracy as such (or only allows for minimalist democracy). The need for a creative adjustment or rethinking of traditional teachings is today acknowledged by many Confucian scholars, especially by such "New Confucians" as Tu Weiming and Liu Shu-hsien. As the latter has aptly stated: "We have to reject the tradition in order to reaffirm the ideal of the tradition".[22] However, such a rethinking of Confucian teachings also requires, as a complementary move, a rethinking of prevalent modern Western ideas—away from the egocentric preferences of democratic minimalism in the direction of a responsible democratic ethos.

18  *Confucian Thought,* p. 175.

19  See Tu Weiming. 1979. The Creative Tension Between Jen and Li, in his *Humanity and Self-Cultivation: Essays in Confucian Thought.* Berkeley, Asian Humanities Press, p. 6; also Confucius, *The Analects*, 12:1. Regarding the relation between Confucianism and pragmatism compare Hall, David L. and Ames, Roger T. 1987. *Thinking Through Confucius.* Albany, NY, State University of New York Press, p. 15: "If contemporary comparative philosophic activity is any indication, it might be the pragmatic philosophies associated with Pierce, James, Dewey, and Mead, and extended toward process philosophy such as that of A. N. Whitehead, that can serve as the best resource for philosophical concepts and doctrines permitting responsible access to Confucius' thought".

20  Ni Peinim. 2008. Confucianism and Democracy: Water and Fire? Water and Oil? Or Water and Fish? In Defense of Henry Rosemont's View. Marthe Chandler and Ronnie Littlejohn, (eds), *Polishing the Chinese Mirror: Essays in Honor of Henry Rosemont, Jr.* New York, Global Scholarly Publications, p. 90.

21  de Bary, Wm. Theodore. 1991. *The Trouble with Confucianism.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, p. 103-108.

22  Liu Shu-hsien, "From the People-as-the-Root to Democracy" (in Chinese); quoted from Ni Peinim, *Confucianism and Democracy*, p. 99.

As it appears to me, such a double rethinking is admirably manifest in the writings of the China-scholar Henry Rosemont Jr.

In several of his texts, Rosemont has eloquently castigated the notion of an egocentric individualism patterned on capitalist economics. As he writes at one point (in a passage with patent Deweyan echoes): "For most of the world's peoples, there are no disembodied minds, nor autonomous individuals; human relationships govern and structure most of our lives, to the point that unless there are at least two human beings, there can be no human beings". As one should note, however, this critique of egocentrism does not induce Rosemont to reject democracy as such. As he states in one of his more well known writings, Chinese Mirror, what he is proposing or suggesting is not a return to autocracy but rather "a somewhat different philosophical view of democracy"—a view more in line with an ethical conception of both liberalism and democracy.[23] The concrete contours of this alternative view are spelled out by Rosemont in another text which intriguingly joins Confucian "relationism" with the pragmatic account on a shared way of life. From this alternative perspective, he states, democracy—including an ethically liberal democracy—might be described as a regime in which every member has the right and duty "to participate in public affairs" and "to take the public welfare of all the other members of society as one's own". As one can see, democracy here is elevated to the height of the vision of Montesquieu, de Tocqueville, and Dewey. To conclude with another passage from *The Chinese Mirror*, even more distinctly Deweyan in orientation: In a properly constituted democratic community, "the desired would not be equated with the desirable, and democratic participation—being a citizen—would involve engaging in collective dialogue about the appropriate means for achieving agreed-upon ends".[24]

## Concluding Remarks

In the preceding pages, I have delineated critiques of liberal-minimalist democracy, focusing on Gandhian and Confucian teachings. These critical voices could readily be expanded or multiplied. One of the noteworthy developments in Asia in recent decades has been the upsurge of a "new" kind of Buddhism, an outlook which shifts the earlier accent on monastic retreat in the direction of a more worldly engagement and participation. Here again, the twin pitfalls of negative and positive liberty are bypassed (at least in intent). While transgressing the bounds of a purely internal liberation, the turn to engagement carefully steers clear of public manipulation or the pursuit of social blueprints, thus maintaining the central Buddhist focus on "self-emptying" (sunyata) and self-transcendence (toward others).[25] Under very different auspices and in a different idiom, tendencies pointing in a similar direction can also be found in strands of contemporary Islamic thought (as shown in the preceding chapter). In this context, the traditional biblical injunction to "pursue justice" above everything else still serves as a powerful incentive to foster an ethically vibrant public life. However, contrary to "fundamentalist" misconstruals, this incentive does not automatically translate into theocracy or clerical despotism. In recent times, the idea of a basic compatibility of Islam and democracy has been defended by a number of able intellectuals, from Muhammad Iqbal to Abdulaziz Sachedina and Abdulkarim Soroush. In Iqbal's pithy phrase: "Islam demands loyalty to God, not to thrones". Paraphrasing and amplifying this idea, the philosopher Soroush has stated: "No blessing is more precious for mankind than the free choice of the way of the prophets. . . . But in the absence of this state of grace, nothing is better for humankind than [democratic] freedom. Because all free societies, whether religious or non-religious, are properly

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23    Rosemont, Henry Jr. 1991. *A Chinese Mirror: Moral Reflections on Political Economy and Society*. La Salle, IL, Open Court, p. 93.

24    Rosemont, *A Chinese Mirror,* p. 93; also his Whose Rights? Rosemont, Henry Jr. 2001. *Which Democracy? in Confucianism and Liberalism*. Beijing, Sanlian Shudian, section 5 (in Chinese). I am following here Ni Peinim's account in his "Confucianism and Democracy," p. 93-94.

25    See Christopher S. Queen and Sallie B. King, (eds). 1996. *Engaged Buddhism: Buddhist Liberation Movements in Asia*. Albany, NY, State University of New York Press. Among the most notable "engaged" Buddhists are Thich Nhat Hanh, Buddhadasa Bhikhu, Sulak Sivaraksa, and the Dalai Lama.

humane".[26]

As indicated before, the critique of public minimalism is not restricted to non-Western contexts. On the contrary, some of the most eloquent critical voices have been precisely Western and, in fact, American. Just a few years ago, the American political theorist Michael Sandel issued a plea for a renewed "public philosophy" which would re-connect ethics and politics. What stands in the way of such a renewal, in his account, is the predominance of (what he calls) the "voluntarist conception of freedom", that is, the laissez-faire ideology of untrammeled self-seeking, which dispenses with the "difficult task" of cultivating civic dispositions. As an antidote to this ideology, Sandel pleads in favor of a "formative politics" concerned with the formation of ethical civic attitudes and practices; for (he says) "to share in self-rule requires that citizens possess, or come to acquire, certain civic virtues".[27] In issuing this plea, of course, Sandel stands on the shoulders of a series of earlier American thinkers, including the journalist and public intellectual Walter Lippmann. Some seventy years ago, Lippmann had denounced the spreading cult of egocentric will power in economics and politics. As he noted in *The Good Society,* Western modernity had derailed when it moved to equate freedom with individual self-seeking. In opposition to this equation—the "doctrine of laissez-faire, let her rip, and the devil take the hindmost"—Lippmann invoked an older tradition of ethical liberalism congruent with public obligations. Borrowing a leaf from Aristotle as well as American pragmatism, his text observed: "There must be [in democracy] an habitual, confirmed, and well-nigh intuitive dislike of arbitrariness. . . . There must be a strong desire to be just. [And] there must be a growing capacity to be just".[28]

However, the strongest American voice against the derailment into laissez-faire minimalism was John Dewey. As I have stated repeatedly, Dewey was relentless in critiquing a reckless individualism and in upholding social "relationism" and the need for civic bonds. As one should note well, his animus was directed not against liberalism as such, but against a minimalist version incompatible with democratic self-rule. Likewise, his target was not individual liberty (or individual selfhood) per se, but only its imprisonment in the Cartesian fortress of the "*ego cogito*". In the words of Raymond Boisvert: Whereas old-style individualism connotes "both isolation and self-interestedness," "individuality" in the revised Deweyan sense identifies "the distinctive manner in which someone participates in communal life"; it recognizes "the irreducibility of community and the multiple perspectives associated with it".[29] Such individuality and the multiple perspectives to which it gives rise are not opposed to, but actually constitutive of democratic life. Above all, what needs to be remembered is that, for Dewey, democracy is not a finished state, but an ongoing process of democratizing pointing toward rich untapped horizons. Democracy, he states at one point, is "an end that has not been adequately realized in any country at any time. It is radical because it requires great change in existing social institutions, economic, legal and cultural". To this might be added his observation that, under democratic auspices, "the supreme test of all political institutions and industrial arrangements shall be the contribution they make to the all-round growth [or better: flourishing] of every number of society".[30]

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26    Reason, Freedom, and Democracy in *Islam: Essential Writings of Abdolkarim Soroush*, trans. and ed. Mahmud Sadri and Ahmad Sadri. 2000. New York, Oxford University Press, p. 99, 103. See also Iqbal, Muhammad 1971. *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam.* Lahore, Ashraf; Sachedina, Abdulaziz A. 2001. *The Islamic Roots of Democratic Pluralism.* New York, Oxford University Press; Khaled Abou El Fadl. 2004. *Islam and the Challenge of Democracy.* Princeton, Princeton University Press; Khan, M. A. Muqtedar (ed.) 2006. *Islamic Democratic Discourse.* Lanham, M.D., Lexington Books; Addi, Lahouari. 2003. *Islam et démocratie.* Paris, Seuil; Esposito, John L. 1986. *Islam and Democracy.* New York, Oxford University Press; Sisk, Timothy D. 1992. *Islam and Democracy: Religion, Politics, and Power in the Middle East.* Washington, DC, United States Institute of Peace Press; and Bulliet, Richard W. (ed.) 1994. *Under Siege: Islam and Democracy.* New York, Columbia University Press.

27    Sandel, Michael J. 2005. *Public Philosophy: Essays on Morality and Politics.* Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, p. 9-11, 27, 33.

28    Lippman, Walter. 1936. *The Good Society.* New York: Grosset and Dunlap (1943), p. 194, 237, 346-347. See also Dallmayr, Fred. 2007. Introduction. Dallmayr, Fred. (2007). *In Search of the Good Life: A Pedagogy for Troubled Times.* Lexington, KY, University of Kentucky Press, p. 2-8.

29    Boisvert, John Dewey, p. 68.

30    Dewey, John. 1937. Democracy is Radical. Jo Ann Boydston (ed.) 1981. *John Dewey: The Later Works: 1925-1953,* Vol. 11, p. 298; and Dewey, John. (1920). Reconstruction in Philosophy. Jo Ann Boydston (ed.) 1981. *John Dewey: The Middle Works: 1899-1924.* Carbondale, IL, Southern Illinois University, Vol. 12, p. 186.

Returning to the theme of self-rule or swaraj, it is clear that growth or flourishing cannot mean simply the enlargement of power or managerial control. Rather, to be ethically tenable, democratic self-rule has to involve a practice of self-restraint and self-transformation (even self-emptying) capable of instilling the habit of non-violence (ahimsa) and generous openness toward others. As Dewey once remarked, in a very Gandhian spirit: "To take as far as possible every conflict which arises . . . out of the atmosphere and medium of force, of violence as a means of settlement, into that of discussion and of intelligence is to treat those who disagree—even profoundly—with us as those from whom we may learn and, in so far, as friends".[31] This disposition toward non-violence, however, does not come easy. For Dewey, as we know, such a disposition or civic habit is not a ready-made "natural" endowment, but a human potentiality requiring continuous struggle and life-long educational cultivation.

Seen in this light, democracy clearly remains a "promise"—but not an empty pipe-dream nor a mere project of civil engineering. Construed as an ongoing process of democratization, democracy involves a striving toward human flourishing on both an individual and social level. Transposed into the idiom of Heidegger's philosophy, human praxis—in the basic sense of "letting be"—produces no extrinsic objects but an intrinsic good: the achievement or fulfillment of our (promised) humanity.

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31   Dewey, John. 1938. Creative Democracy—The Task Before Us. Jo Ann Boydston (ed.) 1981. *John Dewey: The Later Works, 1925-1953,* Vol. 14, p. 228. See also Bernstein, Richard J. 1986. John Dewey on Democracy: The Task Before Us. Richard J. Bernstein, *Philosophical Profiles: Essays in a Pragmatic Mode.* Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, p. 260-272.

# Poverty and Globalization

*Ali Benmakhlouf, Morocco*

"I hate poverty as much as I hate pain" says Montaigne in his Essays (1588). Just as all people have experience of pain, half of them have experience of poverty, according to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). But as Montaigne says, there is a strong parallel between the two, as one's (pain) helps us to measure the other's (poverty). Brazilians who met Montaigne in Rouen in the 16th century were very surprised to find beggars in Europe. According to them, people cannot live without solidarity, abandoning some human beings.

As Fichte, the German philosopher of the beginning of the eighteenth century says as long as poor people exist, as long as homeless people exist, having nothing to protect their bodies, the social contract is a meaningless rationality.

At first, poverty is an economic question but many philosophers, as the Indian Nobel Prize recipient Amartya Sen and the American philosopher Martha Nussbaum, do not want to interpret it only on the basis of the category of quantity. According to Sen for instance, "the substantial poverty, in terms of privation of capability, is often more settled than its echo which we grasp in the field of incomes".[32]

## Justice and Good Life: Aristotle Revisited

Putting together the question of justice and that of a good life, we meet Aristotle's interest in a society which is sufficiently unified to lead to happiness, but not wholly unified to avoid Plato's Republic which seems now, after the famous book of Popper *The Open Society and its Enemies,* an enemy to freedom and mutual respect. If we take as an example the couple disposition/possession that we find in Aristotle's Categories, we understand how important it is in the interpretation of a new consideration of the notion of poverty. Possession is for Aristotle a subclass of quality, which denotes lasting things. The other term, disposition, is for transitory things. So they are opposite to each other, but there is no ontological difference between them. The same thing being transitory may, with exercise, become lasting with duration.

As described, this subclass of quality seems to have nothing to do with our topic. It is a precise notion, but at first meaningless. Nevertheless, when associated with another Aristotelian notion, namely the notion of pleonexia (i.e. having more than others, having excessive ambition, domination, cupidity), possession appears as meaning to have objects in the distributive conflict which is responsible of the fact that a few acquire more than their due, refusing to others what is due to them.

So let us ask now, what is the link between what is due to a person, in the sense of what is just for them to have and the idea of possession as a lasting quality? Good life. A life we choose for preserving our dignity is the link, since we have to be able through the duration of our lives to enjoy things as such as health and peace. The issue is to connect the question of capability, of possession and of being an agent doing freely things that contribute to a good life, of having rights and autonomy. We now understand how poverty can be understood: having a life under submission, not to be able to choose the life we expect to have, being deprived of capacities as A. Sen says.

The problem is now getting more precise. "Injustice, is understood as the loss of *eudemonia*, of happiness, or, as a deficient acknowledgment of human rights, we can go farther on grasping plural criteria telling us what is due to anyone of us, patients or moral agents" Salvatore Vega says in *Quelle philosophie pour le XXIè siècle.*[33]

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32    Sen, Amartya. 1999. *Development as Freedom.* New York, Alfred A. Knopf.

33    Vega, Salvatore. 2001. *Quelle philosophie pour le XXIè siècle?* Folio, Gallimard, p.269.

The issue is to evaluate social and political institutions on the basis of the distributive conflict. It is a question of ethical and political justification. We have to understand how, what we can call "the Babel of acknowledgment" introduces processes of increasing division of the shared circles of civil loyalty and fairness. Poverty is then a question of relationship between individuals regarding to the wealth of nations. From the point of view of these concepts, returning to Aristotelian notions is useful. The pleonexia (the superfluous), aesthesis (the durable possession) and eudaimonia (happiness) connect to each other and give to poverty its main place in the human relationship.

Regarding rights, the issue is the acknowledgment due to the value of everybody, as everybody has their part of the truth. To those who think that the notion of human nature is problematic and a question of controversy, we can answer that the main problem is not terminological. Human rights have to minimize the sufferings of people and to avoid the sufferings which are socially possible to avoid. More than that, it is not only the question of having the choice to a worthy life, but also to pluralize the ways of life. Put in more simple words, are we able to disconnect human life and a good life?

I will take now two examples to illustrate these Aristotelian and neo-Aristotelian concepts: One applies to issues of medicine; the other applies to refugees and immigration.

## Pharmaceutical Production and the Exclusion of Poor People

We observe that inequalities grow up as the world expands: the opening-up to world trade of 50 Less Developed Countries (LCD) did not lead to a poverty reduction. Development can be sustainable only if a maximum of individuals reach a decent life.

We usually emphasize on the necessity for poor countries to have access to a sufficient education level in order to go back from the production of goods to the conception of them. However, there is another challenge: the access to medicine.

Making a large generalization, sick people live in the southern hemisphere, while medicines are produced in the northern hemisphere. There are about 34 million patients infected by AIDS disease in the world, 25 million of whom live in Africa. In the state of Botswana 36% of the whole population is infected. So, what is the issue? It turns around intellectual property rights. This kind of intellectual ownership concerns ideas not objects. A chemical formula as well as a song cannot be compared to a house for example. When an idea has been discovered, there is no problem about it being used by everybody. An idea without contradiction can belong to all people. What will be the effectiveness of a system where every idea would be protected by a property right? On one hand, without just regulation of the intellectual property, conflicts all over the world will increase inevitably. On the other hand, dying because of a disease for which a remedy exists is not only an injustice, but also it is useless, economically speaking.

The health market is one of the most developed. More than 80% of this market is situated in the wealthy countries of the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development). As a result, medicines are very expensive. Whilst wealthier individuals can afford such expenses, those less well off, particularly those below the poverty line, cannot. The pharmaceutical companies protest that generic medicines sold to poor countries to offer affordable medicine may be sold on the black market in the developed world, thus eroding the economic gains of the pharmaceutical company that developed the medicine. They also base their argument that high quality fake medicine could be produced to mimic generic medicines that hold no special marks, to prevent selling of such generic medicines to poorer countries. But, this argument has no ground really. If you smoke cigarettes or wear clothes bought on the black market, you will probably not take that same risk with your health by purchasing medicines which are not recognized by your own state's medical institutions. Likewise in the majority of developed countries the personal costs of medicine is absorbed by a state welfare system or personal health insurance policies. As such to attempt to sell black market medicine, fake or generic, is likewise useless and dangerous.

The real problem is how to justify the high price of medicine in developed countries. There is a kind of dilemma. On one hand, higher prices will not cost much to rich countries, except a lack of legitimacy of enforcing intellectual property rights. On the other hand, on the basis that now the medicines exist, this fact puts pressure on rich countries to take into account "elementary considerations of humanity", as it says in another context of the international penal court.

## Immigration and Refugees

These elementary considerations of humanity are not respected in the case of refugees and immigrants. To maximise electoral support many European countries have restricted the entry to their respective states. In 1978, Mrs. Thatcher said on TV that Britain was in danger of being "really rather swamped"; i.e. submerged by people of Caribbean and Indian "origin". Of course there were no danger at all, "countries which have accepted refugees by the million have been the poorest ones: Pakistan, Ethiopia"[34] but her speech, as Michael Dummett says "deliberately encouraged hostile feelings against Commonwealth immigrants already in the country".[35] The same happens in France with the Pasqua Laws in 1993. These laws "withdrew the right to work from asylum-seekers and imposed sanctions on carrying companies". They also "rescinded the right of those who had come to France as children to remain in France upon reaching their maturity". The effect being that the law leaves people not knowing if they are French or not. In 2007 the government of President Sarkozy voted through a law called the French Immigration Law, which put restrictions and obstacles for those applying for immigration to France on the basis of joining family already there.[36] The person has to submit oneself to a DNA test to prove that he or she is the real son or the real daughter of the mother whom they want to join.

All these restrictions push more and more people towards illegal immigration. This is a very difficult reality we have to face:

"Being in the country illegally, they [the illegal immigrants] are denied the rights to social security, to health care, to work and so on, that everybody ought to have and that it is the will of the state that everyone should have; and they are also at the mercy of exploiters, who pay them derisory wages or drive them into prostitution by threatening to reveal their illegal presence to authorities".[37]

This is the substantial poverty as A. Sen defined it, the privation of capabilities. A good quality of life and the lasting possession of one's own self and abilities leading to happiness, is but a dream for these people. They are restricted to living in developed countries beneath a glass ceiling everyday to observe from below the way of life from which they are deprived and for which they have to pretend to be something else, to serve. "They have the rights that others, as far as lies on their power, should help them to enjoy the conditions for such lives to the best possible extent".[38]

## Concluding Remarks

How can we build bridges instead of walls? The challenges that globalization poses to philosophy were often summed up in two words: education and democracy. We have to add respect, even if it is included in democracy, because some of its features are often neglected. We have to add it because respect is not merely to tolerate the opinion of others. It is also to take care of them, to facilitate their access to good life, good health, affirmation of dignity, etc. This commitment is an emergency for countries, especially developed states which have easy access to medicine and whose long experience in democracy, mainly the United States and Europe, cannot fit together with restrictions on human rights, nor with the stigmatization of any human group on the basis of its religion, or its nationality.

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34    Dummett, M. 2001. *Immigration and Refugees*. London, Routledge, p.36
35    Dummett, M. 2001. *Immigration and Refugees*. London, Routledge, p.116.
36    http://www.edri.org/edrigram/number4.20/dna-french-immigration-law
37    Idem, p.71.
38    Idem, p.26.

One of the challenges of globalization is to recognise the differences of culture without orienting these differences on any hostility. Human Rights are the bridge we should construct every day, to express one culture in another, to reinforce each of them, as does the organic solidarity between people. Meanwhile, cultures are fragile and people have very vulnerable bodies. The two of them have more resemblance with trees than with diamonds. The big challenge is to resist to the dissipation of one culture by the impact of another or the exploitation of one person by another. Freedom is the name of this resistance.

# Philosophical Concerns in Understanding Democracy and Sustainable Development

*Sivanandam Panneerselvam, India*

## Understanding the Concept of Democracy in Indian Context

The post-independent India, no doubt, has a vision of egalitarian society. Its constitution has emphasized the unity and integrity of the nation as a paramount value and insisted upon equality and dignity as a constitutional fundamental. But the social stratification in India does not allow the oppressed and the suppressed to be treated on par with others. In the name of caste, the welfare of the backward and the scheduled castes and tribes are neglected. Dr. Ambedkar rightly said "caste has killed public spirit. Caste has made public opinion impossible…Virtue has become caste-ridden and morality has become caste-based".[39] Fisk, while commenting on Rawls' *Theory of Justice* says that the claim that people are equal is not a reality. He says that in reality, people are equal members of classes, not of society as a whole. Fisk's approach is very much significant in an Indian context. The ancient Tamil work, *Tirukkural* explains how people are equal. It says "for the living beings on earth, birth is the same. There is no difference between one man and the other based on the caste or colour".

Social democracy is meaningful only if all are allowed to survive by proper representation and participation within the democracy. Otherwise, it is a democracy of the few. Dr. Ambedkar pointed out that our constitutional ideal cannot be attained with mere political democracy. He explains that we must make our political democracy a social democracy as well. "Social democracy means a way of life which recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity as principles of life", says Dr. Ambedkar. If democracy simply means the voting power to all, then it cannot be democracy. Democracy means social equality and justice.

In the Constitution, in the Preamble itself, it declares that it will secure to all its citizens justice (social, economic and political), liberty of thought, expression, belief faith and worship, equality of status and opportunity and to promote among them all fraternity, assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation. In Article 15, in the chapter dealing with fundamental rights, the conception clearly states that the state shall not discriminate against any citizen on the ground of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. Article 16 provides that there shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment, of appointment to any office under the state and no discrimination shall be made on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth or residence. Thus as far as the state is concerned, the state has no religion of its own and as a sovereign democratic republic, the people have solemnly resolved that they shall not make any distinction of discrimination among citizens on the basis of any of the above factors. The constitution abolished untouchability (Dalits, the practise of socially and legally ostracising group by regarding them as "ritually polluted") and made its practice in any form an offence punishable under the law. Untouchability was, by this point, considered as the worst disgrace and scourge of Indian society.

## Social Justice and Human Rights as Parts of Democracy

One of the salient aspects of democracy is the principle of social justice. The principle of social justice is to be considered as fairness. Habermasian notions of "inclusion of the other" and the "symmetrical understanding" are useful in this context. Habermas seeks "a non-levelling and non-appropriating inclusion of the other in his otherness because citizens who share a common political life also are others to one another, and each is entitled to remain as other".[40] Treating the other as equal is a part of social justice. There should be a symmetrical relation and should be understood that treating others as equal is not an act of benevolence, but an act of social justice.

39    Prasad, Amar Nath. 2003. *Critical Response to V.S. Naipaul and Mulk Raj Anand*. New Delhi, Sarup and Sons.

40    Thomassen, L. 2006. The inclusion of the other? *Political Theory, Vol.* 34, No. 4, p. 439-62.

Another significant aspect of democracy is the notion of human rights. Rights like socio-economic rights are equally important rights but do not exist in a natural state. These rights are to be made or created. A right to work and education for example, are to be created by the state. Otherwise, they are not as meaningful. So the distinction between natural and other rights is that in the case of natural rights, they exist whereas others are to be created. Apart from this distinction it is also argued that there are different dimensions of a right. One important division is the distinction between right's content and its scope:

"The content of a right consists of whatever it is a right *to*. The content of the right I have claimed is to be given development aid. To challenge the content of my alleged right would be to deny that anyone has a right with that content. The scope of a right consists of the class of things whose normative positions are stipulated by the right".[41]

The Indian Constitution, in Part III, guarantees certain fundamental freedoms to criticize and the obligation of the state not to encroach upon such rights. The right to life and personal liberty is one of such important rights. The Constitution makers took three long years to decide on the nature and content of this right. A perusal of the Constituent Assembly debates reveals how the founding fathers in order to ensure favourable conditions in the pursuit of happiness, fought for the right to life and liberty for all persons. The Constituent Assembly of India considered comprehensive systems of fundamental liberties to be drawn as a part of the Constitution. The Constituent Assembly began its deliberations on 9 December 1946.

The first achievement was the adoption of the Objective Resolution on 22 January 1947, moved by Pandit Jawarlal Nehru on 13 December 1946. It provided that people of India would be guaranteed freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, association and vocation. The Constitution of India has issued two broad mandates to the Parliament, the Legislatures of the States and to all institutions of the Government. They are: (1) not to take away or abridge certain rights described as Fundamental Rights; and (2) to apply certain principles described as Directive Principles of State Policy. Both are interrelated. Directive Principles of State Policy is the ancient Indian practice of laying down policies by the *Dharmasastra* for the State. The directive principles of State policy enunciated in Part IV of the Indian Constitution is nothing but the principles of *Raja Dharma*. Fundamental principles of governance means Dharma or the path of duty of the government. Thus these principles can be traced either to divine will or right reason. The idea of embodying a code of Directive Principles of State Policy has evidently been borrowed by Indian Constitution makers from the Irish Constitution of 1937, which contains a number of similar provisions called "Directive Principles of State Policy". These principles require a careful and imaginative approach and faithful adherence. They connect India's future, present and past and give strength to the pursuits of the social revolution in our great and ancient land. Directive principles aim at making the Indian masses free in the positive sense, free from the passivity engendered by centuries of coercion by society and by nature, free from object physical conditions that have prevented them from fulfilling their best selves. The Directive principles embody the philosophy of the Indian Constitution and contain a system of values, some of which are borrowed from the liberal humanitarian tradition of the West. Some are peculiar too and have grown out of the Indian milieu and yet some others represent an attempt to fuse the traditional and modern modes of life and thought.

## Relation between Sustainability and Development

The relationship between sustainability and development is always complex. The problem is not just that it can be hard to discern where the sustainability arrow is pointing. The very status of sustainability sometimes remains unclear. Is sustainability a good thing by definition or by implication? Munasinghe defines the social dimension of sustainability as follows:

"The socio-cultural concept of sustainability seeks to maintain the stability of social and cultural systems, including the reduction of destructive conflicts. Both intragenerational equity (especially elimination of poverty), and intergenerational equity (involving the rights of future generations) are important aspects of this approach". [42]

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41    *Sumner, L.W. 1987. The Moral Foundation of Rights.* Oxford, Oxford University Press.

42    Bhose, J.S.R.G. 2003. *NGOs and Rural Development. Theory and Practice.* New Delhi, Ashok Mittal.

The distinction between environmental sustainability and development components of sustainable development has the advantage of avoiding the ambiguities inherent in such terms as "economic sustainability", "social sustainability" and "cultural sustainability" where it is not certain what is to be sustained and how sustainability would affect environmental capital. For instance, the concept of social sustainability might be taken to mean the sustaining of current societies and their social structures when the meeting of human needs without developing environmental capital implies major changes to existing social structures. Social sustainability can be taken to mean the social measure needed to prevent social disruption or conflict, and the reduction of poverty justified by this, as McGranahan, Songsore and Kjellen point out.

## Human Element in Development

Development always must take into account the human element. In order to understand the value and importance of the human element, one must look into ethical aspects, i.e. the ethical outlook. All these years we had been concentrating only on the end but the means were not taken into account. Here I would like to say how the great Indian leader Mahatma Gandhi stressed the importance of the means also. Kant's categorical imperative very aptly explains this in a different way. "Act so as to treat mankind, in your own person as well as in that of anyone else, always as an end, never merely as a means".[43] Ethics and economics must always go together to see a sustainable development in the globe. The Gandhian principle that commerce without morality will be a failure.

## New Economic Policy

In the economic history of post-Independence India the year 1991 is important as the year the country underwent a severe economic crisis triggered by an acute balance of payments deficit. Because of this, more fundamental changes in the content of and approach to economic policy were introduced. The objective was to improve the productivity and efficiency of the system. The regulatory mechanism involving multitudes of controls had fragmented capacity and reduced competition even in the private sector. The key ideas of the new economic policy were towards creating a more competitive environment in the economy. This is to be achieved by removing the barriers to entry and the restrictions on the growth of firms. While the changes in the industrial policy seek to bring about a greater competitive environment domestically, the trade policy seeks to improve the international competitiveness subject to the degree of protection offered by the tariffs which are themselves coming down. Looking from the point of view of the growth rate, the Indian economy has performed well in the post-reform period.

## Globalization and Governance in India and the Role of Civil Society

It has been agreed that globalization always causes transformation, transformation of economies from command to market economies. This is visible in different countries in South Asia and South-East Asia where there is a clear move towards market-oriented economic regimes. It is believed that globalization would promote convergence of the industrial societies in regard to the basic features of economy, polity and society. As for polity, it is believed that globalization would strengthen democracy and federalization process, promote decentralization and participatory governance, ensure transparency in administration and accountability of political leaders and bureaucrats to people, and cause downsizing of government and weakening of the state so that civil society will come to play a larger role in the delivery of public goods. These changes in the policy are considered to be the logical consequence of the economic reform process. Thus, the reforms, on the final analysis, are meant to promote efficiency in production and distribution, and to integrate the national economics into the world economy. These changes in the profile of the economy would be accompanied by similar changes in the polity too. The changes that are likely to occur in the polity are efficiency in governance and integration of the governing units. The former

43  Kant, Immanuel. 1785. *Groundwork of the Metaphysic of Morals.* (German: *Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten*), trans. H.J. Paton. 1964. New York: Harper and Row.

goal can be achieved by developing governments with emphasis on the principles of transparency and accountability and by providing space for the civil society by downsizing the government. The goal of integrating the national polity can be achieved by a process of federalization especially by deepening it wherever it already exists. It may be of interest here to examine to what extent globalization has initiated such a change process in regard to the above parameters of the polity in India. India, which has a democratic political system with a federal government, has a union government at the national level and state governments at the state level with a dash of local self-governments in the rural and urban areas. The liberalization and globalization process is supposed to give primacy to the market in meeting the needs of the people. So much so, that the role of government in the economic life of the people logically should be reduced.

Civil society, comprising various organizations of people meant to provide services, is an outgrowth of the inadequacy or even the failure of the state to deliver some public goods and services on a scale required and at reasonable prices. These organizations have been growing in strength in recent years especially during the post-reform period. Civil society emerged and was growing even while the state was tending to occupy new spaces. What is notable is that since the post-reform period the civil society is not only occupying the space vacated by the state but it is also moving into areas where the state and private sectors are operating. The opening up of the economy to foreign goods, capital and political ideas on a larger scale than before soon after the onset of globalization has led to the realization on the part of well meaning individuals and social activists to take up the cause of the weaker sections of society in particular and the community in general. When citizens became dissatisfied with the services provided by the state they organized themselves to reject state help and to provide such services more efficiently. The solid waste management in the urban areas is a case in point. In many towns and cities citizens have with or without the help of NGOs organized door to door garbage collection and its disposal. Talking about the NGOs which is yet another important constituent of the civil society they have gone into a series of areas starting from organizing the poor and looking after the welfare of the old, the disabled, widows, and street children to provide health and education facilities, drinking water, better sanitation and such other basic needs in both rural and urban areas.

The market economy must be combined with social responsibility in order to create long-term growth, stability and full employment. Further it is said that the benefits of globalization are not being realized for all our people, especially in the developing world where income distribution has become more unequal. Both points are very important and must be studied carefully.

## Problems Faced in Developing Countries like India

In developing countries like India, the most threatening problems are the environmental problems. The dangers of exposure are high, especially for women and children. Inadequate household water supplies and sanitation are typically more crucial to peoples' well being than polluted waterways. There is often more exposure to air pollution in smoky kitchens than outdoors. Waste accumulating, uncollected in the neighbourhoods often poses more serious problems. Flies breeding in waste and mosquitoes breeding in still water sites can add considerably to local health risks.

Another important problem is gender inequality. Improvement for women's health education and employment is highlighted very well by the project group. Gender inequality is a serious problem for unborn girls in Indian societies. It is abused for prenatal sex selection in favour of boys or female infanticide. Men and boys often receive preferential treatment in terms of food within the household and medicine and health care when persons are sick or injured. Not a day passes without a newspaper report on at least one case of female infanticide.

The following areas must be looked into seriously for the future of India:

1. Market Transformation: Sustainable industrial production and consumption in cities requires a market transformation on both the supply and demand sides. For this, public policies at the national level should steer industrial development via regulations, economic instruments and planning (including strategic environmental assessment) to deal with persistent market failures.

2. Social Justice: The costs of industrial development in cities have fallen mostly on the poor and excluded. Benefits to the poor are not taken into account. Thus social justice is denied to the majority of the society.

3. Extended Responsibility: Producers and retailers must adopt an extended sense of responsibility for the social environmental impacts of their products from cradle to grave. They must give assurance that raw materials are suitably sourced with zero pollution during manufacture and supported by programs for consumption and recycling after use.

4. Planning and Precaution: Sustainable development is by definition focused on the long term and manufacturing. This means adopting a precautionary approach to future developments, avoiding the build-up of potential liabilities such as contaminated land and also to ensure that technological innovation is geared to sustainable requirements.

5. Community Empowerment: Employees, consumers and the community form a triangle. This means community consultation, participatory and public reporting is very much needed.

6. Global Cooperation: This is essential for interaction and competition

In India, petroleum refiners, textiles, pulp and paper and industrial chemicals produce 27% of the industrial output, but contribute 87% of sulphur dioxide emissions and 70% of nitrogen emissions from the entire industrial sector. The Bhopal tragedy is one example where the human values were not taken into account by the company and as a result of this we lost thousands of human lives. In India, most cities are not planned with foresight. As a result of this, there is declining air and water quality, water shortage, congestion, noise and closure of industries.

• Constraints on industrial pollution control in Indian cities are:
• Land-use patterns that are poorly regulated.
• Industrial areas located amidst residential areas.
• The large number of small scale industries that lack pollution control and treatment facilities.
• An absence of clear responsibility for the safe collection, transportation and disposal of industrial waste.

# Philosophy, Dialogue and Difference

*Philip Cam, Australia*

## Introduction

Philosophy reflects the context of human experience. By this I mean that while philosophy exhibits transcendent and universalizing tendencies it is also inevitably embedded in a historical and cultural matrix and bears its marks. If the combination of transcendence and universality with contextuality and embeddedness is something of an apparent contradiction, it is a predicament from which there is no escape. Contextuality is unavoidable. Philosophy suggests new meanings and constructs possible worlds, which are reactions to the conditions out of which they evolve. And yet when philosophy constructs new concepts and theories, and critiques the context from which it springs, this suggests some viewpoint beyond that context from which it can gain the vantage needed to carry out its work. In this connection, until recently, philosophy has pretended that it can survey its subject matter from the Olympian heights and offer godlike pronouncements of absolute and universal truth. Having dispensed with this illusion, the power of philosophy to transcend its context still needs to be understood.

I will argue that this interplay of the contextual with the transcendent in philosophy is essentially dialogical and can be understood in terms of the pragmatics of dialogue. I will sketch the salient features of the dialogical encounter and argue that it provides philosophy with the potential for productive engagement across difference. And I will end by suggesting that this supplies a model for dealing with differences of value in the world today.

## Philosophy

I will be using Socrates as a convenient reference point in much of the discussion that follows, so allow me to first of all expand on what I mean by the contextuality of experience in philosophy by way of a thumbnail sketch. While the historical record is somewhat uncertain and subject to scholarly debate, the traditional narrative that has been constructed around Socrates will be sufficient to make my point.

Cicero tells us that Socrates sought "to call philosophy down from the heavens and set her in the cities of men" and there to "compel her to ask questions about life and morality and things good and evil".[44] Before Socrates, he says, "philosophy dealt with numbers and movements, with the problem whence all things came, or whither they returned, and zealously inquired into the size of the stars, the spaces that divided them, their courses and all celestial phenomena".[45] Earlier in life, Socrates had almost certainly immersed himself in inquiries into nature, as Plato has him tell Cebes in the Phaedo.[46] There Socrates says that after enthusiastically embracing the study of natural science in his youth, he found that its methods led him only to confusion. They seemed to be incapable of providing the understanding that he sought of the nature and causes of things. Socrates says that he had turned to a book by Anaxagoras in which the philosopher held that in the beginning all was chaos until mind imposed order upon

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44 Cicero. 1966. *Tusculan Disputations,* with an English translation by J.E. King. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

45 *Ibid.*

46 *Phaedo*, 96a-100a. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns (eds), 1999. *The Collected Dialogues of Plato.* Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press. All references to Plato's dialogues are to this collection. While Plato's early dialogues are generally regarded as providing a faithful portrait of Socrates, this matter is, as I said, a subject of considerable historical scholarship. For an introduction to the problems of historical scholarship regarding Socrates, see Taylor, A.E. 1951. *Socrates.* Westpoint, Con, Greenwood Press. For more detailed recent accounts, see Vlastos, Gregory. 1991. *Socrates, Ironist and Moral Philosopher.* Cambridge and Ithaca, Cambridge and Cornell University Presses; and Brickhouse, Thomas C. and Smith, Nicholas D. (2000). *The Philosophy of Socrates.* Boulder, Col, Westview Press.

the world. Eager to find an account of what was best for each thing and good for all, he was sorely disappointed. For he had thought that if the mind produces order and is the universal cause, then the "mind in producing order sets everything in order and arranges each individual thing in the way that is best for it". So that "there was only one thing for a man to consider with regard both to himself and to everything else, namely the best and highest good".[47] Socrates soon discovered that Anaxagoras' use of mind served simply as a first cause of order, and that it was otherwise dispensed with; that Anaxagoras' explanations made no reference to what is best, but proceeded according to material principles. This disappointment is telling. Socrates may have begun with a passion for inquiry into nature, but what he hoped to discover was a moral order. It was the moral rather than the material blueprint of the world that interested Socrates. His was a quest after the good.

As Xenophon puts it, Socrates "was always conversing about human things—examining what is pious, what is impious, what is noble, what is shameful, what is just, what is unjust, what is moderation, what is madness, what is courage, what is cowardice, what is a city, what is a statesman, what is rule over human beings, what is a skilled ruler over human beings, as well as about other things, knowledge of which he believed makes one a gentleman (noble and good) while those who are ignorant of them would justly be called slavish".[48]

In Plato's early dialogues, Socrates assumes that an inquiry into the nature of such things as virtue and justice should seek to reveal what all things rightly judged to be virtuous or just must have in common. This is why we find Socrates insisting over and over again that he is not interested merely in examples of the thing in question—examples of knowledge, virtue or courage. He is only interested in "that character in respect of which they [the various examples] don't differ at all, but are all the same," in their "common quality," or "what the thing itself is".[49]

Yet in Plato we find that Socrates and his interlocutors fail to meet this demand in one dialogue after another, no matter how hard they try. Some unsatisfactory ideas are discarded, that is true, and the discussants have learnt to find their way in inquiry a little better than before; but they haven't acquired knowledge of the kind that they sought. In a moment I will offer a diagnosis for this failure.

Several features arise from this quick sketch that all speak in one way or another of the Athenian milieu at this high point of classical antiquity:

(1) Socrates is concerned with how we are to live. His concerns are practical and moral and not just intellectual. However, his approach to such questions is an intellectually inquiring one, not one based on established convention, authority or revelation. It stands in marked contrast to the traditional sources of value. From where did this appeal to reason spring? I believe that part of the explanation may be found in the fact that Socrates is applying to the social and moral domain an attitude of enlightenment that fuelled Ionian science in the pre-Socratic period. This attitude was in the air.

(2) While the inquiry purports to be universal, to seek general definitions and to go to the essence of things, the discussions are those between a philosopher and his fellows living in an ancient metropolis, where religious observance, reputation, the duties of civil defence, and the demands of statecraft express upper-class concerns with the good life. That is to say, the philosophical interests of Socrates and his interlocutors are clearly moulded by the social and historical context.

(3) Socrates is a gregarious philosopher, to be found out and about town engaging his peers in dialogue. This is not incidental. Socrates does not claim to be the bearer of wisdom; he does not proclaim from on high, but goes into the market place and offers his services as a midwife of "the soul which is in travail of birth," assisting in the delivery of the other's "embryo thoughts".[50] That Socrates does not set himself up as a moral authority, but seeks wisdom through collaborative inquiry, where the teacher is also a learner and the learner a teacher, is very much emblematic of the democratic ideals of ancient Athens.

47    *Phaedo,* 97d.

48    *Memorabilia,* I.1.16.

49    *Theaetetus,* 146; *Meno*, 71d-72d; *Laches*, 190e-192b.

50    *Theaetetus,* 150 c and 210 c.

(4) Socrates employs methods that are intellectually demanding and clearly not to everyone's liking, as we see only too clearly in Plato's dialogues when some people politely excuse themselves while others walk off in a huff. Socrates is the "stinging gadfly" of the great and noble Athenian horse.[51] That philosophy might assume such a critical role in society eventually pitted Socrates against deadly reactionary forces, as we know, and yet we owe the birth of such a philosophy to the conditions of life in ancient Athens.

(5) Finally, the results of Socratic inquiry are almost always negative. Rather than leading to the moral enlightenment that was sought, they reveal only our ignorance. This may save us from complacency and action based on false claims to knowledge; and like Theaetetus, we may even hope to improve the viability of our ideas. Going by the results of the Platonic dialogues, however, we had better assume that a Socratic way of life is good in and of itself. The idea that the good life is the examined life, which marries the moral with the intellectual, is the product of a morally serious and yet sceptical cast of mind. It is the antithesis of a life lived in obedience to established moral decrees, the certainty of which it would be perfidious to question. Once again, such a philosophy would not sit well with a traditional or an authoritarian society, and for the birth of such a philosophy in the ancient world, we are brought back to the intellectual and social setting of Athens.

Now let us focus on Socrates' universalizing tendency, and the failure so notable in the early Platonic dialogues to discover what all things rightly judged to be virtuous, just and so on must have in common. One may reasonably suspect that the reason for this failure lies in the very assumption upon which the inquiry is based. Failure will be inevitable if the instances of such things as virtue and justice are not all definable in terms of a common set of properties, but merely resemble one another in a variety of ways. And why shouldn't such moral accomplishments more closely resemble other cultural phenomena rather than being like discovering the chemical elements or other natural kinds? It is at least problematic to suggest that all works of art or all architectural works must have some defining set of properties in common, as opposed to all samples of, say, gold or oxidation. We may say that all and only samples of gold contain the elementary metal of atomic weight 197 but that the addition of oxygen to a substance is both necessary and sufficient for oxidation. What is both necessary and sufficient for something to be a work of art? What do all and only architectural works have in common? Such things as justice and virtue vary as cultural products and practices do from one place to another and over time – from Paris to Peshawar and the Stone Age to the Space Age. And it may be that only cultural continuity and resemblance rather than necessary and sufficient conditions give the corresponding concepts whatever stability they have.

Wittgenstein famously said that there is nothing that all games have in common which could be used to define them. Rather they resemble one another in much the same way as do members of a family.[52] Wittgenstein gave this as an example to combat the craving for generality that he took to result from "tendencies connected with particular philosophical confusions", such as our "tendency to look for something in common to all the entities which we commonly subsume under a general term". And he went on to say:

"The idea of a general concept being a common property of its particular instances connects up with other primitive, too simple, ideas of the structure of language. It is comparable to the idea that properties are ingredients of the things which have the properties; e.g., that beauty is an ingredient of all beautiful things as alcohol is of beer and wine, and that we therefore could have pure beauty, unadulterated by anything that is beautiful".[53]

Socrates seeks the "common quality" in all things that can be subsumed under a general term such as 'the beautiful', 'the noble' and 'the just'; and he talks of this as a search for "what the thing itself is"—what beauty is, or nobility, justice and so on. In Plato, as we know, this leads to the doctrine of the forms of these things, which are pure and unadulterated. Yet even the idea of uncovering beauty, nobility or

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51    *Apology*, 30e.

52    Wittgenstein, Ludwig. 1969. *The Blue and Brown Books,* 2nd edn.. Oxford, Basil Blackwell, p. 17; and Wittgenstein, Ludwig. 1958. *Philosophical Investigations,* 2nd edn. Oxford, Basil Blackwell, Part I §§ p. 66-67.

53    *Blue Book,* p. 17.

justice in itself by discovering the property common to all the things that provide instances of it, appears to commit Socrates to both of Wittgenstein's "primitive, too simple, ideas of the structure of language". Socrates' obsession with this idea is as clear a case of a philosophically induced craving for generality as one could hope to find. It is sustained by his longing to discover a moral substrate to our world rather than a purely material one, which we first met in his response to Anaxagoras. This philosophical inclination predisposes Socrates to look for common ingredients instead of family resemblance, social modification and cultural analogy. It blinds him to the possibility that such things as beauty and justice are not fixed and finalized features of the world, but variable and evolving ones. It limits him to an inquiry in which the moral order must be discovered rather than invented.

The root of the problem lies in the assumption that the moral order is something already inherent in the nature of things and that needs only to be discovered. We need to divest ourselves of this presumption much as we must abandon our allegiance to the idea that there has to be a common quality in all things to which a name applies. We need to acknowledge that an inquiry into such things as justice and freedom should engage us as much in constructive or creative activity as in gaining a clearer understanding of their existing manifestations. We need to allow for the extension of our concepts of freedom and justice to take account of changing historical and social circumstances, much as we might extend the concept of a game to cover cases that bear only a family resemblance to those with which we were earlier acquainted.

We can hardly gain a better appreciation of this fact than in considering Plato's[54] view of justice in the *Republic*. Here justice is expressed in the rule "that each one man must perform one social service in the state for which his nature was best adapted". He then has Socrates express this colloquially as the saying "that to do one's own business and not to be a busybody is justice". Not being insiders, we gain a clearer appreciation of what he means when Socrates goes on to elaborate this as "the principle embodied in child, woman, slave, free, artisan, ruler, and ruled, that each performed his one task as one man and was not a versatile busybody".[55]

It is difficult for us to see the justice in each person keeping to his or her own station in life, even if it involved being a slave. We do not see justice in such social arrangements. Nor are we likely to think, with Plato, that these arrangements offer services for which the slave's nature is best adapted. The manifest injustice that we see in the social arrangements of ancient Athens might have been ultimately incomprehensible to Plato, but the way that he and Socrates went about trying to define justice only exacerbates the problem. Reliance on the common features of justice in familiar surroundings all too easily leads to a definition in terms of accepted social arrangements.

To compare Plato's understanding of justice with our own is not meant to show how much more we understand about the nature of justice than he did, of course, but to warn ourselves of the limitations of his methods. A merely analytical approach to the tasks of philosophy is more likely to provide a justification of existing conditions than a means of transcending them. As Karl Marx once famously noted: "The philosophers have interpreted the world in various ways; the point however is to change it".[56] When he made that comment Marx obviously did not have Socrates in mind. For Socrates was intent upon changing the world. As Marx would be quick to point out, however, Socrates' conception of moral values failed to come to grips with the processes of social and historical change.

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54    Although put in the mouth of Socrates, unlike in the early dialogues, most scholars are agreed that we are here dealing with Plato's and not Socrates' views. For an influential defense of the distinction between the historical Socrates and his Platonic surrogate in Plato's dialogues see Vlastos, Gregory. *Socrates: Ironist and Moral Philosopher,* p. 45-106.

55    *Republic,* IV, 433a-d.

56    Karl Marx, *XIth thesis on Feuerbach.*

## Dialogue

According to Aristotle, along with the systematic use of inductive arguments, the attempt to develop a means of general definition was Socrates' chief contribution to philosophy.[57] Being concerned with the technical apparatus of philosophy, Aristotle downplays the fact that Socrates provided us with the idea of a certain sort of encounter with one another, through which we might inquire together into matters of common human concern. I suggest that Socrates' main contribution lies precisely in having developed this form of association, in which philosophy becomes a part of communal life. We are speaking here of philosophical dialogue, the Socratic version of which is familiar to us from Plato. It will be useful to examine the general pragmatics of this form of interaction, by which I mean not specifically the Socratic *elenchus* but the broader structure within which the *elenchus* sits.

First of all, a philosophical dialogue requires an agreed upon subject matter— some question, problem, issue or proposition that is up for discussion. Even if the subject matter is not agreed at the outset, there must be at least an agreement to settle on the terms of the discussion for a dialogue to begin. Secondly, dialogue is a cooperative interplay of opinions, implying some initial divergence or difference of thought or opinion and a readiness to explore those differences. There are two elements here. Dialogue is situated at the intersection of contending opinions, conceptions, suppositions, propositions, attitudes or outlooks—what we may call different points of view. Without such differences, logically speaking, there is no basis for dialogue. Such contentions need not all be put at once, of course, but might be raised and considered *seriatim*, as we see in the Socratic dialogues. This difference in perspectives is implicit in all inquiry, by the way, making dialogue inquiry's natural form. Even the bare fact of different possibilities, upon which all inquiry depends, tends toward dialogue as soon as different attitudes, however tentative, are adopted towards them. In addition, however, dialogue is not just a clash of opinions, but involves an agreement to consider each other's opinions, to analyse and evaluate them, and, as we move along, to take them into account. One way of thinking about such an agreement, at least in an ideal speech community, is that dialogue aims at consensus. But that is not the only possible conception. The divergence of thought in dialogue provides the opportunity for the discussants to negotiate between different perspectives so as to reconstruct their own thought and gain greater understanding of the other. On this reading, the aim of dialogue may be critical reconstruction at home and tolerance abroad, rather than consensus.

Notice the strong contrast between the pragmatics of dialogue and that of debate. In debate opposing sides present arguments for or against a proposition. The object in debate is to win, not to come to consensus or to broaden one's horizons. In debate one argues the case from a given perspective, and listens to opposing views only to look for their weaknesses in order to discredit them. In debate, it would be a sign of weakness not to know where one stood. Debate therefore encourages a dogmatic attitude rather than an inquiring one. Debate often does not depend upon soundness of reasoning, but upon rhetorical devices designed to cut the ground from under one's opposition and to sway others to one's side. These are the tactics of lawyers and politicians, which, for better or worse, are deeply entrenched in the way that they conduct their affairs. By contrast, in dialogue we are free to express our agreement or disagreement as we see fit, provided that what we say is constructive. We do not take sides on an issue except as we feel that we should, we may speak both for and against a suggestion as we continue to deliberate, and we may change our minds if reason dictates. This is because, rather than striving to see our opinions prevail in dialogue, we are reflecting upon them in the hope that we may receive instruction.

It is arguable that dialogue is the basis of thought when thought takes a deliberative form. Plato says that the process of thinking is "a discourse that the mind carries on with itself…simply talking to itself, asking questions and answering them". The mind comes to judgment, he goes on to say, "when doubt is over and the two voices affirm the same thing".[58] Following Lev Vygotsky's genetic law of cultural development, we might regard the mind's dialogue of which Plato speaks as an internalization of dialogue in its social form that begins in childhood:

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57    See *Metaphysics,* 1078b, 17-29.

58    *Theaetetus,* 190a

Any function in the child's cultural development appears twice, or on two planes. First it appears on the social plane, and then on the psychological plane. First, it appears between people as an interpsychological category, and then within the child as an intrapsychological category. Social relations or relations among people genetically underlie all higher functions and their relationships.[59]

That dialogue between the child and the more competent other might be the origin of the child's discursive thought is the counterpart to John Dewey's claim that thought continues to come to fruition only through communication, and that its realization is most complete when we think together in "face-to-face relationships by means of direct give and take" by sharing our experience through dialogue:

"Signs and symbols, language, are the means of communication by which a fraternally shared experience is ushered in and sustained. But the winged words of conversation in immediate intercourse have a vital import lacking in the fixed and frozen words of written speech. . . Logic in its fulfilment recurs to the primitive sense of the word: dialogue. Ideas which are not communicated, shared, and reborn in expression are but soliloquy, and soliloquy is but broken and imperfect thought".[60]

For Dewey, dialogue is the natural form of linguistic thought. This is because language is essentially a means of communication and problem-solving in social life. Dewey is right to claim that the private interludes of soliloquy are imperfect. Lacking a proper interlocutor, they are linguistically derivative and incomplete. They beg for a respondent, someone who listens to what is said and who offers advice or consolation. Little wonder that soliloquy so easily gives way to those even more obviously derivative episodes where, as Plato says, we become our own interlocutor and converse inwardly with ourselves.

This connection between dialogue and forms of thought leads me to three brief points:

(1) There is typically a two-way movement in dialogue. A suggestion is proffered and then it is considered. A hypothesis is stated and then assessed. A rough idea is put forward and then worked upon. We can describe these as the interplay of the creative and the critical phases of thought. Since this kind of interplay is inherent in dialogue, dialogue provides a natural basis for people to learn to think at once critically and creatively.

(2) To temper our experience by submitting it to the judgment of others is to become more reasonable. I have in mind such things as learning to listen to other people's points of view, to concede the implications of our own opinions, to learn to explore our disagreements reasonably, and to change our minds where that is warranted on the basis of reason and evidence. Reasonableness and associated traits (such as fair-mindedness, open-mindedness and tolerance) are the hallmarks of a thoughtful person, one whose thinking is socially well developed.

(3) By extension, exploring different points of view, discussing disagreements reasonably, and keeping an open mind, all develop forms of regard and practices of open intellectual exchange that support the development of more open societies. They are the ways of thinking and forms of regard desperately needed if people anywhere are to develop more deeply democratic ways of life.

Finally, let me express what has been said about philosophical dialogue in terms of an evolutionary understanding of universality and contextuality. In dialogue different perspectives or points of view come into critical and creative engagement. Dialogue helps to loosen our attachments to preconceived ideas. It makes us more self-aware and self-critical by bringing us to look at ourselves through the eyes of others. It enables us to reach beyond the limits of previous experience, enlarging the sphere of possibilities that we are prepared to entertain. And it stimulates us to create something new from the warp and weft of disparate experience. Given this, dialogue is surely one mechanism through which culture evolves. From an evolutionary viewpoint, when thoughts and ideas that are expressive of cultural variation and diversity enter into the generative process of dialogue their progeny are would-be adaptations within an environment reconstructed by tentative cultural commingling. Initially these

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59    Vygotsky, Lev. 1978. *Mind in Society: The Development of Higher Psychological Processes.* Boston, Harvard University Press, p. 57.

60    Dewey, John. 1991. *The Public and its Problems.* Athens, Ohio, Ohio University Press, p. 218. (Originally published in 1927.)

ideas subsist in a commingled culture that as yet has but a transient and imaginary existence. Yet once they arise through philosophical dialogue adaptive ideas have the potential to bring to fruition the tentative cultural commingling that gave them birth. They give effect to cultural cross-fertilization and '*heterosis*'.[61] I suggest that this is the real basis of the supposed transcendence and universality of philosophical ideas. They inhabit possible worlds that are created through a dialogical process. They are transcendent only as inhabitants of worlds of the imagination. Their universality can there be conceived as truly unlimited. Yet if they manage to gain a hold of our affections, they can help us to reconstruct the world in which we live and breathe. Their universality is now strictly an imaginative overlay upon what is in fact a partial and fledgling existence. Though in actuality always culturally bound, they can have a spreading activation effect through the diverse and tangled webs of culture and thus their consequences may be widely felt. This is the actual workings out of their claim to universality—expressive, as it were, of their "will to power".

## Difference

We may be products of our culture, but we are not its prisoners.[62] We are no more incapable of growing and developing through contact with people who are different from ourselves than we are condemned to an unreflective conformity to our own ways. And there is no better way of coming to understand and learn from people whose lives have been constructed around different values and beliefs than by entering into dialogue with them. Nor is there a healthier way of freeing ourselves from a blind attachment to our own culturally induced commitments. Dialogue helps us to develop more open-minded attitudes toward others just as it gives us a broader perspective on ourselves. We may contrast this with conditions that are all too depressingly familiar. Divisions not dealt with through dialogue tend to show themselves in such things as ethnic and racial hatred, political loathing, sectarian violence, and all kinds of mistrust and discrimination. Admittedly, prevailing conditions sometimes make dialogue difficult. Yet when racial, ethnic, religious, political or other differences pit us against each other, we are more than ever in need of dialogue. At such times we need the power of dialogue to open our minds to one another and to help us to grow in our common humanity.

The kind of encounter that I have in mind is that philosophical practice which is an on-going dialogue between people who are prepared to examine their conception of things and to inquire together into what they should value and believe. The habit of collaborative inquiry is not a culturally neutral phenomenon, of course, and does not sit comfortably with many of our current political, industrial, educational, religious and other arrangements, which are still too much steeped in the remnants of authoritarian traditions. Yet it also runs against the current of progressive tendencies in contemporary life that sanction our differences and encourage different individuals, groups and peoples to go their own ways. So it is not just that philosophical engagement cuts across the modus operandi of domineering individuals, groups and nations wishing to assert their power and authority. It also runs counter to well-meaning policies and social taboos aimed at curtailing open discussion of our differences.

As opposed to dialogue, we are all too much fixed on dealing with our differences in terms of such things as lobbying and negotiation. Lobbying is attempting to influence a policy or other outcomes in favour of a group's selective interests, settled positions, values and beliefs, by bringing pressure to bear on those in authority. Negotiation is bargaining with competing groups in order to achieve an outcome as close as possible to the same. Dialogue, by contrast, is inclusive and collaborative rather than adversarial and competitive. It is synthetic. It weaves materials together into something new. Those who would emphasize it are pressing for a new kind of world. It is one that takes us beyond both outmoded orthodoxy and newfound multiplicity, providing us with a third way of regarding our differences. In place of an authoritarian demand for conformity and a denigration of difference, multiplicity rightly values our differences. Yet in nurturing our differences rather than stressing the possibilities of engagement

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61  In biology 'heterosis' refers to the more vigorous traits that show up in hybrids in selective cross-breeding.

62  The basic anthropological tenet that human beings grow and develop as persons only through their immersion in culture should not be conflated with cultural determinism—the view that the particular mix of nutrients in the cultural medium completely determines the social behavior and psychological dispositions of persons.

across them, it fails to realize our potential for growth. Not understanding how to create new syntheses, it merely entrenches our differences.[63]

Difference is a means of forward movement in a dialogical world. Respecting our differences does not mean regarding them as sacrosanct. Rather, it means employing them as vehicles for change. We show respect for our differences when we explore them together in order to discover what is to be said for alternative possibilities and different points of view. This includes learning to use our disagreements as occasions for gaining a better appreciation of both the potentials and the limitations of our present convictions. It involves building upon each other's ideas. It means trying to achieve a more inclusive view. Showing respect for differences also means moving away from habitually seeing ourselves as advocates of firmly established positions. It includes learning to change our minds in response to evidence and argument. It means bouncing off each other in order to discover fresh possibilities, some of which may hold out a far greater promise than the certitudes under which we presently labour. It involves a preparedness to explore our differences together in the spirit of open inquiry, and thereby to discover the extent of our ignorance. This is the path to wisdom that Socrates began to mark out.

In comparison with a dialogical world the post-modern condition is a tawdry thing. Dialogue makes all the difference between tolerating our diversity and working with it. Between fixing on our differences and creating new syntheses. Between papering over conflicts and using them creatively. Between holding to disparate ideas and seeking a wider field of vision. Between living with old fears and going forward with fresh hope.

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63   Nearly forty years ago, Robert Paul Wolff criticized pluralism in America in *The Poverty of Liberalism*. Beacon Press (1968). He argued that there was a pressing need to "give up the image of society as a battleground of competing groups and [to] formulate an ideal of society more exalted than the mere acceptance of opposed interests and diverse customs" (p. 160). Wolff went on to sketch a philosophy of community which centered on the idea of 'rational community'. By this he meant "an activity, an experience, a reciprocity of consciousness among morally and politically equal rational agents who freely come together and deliberate with one another for the purpose of concerting their wills in the positing of collective goals and in the performance of common actions" (p. 192). The dialogical society is in this sense a kind of rational community.

# Globalization

*Issa Abyad, Jordan*

I believe this word has a different meaning for each individual, depending on his/her point of view and from which angle it is viewed. For me, this word means that the globe has become smaller due to the vast change in technology we have experienced in the past twenty odd years. In my opinion never in human history we have experienced such quick advance in technology in a short period of time. This new technology has shortened time and distance between people. For example, the internet has given the chance to many people to communicate in a matter of seconds, and they can see each other without leaving their homes. Mobile phones have given people (especially in third world countries) the opportunity to communicate with others, without waiting for the telephone companies to connect their areas to the main system.

Medical progress has been enormous. The quality of life has improved dramatically, and the average life expectancy has improved all over the world. According to a list published by the UN, Andorra holds the first place with an average life expectancy of 83.5 followed by Japan 82, with Swaziland last with an average of 32.23 years. The list of achievements for humankind over this very short time in history is too long to be listed, but it has affected our life in a very positive yet different way. This rapid increase and improvement of technology has lead to globalization. Having said that, we have to admit that this rapid change had made many people wary of it, because either they can not come to terms or understand the so many new technological products, or because depending on their location on this plant, their background and beliefs. Some in third world countries (if not many) see it as a new form of imperialism, or a new form of dictation by the West on them on how to live their lives. Some see it as an attack on their traditions, customs and believes.

There are those who can see the positive side and ignore the negative side of globalization and then try to capitalize on the positive side to make it work for their benefit. These types of people see both side of the coin, because as we all know there is always two sides for everything happening or to a story. Let us remember the example of the half full glass of water, many would say it is half empty, and the others would say it is half full, it all depends on which side of the coin you want to see. When it comes to globalization, which is not a simple issue, it is a multi-sided situation because it affects many sides of our daily life. In my opinion this needs to be looked at as a very wide picture with smaller pieces within. Each small picture represents one side of this multi-sided issue. Globalization is affecting all of us (to some in a positive way and to some in a negative way) regardless of where we come from, what the colour of our skin is, and what we believe in. Those who look at the small part of the picture (each one has his/her own reasons for doing so) would have a different view from those who try to see the bigger picture.

No matter what each one of us thinks about globalization, we need to understand that it is the natural thing to happen, it is a result of the very rapid progress which has taken place in a very short period of time.

Once I got an email with a joke among the many junk emails I do get, which has a relation to our subject. The joke goes like this.

**Question:** What is the truest definition of globalization?

**Answer:** Princess Diana's death.

**Question:** How come?

**Answer**: An English princess with an Egyptian boyfriend crashes in a French tunnel, driving a German car with a Dutch engine, driven by a Belgian who was drunk on Scottish whiskey, followed closely by Italian paparazzi, on Japanese motorcycles, treated by an American doctor, using Brazilian medicines! And this is sent to you by an American, using Bill Gates' technology which he enjoyed stealing from the Japanese. And you are probably reading this on one of the IBM clones that use Taiwanese-made chips, and Korean-made monitors, assembled by Bangladeshi workers in a Singapore plant, transported

by lorries driven by Indians, hijacked by Indonesians, unloaded by Sicilian longshoremen, trucked by Mexican illegal aliens, and finally sold to you. What do you think of this joke? Is it a sick joke? Is it a description of globalization in a funny way? I am sure each one of us will look at it from a different point of view, don't you think so?

Jan Aart Scholte has argued that at least five broad definitions of 'globalization' can be found in the literature.

**1. Globalization as internationalization.** Here globalization is viewed 'as simply another adjective to describe cross-border relations between countries'. It describes the growth in international exchange and interdependence. With growing flows of trade and capital investment there is the possibility of moving beyond an inter-national economy, (where 'the principle entities are national economies') to a 'stronger' version, a globalized economy in which 'distinct national economies are subsumed and rearticulated into the system by international processes and transactions' (Hirst and Peters 1996: p. 8 and 10).

**2. Globalization as liberalization.** In this broad set of definitions, 'globalization' refers to 'a process of removing government-imposed restrictions on movements between countries in order to create an "open", "borderless" world economy' (Scholte 2000: p. 16). Those who have argued with some success for the abolition of regulatory trade barriers and capital controls have sometimes clothed this in the mantle of 'globalization'.

**3. Globalization as universalization.** In this use, 'global' is used in the sense of being 'worldwide' and 'globalization' is 'the process of spreading various objects and experiences to people at all corners of the earth'. A classic example of this would be the spread of computing, television etc.

**4. Globalization as westernization or modernization (especially in an 'Americanized' form).** Here 'globalization' is understood as a dynamic, 'whereby the social structures of modernity (capitalism, rationalism, industrialism, bureaucratism, etc.) are spread over the world, normally destroying pre-existent cultures and local self-determination in the process.

**5. Globalization as deterritorialization (or as the spread of supraterritoriality).** Here 'globalization' entails a 'reconfiguration of geography, so that social space is no longer wholly mapped in terms of territorial places, territorial distances and territorial borders. Anthony Giddens' has thus defined globalization as ' the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa. (Giddens 1990: p. 64). David Held et al (1999: p. 16) define globalization as a '"process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions - assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity and impact - generating transcontinental or inter-regional flows and networks of activity."

In my opinion the wider picture of globalization is what Anthony Diddens has defined globalization with "the intensification of worldwide social relations which links distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped or affected by events occurring many miles away and vice versa. I have to mention here that I am writing this paper on my laptop and listening to music from a Greek radio in Athens through the net, it is a great thing, and don't you think so?

I do agree with the first, second or third definitions, yet disagree with the fourth definition of globalization, which states that globalization destroys cultures and local self–determination in the process. This is not true because I believe any society can progress yet preserving its culture, it depends on how you interpret progress and culture.

Let us say for the sake of argument that one country opposes globalization and would like to protect its culture and self-determination. What can such country do, isolate it self from progress? Ban new technology from entering its borders? Ban the use of computers or satellites? What can be done? I believe this point can serve as a starting point for beginning a dialogue for this group.

# Globalization, Localization and Hybridization

*Rainier A. Ibana, The Philippines*

One of the most surprising incidents during my visit in Seoul, Republic of Korea, on the occasion of my participation in the World Congress of Philosophy was meeting young Koreans who spoke the Tagalog language as a consequence of their stay in the Philippines to learn English. I took the opportunity to tease them about the Tagalog accent in their spoken English; but what was even more delightful was when I was able to swap stories with them about the narratives of Korean telenovelas that have been dubbed and shown on Philippine television in recent years. I even met a student at Ewha University who went all the way to Canada as an exchange student in order to learn English with a Filipino migrant family. She did learn her Canadian English well but she also imbibed terminologies that indicated the hierarchical structure among Filipino children and their elders.

## Globalization

These stories are obviously instructive of the role of everyday life in the acquisition of languages. But they also reveal the extent of the ongoing intercultural exchanges in our part of the world as transportation, communication and information technologies continue to bridge geographical divides among peoples who were previously isolated from each other's cultures. The global migration of Filipino migrant workers has also brought home tragic and edifying stories that reveal the cultural and labour conditions in other countries. For example, migrant workers who have been sentenced to death, have hit the headlines of our national dailies and our politicians are quick to gain media mileage from these events by racing to save the lives of these newly proclaimed national heroes who have increased our foreign exchange reserves through the remittances they send back to their relatives. Anecdotal evidence also circulates through the internet about how overseas workers have brought our virtues of piety and comradeship to the many lonely places in the post-modern world.

The mediation of information technologies, furthermore, has mitigated the isolation and homesickness of these overseas workers by communicating with their families through the internet and cellular phones. With the advent of the so-called "flat world,"[64] digital technology workers and other professionals need not even leave their homes in order to access the international labour market. They simply subcontract work from their overseas counterparts in order to continue doing the latter's work at the end of the day when they forward their unfinished jobs before going to bed to their overseas counterparts, at around the same time when our workers in the Philippines are beginning to start their working hours. Lawyers, accountants, medical transcribers, illustrators and editors have benefited from these new technologies. As early as 1995, I actually had the opportunity of conducting my classes in the Philippines from Japan by teleconferencing with my students while I was attending a conference at the International Christian University in Tokyo.

## Localization

While these global developments are raging in the international arena, however, an antipodal social movement is emerging among local communities who are being left behind by those who have gained access to the digital competencies that enable the so-called netizens (citizens who are linked to the digital network) to participate in the rapidly changing development of the information and communication industries. Dormant social capital and virtues of cooperativism are harnessed by local communities in order to catch up with the rest of the world by mobilizing local government units and local schools in developing the necessary resources that will help pupils and their parents in gaining the necessary competencies, thus allowing them to uplift their academic and social conditions.

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64    Friedman, Thomas L. 2005. *The World is Flat*. New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux.

English language, along with mathematics and scientific literacy programs are being introduced by education reformers with the help of corporate social responsibility advocates of the business sector in order to sustain and feed the current human resource requirements of the telecommunication and information economy. There are even current attempts to make use of advanced telecommunication technologies to mediate the instructional needs of schools in far flung places. This is limited, however, by the lack of infrastructure such as electricity and the scarcity of technical support systems that are necessary for the maintenance of imported equipment.

Attention is being given, as a consequence of this aporia, to the local conditions of the educational system so that teaching materials and equipment can suit local needs and indigenous sensibilities. The development of local teaching materials and technologies is advocated and enhanced since these are believed to better facilitate the learning competencies of pupils. The debate on the linguistic medium of instruction continues to be waged in Congress, with believers who argue that pupils learn much faster through their mother tongues.

Even the tourism industry has been affected by this phenomenon of localization since tourists look for the exotic and distinctive features of localities instead of the generic urban environment of shopping malls. The Filipino government has embarked recently a program called "education plus tourism project" targeted to the Northeast Asian markets which are expected to flock to exotic places in the Philippines while learning English.

## Hybridization

The twin social forces of globalization and localization have not unexpectedly created a cultural hybrid in our midst as evidenced by multicultural signages that pervade our everyday lives. It is not unusual, for example, to dine at a seafood restaurant named Blue Marilyn that depicts an ecstatic image of actress Marilyn Monroe or buy something from a convenience outlet named West Side Store.

These witticisms take advantage of the power of name recall, derived from the hegemonic culture, in order to seek leverage in an eschewed economic system that favours the global system. These dominant cultures are assimilated into the cultural mainstream and continue to enrich the diversity of our cultural heritage which, since time immemorial, had been a haven for migrants and foreign traders. Arabic, Chinese and Indian peoples have visited our shores even before the coming of Spanish colonization and the American and Japanese occupations. We have accepted these historical epochs as integral aspects of our cultural heritage and we are taking advantage of these intercultural experiences in order to become adaptable and personable in meeting the challenges and promises of the 21st century.

These ambiguous attempts to deal with global labels have transformed indigenous products to the level of international standards as expressed in the parlance of the so called "world-class" quality of our professional and commercial endeavours. This does not mean that we merely receive exported products passively, although to a certain extent, local products are deemed inferior to imported ones because the latter are understandably deemed to be originally invented by and made from their countries of origin in comparison to their cheap imitations. When it comes to indigenous local products, however, we realize that they have to meet the rigorous demands of the global market if we are to have any chance in competing or at least meeting international standards of customer satisfaction.

Since we cannot become excellent in everything, however, we have noted the market niches where our skills are much more appreciated: the service industries and local tourism. The service industries, in particular, have capitalized on our cultural talent for inter-human relations as exemplified in the fields of the medical professions, call centre operations, and in entertainment and artistic productions that require communication skills. Raul Pertierra remarks, for example, that "the enormous success of mobile phones appears to be an exception [to technological adaptation] but its success is due to a strong cultural orientation for constant and perpetual contact".[65] Imported technologies are adopted, therefore, as a function of the already prevailing personalistic practices in everyday life.

Hybridization, therefore, is a natural consequence of the encounter between a local culture and its imported counterpart. The latter would not flourish if it cannot be grafted to an existing indigenous practice that merely awaits for an external stimulation for it to flourish. Not unlike Hegel's conception of the living activity of the development of thinking, we must view the spiritual heritage of nations as essentially alive and interacting with its environment.[66]

## The Meaning of Human Identity from a Philippine Context

The immersion of Filipino cultural personality to the social practices of everyday life is evident in our pervasive linguistic utterences that affix the social dimension of experience on almost every word that enters our vocabulary by means of the Tagalog prefix *KA*. *KA* is the second person singular pronoun equivalent to the words "you" in English or "tu" in Spanish. Used as a prefix, it can be affixed to any object or activity to show the shared context of an experience. We share the same room (*kakuwarto*), the same building (*kabuilding*), the same district (*kadistrito*), the same planet (*kaplaneta*). Even our differences (*kaiba*), moreover, can be shared: we can be enemies (*kalaban*) and opponents (*kabangga*) but we are still caught up in a shared struggle against one another. The capacity of the Tagalog prefix *KA* to performatively include differences and oppositions makes it a viable candidate for a metaphysical principle that infinitely embraces all other possible beings and entities within the ambit of human experience.

Although one may build a whole ontological edifice on this prefix in the same manner that Anaximander's *Apeiron* or Aquinas' *esse* and the Cartesian *cogito* grounded the whole of reality on one arhemedian standpoint, this totalitarian immersion in sociality, however, can and does make our cultural heritage vulnerable to subservience to the powerful forces of colonization and neo-colonization, as exemplified by our tendency to copy the commercial icons of consumerist cultures that idolize the glitter and glamour pandered by the mass media: blonde hair, white skin, manicured nails, high heels, and other fashionable appearances.

Even in the realm of philosophical thinking, our intelllectuals have the tendency to keep abreast with the latest jargon by refering to ourselves as local versions of dominant intellectuals in the same manner that our artists initially copy the popular style and manners that pervade the musical scene. As we mature in our thinking and craftmanship, however, we slowly begin to realize that we do have ways of proceeding that are uniquely our own.

In the Tagalog language, for example, the word "*ako*," refering to oneself as the first person singular speaker, can also mean owning up to one's actions as a responsible agent. *Ako*, with a slightly different accent, can also describe the act of owning up (*ako*) to an act or deed. This reflexive capacity to refer to oneself, and no one else, as the source of activity is at the heart of the problem of personal identity. Our identities are not only achieved accidentally, as a result of our interaction with others, but can be responsibly received as a constitutive dimension of oneself. One can, for example, change one's name, gender, citizenship, and religion. At the bottom of such transformation of identities, is the autonomous power of the self to legislate the formation of oneself as a responsibe agent.

Such power recognizes in oneself a potential other that can be received or dismissed. However, are intentional objects those that one is responsible for? In other words, a purely Kantian autonomous self has the tendency to be divested of identity because it does not have anything or anyone to identify with. In a corollary manner that the social self can suffocate its identity in the womb of another. The autonomous self, as Kant intended it to be, is only a regulative ideal. The concrete acting self, however, is always intentionally related to and immersed with others. In Filipino, the innermost self, "*kaakohan*," is sandwiched by the prefix *Ka* and the end fix *AN*. The former affirms the relational dimension of the self, while the latter particularizes the self within the context of social locations such as one's gender, religion or nationality.

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66    Hegel, G.W.F. 1974. Introduction to the History of Philosophy. Quentin Lauer, S.J. *Hegel's Idea of Philosophy*. New York, Fordham University Press, p. 75.

## Cultivating Philosophy from the Ground

These excursions into Filipino linguistic structures demonstrate how a local culture can be imbued with universal aspirations that can be elevated to the realm of philosophical discourse from within the context of peculiar linguistic practices. Language elevates human activity from the immediacy of objects and events to the realm of intersubjective and even universal understanding. When we communicate something to another, we transform the opacity of things and events from their palpable and audible materiality towards the transparency of linguistic utterances that can, by means of their intentional forms, be appropriated by others.

A joke among two adjacent provinces in the Philippines, such as the Pampango and Bulakeno speakers, for example, claims that the longest bridge is the one that spans their provinces because they use similar words for eggs (*ebon*) and birds (*ibon*). They claim that when one enters the bridge with an egg from one province, one would have to travel as far the required hatching time span of an egg before one can reach the other province. The human capacity to share jokes that come from different contexts shows how meanings be shared and that the abyss that divides human communication can in principle be bridged by collective efforts towards mutual understanding.

The inherent dignity of being human lies in this capacity to recognize fellow humans (*kapwa-tao*) who can, in principle, be understood as oneself and as another. We become human in the manner by which we treat others as fellow human beings. Transgressions against humanity rests, in most cases, in the failure to accept the equally valid claims made by others about their humanity. The process of becoming human, therefore, begins when we recognize in others the inherent humanity in us.

This process of recognition assumes that beneath the veneer of our cultural differences lies an underlying similarity that binds our humanity. Philosophers, with their distinctive discipline of coming to terms with the history of ideas and encounters with a variety of perspectives, are in a distinctive position to articulate the fundamental aspirations that traverse the matrix of their local cultures, on the one hand, and the universal aspirations of human identity, on the other hand. Philosophers, after all, are first and foremost, human beings who were born and bred within particular contexts. Even the advent of modernity, with its claims for freedom, equality and fraternity, were precipitated by philosophical texts written in national, rather than universal languages.

## Transversality VS. Multiversality and Universality

If philosophy is to revitalize its vocation to speak for the collective aspirations of humanity, it can only begin by considering the particular local contexts that philosophers find themselves in. Philosophers can best philosophize from the perspective of their mother tongues. This is most evident not only in the translation of the most important philosophical texts into the language of other cultures; but also in the production of new concepts that express the multiple dimensions of our humanity. This multiplicity, however, is merely a manifestation of the material receptacle that individualizes the formal aspirations of humanity.

The multiple expressions of our humanity that emerge from our cultural diversity can become dissipated if they cannot anchor themselves on insights and ideals that can be shared with others. Monological claims of universal humanity, however, have been found to be empty of content if such claims cannot be rooted in a particular expression of a distinctive cultural epoch. Between the empty formalism of universalism and the dissipated voices of multiplicity, lies the realm of ardous thinking that considers both the abstract universality of humanity and the concrete particularity of cultural expressions. The path of enhancing human dignity lies in traversing this delicate balance between universality and multiplicity.

## Implications to Philosophical Education and Democracy

In terms of philosophical traditions, Filipinos realize that we have not really developed our own indigenous insights to the level of reflectivity in comparison to the dominant philosophical systems of Western and Asian civilizations. We do have a long scholastic tradition imbedded in Catholic doctrines and dogma. But this tradition subsumes philosophy in the service of a particular religious practice, and we must make an arduous effort to extract its metaphysical structure from the façade of its historical and social contexts in order to make it relevant to our contemporary issues and concerns. These medieval thought patterns, nevertheless, are accessible only to those who have undergone the seminary formation for the priesthood or for those who had the privilege of studying in Catholic schools. Formal philosophy, nevertheless, survived, to a certain extent, under the auspices of the Catholic Church.

The foundation of state and public universities under the American regime, at the turn of the previous century, has provided an alternative to the scholastic tradition by offering the Anglo-American positivist and pragmatic traditions that rinsed our muddled thought patterns with logical semantics, language analysis and critical thinking. This tradition has made inroads into the general education curriculum of our public school systems.

Since the 1960s however, continental thinkers have made an impact on the philosophical mainstream from teachers who had the opportunity to study in Europe and brought back the latest trends in the philosophical scene. They have offered more sophisticated methods of social and cultural analyses that have focussed the content of philosophical discourses on the contemporary concerns of the twentieth century.

As these new ideas were translated and adopted to teaching strategies, however, the need to rethink these concepts along indigenous lines have prodded Filipino philosophers to develop their own concepts in order to make a contribution to the wealth of philosophical wisdom that has been given to us by our forebears.

Such a process of indigenization augurs well for the democratization of the processes of reflexive thinking because it digs deeper into the shifting grounds of our cultural traditions. We discover from our languages, for example, that there is a trove of wisdom that only needs to be reinvented to suit the demands of contemporary issues. The Filipino idea of *katutubo*, the word for being a native or "those who have also grown together with us,"[67] for example, demonstrates how an archaic concept can be reinterpreted along contemporary lines.

The term *katutubo* was used as a political foil by the revolutionaries of 1896, when they declared their independence from Spain, in order to distinguish their identity from the colonial regime. This expression, however, can be extended to our contemporary world because the scope of meaning of the term "growing together with others" today does not need to be confined to geographical boundaries. One may grow together with the rest of human civilization as we all continue to learn about one another though the rapid expansion of communication technologies. One may even include among those growing with us the non-human inhabitants of our planet in order to accommodate our global concern for the environment.

The notion of katutubo, however, is only one among the many examples of native concepts that can have universal applications because they can be grafted and extended to address contemporary events and global issues, and consequently make a distinctive contribution to the solution of the current malaise of our civilization. In the same manner that some exotic species of flora and fauna have been found to contain medicinal value for today's ailments, indigenous ideas can offer lasting contributions to the solution of some of the contemporary problems of our civilization.

The developmental process of cultural indigenization that emerged from its colonial origins exemplifies the critical role of hybridization in the formation of the collective identities of nations. The search for indigenous ideas coincides with the deepening of a people's self-consciousness of their own distinctive

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67    Almario, Virgilio. 1993. *Ang Panitikan ng Rebolusyon (original publication date 1896)* (Manila: Sentrong Pangkultura ang Pilipinas, p. 156.

contribution to the solution of global problems that inevitably affect local concerns and sensibilities. The profundity of local insights, is measured, eventually, by the extent that they can also be applied beyond their local origins in order to address the shared aspirations of a globalized world.

## The Challenges of Globalization to Philosophy and Democracy

The monolithic norms being imposed on us by economic globalization are challenging us today to dig deeper into the inner resources of our cultural heritage in order to find that Archimedean point that will set a new equilibrium in our everyday lives which are constantly being dislodged by the attraction of the goods and services being offered, with instantaneous gratification, by the global economy.

This has led traditional cultures to retreat and reassert the fundamental and non-negotiable values that are imbedded in their belief systems in order to thwart the onslaught of the lavish commercialism of the global market. This cultural dynamics has led to reactionary behaviours among those who are being marginalized by the global phenomena, such as attempts to withdraw from participation in the global system and even extreme forms of terrorism and violent resentment.

An authentic appreciation of our cultural values, however, necessitates a broadening of the scope of our spiritual perspectives so that it can include, rather than exclude, the best practices of being humane that the plurality of cultures has to offer. Instead of flattening our world with the monolithic grids of commercialization, philosophy and democracy must raise the banners of plurality, diversity and difference so that new centres of hope and new resources for renewal can be recognized, enhanced, and wretched from anonymity, resentment, and potential violence.

A rediscovery of and reflection on our cultural heritage, therefore, is a historical imperative for philosophers today who must employ their philosophical tools in order to test the validity of cultural values on the basis of theoretical rigor and inter-subjective and ecological relevance.

Not unlike the necessity of ecological diversity that preserves an ecological niche, our spiritual world today can only survive and be redeemed if we try to protect, preserve, and develop the variety of cultural resources in our midst.

This would mean embarking on a research program that will attempt to understand and articulate the cultural infrastructures of our peoples to the level of their universal aspirations so that they can reclaim their rightful and dignified place in the moral cosmos. Such a research program may indeed discover new solutions to our current global problems in the same manner that medical discoveries are being made today from biological organisms which were marginally practiced previously by tribal healers of the rain forests.

This is exemplified by the Tagalog prefix of one of our Philippine dialects which adds an inter-subjective dimension to an experience when affixed to a person or object. When used as a title to address a person, such as *KA* Rainier, for example, that person, Rainier, becomes a comrade or companion in a shared endeavour. When affixed to an object, such as *Kalamesa*, the persons that surround the object (*lamesa* or table) emerge as sharers of the experienced object. Although such an insight is imbedded in the linguistic and everyday practices of our particular culture, it has a lot of lessons to impart to the individualistic and competitive ethos of our modern world which has forgotten the ideals of fraternity and solidarity. This gregariousness is relevant in the global arena today as the services of our people become highly appreciated by the health, entertainment and communications industries.

Such insights can be extrapolated to other cultures, especially by those that have been ranked as the happiest peoples by recent global pollsters and surveys.[68] The happiest people, it turned out, are not those that have the biggest Gross Domestic Product (GDP), but those that have longer life expectancies and profound levels of contentment. This project of articulating the distinctive cultural contributions of nations to the moral universe is consistent with the therapeutic function of philosophy since the time of Socrates, whose vocation was compared to the midwifery of his mother.

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68    http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/magazine/5172254.stm (Accessed on 12 December 2006).

Hegel's vision of the "concrete universal", moreover, bids us to discern the spiritual manifestations of the many cultural icons in our midst. Only by cultivating the spiritual heritage of our people can we eventually share their universal aspirations with other peoples. It is no longer surprising, for example, for Catholics, like myself, to practice Chi-gong and Tai-chi, the ancient meditative arts of Taoism, and to adopt the breathing exercises of Buddhism as a preparation to murmuring Jesus'"the Lord's Prayer".

These examples demonstrate that we must celebrate our differences because they enrich our daily lives by complementing our cultural practices. It is our fond hope that it will no longer be impossible for us to someday employ the best practices that our many cultures have to offer in our attempt to overcome the many frailties and sufferings of our shared humanity.

A cursory examination of the content of the meetings held during the recently concluded World Congress of Philosophy reveals the preponderance of newly emerging philosophical insights from local cultures that dig deeper into the wellsprings of the native sensibilities of ordinary people in their everyday lives while universalizing their ideas to address global issues. A reinterpretation of local ideas within the context of global issues must therefore be encouraged, if we are to contribute to the development of a shared future instead of the impending so-called "clash of civilizations" that threatens our shared existence. Our awareness of the hybridity of our everyday lives may eventually contribute to the realization of our collective participation in constructing the necessary attitudes of tolerance and acceptance of cultural differences because the future of humanity is already imbedded in each one of us.[69]

## Summary

The processes of globalization and localization may then be viewed as antipodal conceptual tools that can come to terms with the problem of understanding the emerging phenomenon of cultural hybridization among nations, such as the Philippines, that have been exposed to the rapid exchanges of ideas and products a result of new transportation and communication technologies in our contemporary world. The integration of the work force around the globe within the context of the so-called "flat world" has not only transformed local cultures to adopt new technologies, language and traditions; they are also creating new ways of reinterpreting identities within the context of global horizons.

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69 This sentence was inspired by Philip Cam's comments to the draft of this paper during the *UNESCO Asia-Arab Dialogues: Challenges of Globalization to Philosophy and Democracy* (Seoul: Seoul National University, August 5, 2008).

# Public Debate, Shûra, (overlapping) Consensus, Ijma': Toward a Global Concept of Democracy

*Soumaya Mestiri, Tunisia*

The fact that Muslim fundamentalists and Western political thinkers join in the idea of an "Islamic exception" is very interesting to notice. The former promote a truly unique dogma, which embraces all aspects of the human life. They put forward that Islam is endowed with a concept of democracy and that it is therefore not in need of an exogenous experience to provide it with what it already possesses. Because they are often good at exegesis of texts, Muslims fundamentalists are able to base their demonstration on verses of the Quran where the notions of *shûra* and *ijma'* are clearly present. They intend to show that the bedrocks of democracy are typically Muslim and that all discourses which try to improve the Islamic tradition actually consolidate West's repeated attempts to reduce the value of Islam. But one can say that ideas and notions we are full of can never be considered as a threat, but on the contrary, as an extraordinary richness. This is borne out by the fact that thinkers and philosophers living on the land of Islam, from Kindi to Ibn Kkaldun, appropriated and assimilated a genuinely Western legacy – the same one that is judged nowadays to be dangerous by some people.

To the contrary, the latter; i.e. Western thinkers, criticize the propensity of Islam to produce exclusively authoritarian regimes and, armed with the observation of the political reality of the Arab-Islamic world, assert strongly the essential anti-democratic feature of the Muslim tradition. To this Eurocentrist point of view, democracy prides itself with a unique origin, that is Greece. The idea that democracy is born in Athens is one among those ideas which acquired, with time, an incommensurable sacredness. Nevertheless the Roman origins of democracy are at least as important as the Greek ones, to the extent that Western modernity had drawn from them its *raison d'être*, if not its institutions. It is thus easy for the Western tradition to claim to go back to the spirit of Greek sources while it obviously owes its birth to a Roman experience which is, by nature, nearer to the provisos and bases on which it was gradually built. Indeed, the notion of popular sovereignty is more Roman than Greek: one will easily concede that it is not the Athenian restriction of citizenship to native and free men that would refute this truth.

This seminal idea is employed for two purposes, which are closely related to one another. Indeed, showing the Western uniqueness of the democratic experience comes down to demonstrate the political authoritarianism in force in Muslim countries. This kind of theoretical provincialism takes a particular form nowadays, inherent in the tendency to assert, more or less, the hegemony of the liberal model of democracy in terms of both value and validity. Indeed, those who insist on the uniqueness of the sources of democracy are the same who affirm the uniqueness of its forms, methods and practices. Reference is made here to Fukayama, who claims that the triumphal advent of liberal democracy has rung the end of history.

Yet, the affirmation of such liberal hegemony, has lost ground since the publishing of Amartya Sen's works on the subject. According to him, the democratic phenomenon doesn't concern only one civilisation or tradition more than another and is not, moreover, about a unique experience with forms and practices precisely drawn. In his appropriately titled book, *The Democracy of Others*, Sen demonstrates that India and the Arab-Muslim world have both experienced democracy in more than one way, highlighting the fact that tolerance and respect were not empty words.

My aim in this paper is to dismiss these two apprehensions of the Islamic exception, without being in favour of either. I will show that they are both based on a theoretical provincialism and an obvious denial of history. I will try to define to what extent it is possible to shed light on genuinely Islamic concepts which possess a highly democratic potential, that's to say the concepts of *shûra* and *ijma'*, using some Western theoretical experiences whose nature and relevance in such a task will be examined.

I would say here that I'm not trying to replace a particular Eurocentrism by another. All I want to do is to underline, as you'll see it, an audacious and productive analogy made by the great learner Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) between the Roman republic and the Muslim *shûra*. By doing so, I wish to highlight a meeting and certainly not a fate, that is to say the meeting of a particular Western legacy and the Arab-Muslim tradition, a meeting which could have been full of great consequences for the whole world.

I would like to show how we can overstep the two theses I have focused on and try to build the possibility of a democratic Islam on republican, and not liberal, grounds. Now one needs to explain why the failure of contemporary democratic experiences in the Islamic world must not be considered as an epistemological one. To see this task though, I will base the core of my demonstration on a historical fact which is, at least to my view, decisive. Indeed, the very problem of Muslims today depends on the fact that all great Arabic and Muslims learners, from Kindi to Ibn Khaldun, never had Roman texts in hand and therefore had done their best, in reading, studying and translating only Greek ones from Plato and Aristotle. Now, the rejection and contempt this Greek tradition had for democracy (considered at best as a deviant regime and at worst as a regime of corrupted and incompetent people), could only influence an Arabic thought led by nature to reproduce the paradigm of submission and obedience — a paradigm whose Islam, as its name reveals, is fraught with.

Before examining the practical details of this issue, I wish first to make clear a fundamental idea for my purpose, that's to say the fact that democracy could never be set up anywhere, without having been built on a tradition which allows it to exist. Now, the impossibility to establish a Muslim democracy nowadays is due to the fact that Islamic societies failed, centuries ago, to lay on a particular tradition that would have permitted them to develop gradually their democratic institutions.

Let us pay a closer attention to this very idea now by keeping in mind the central issue that Islam possesses two concepts which are considered by all political thinkers as the essence of democracy: the concept of public debate (*shûra*) and the concept of consensus (*ijma'*). But if we assert, as it seems to me, that the presence of these two elements doesn't make a concept of democracy, then we must deal with *shûra* and *ijma'* as a basis and not as an achieved end in itself. In other words, *ijma* and *shûra'* will function as a tool to legitimate a work of reappropriation of both a tradition and culture which are not, *indeed*, democratic, and work on how to amend them without distorting them.

It is worth mentioning here that Msulims were about to do this work in the late thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth one. They unfortunately missed a date that would probably have changed the course of their history. A second chance occurred to them in the nineteenth century but once again, they didn't seize the opportunity presented to them.

Indeed, Ibn Khaldun, in his work, *The Universal History of People*, makes a very subtle and audacious analogy between the Roman Republic and the Muslim *shûra*. Even if *shûra* is not explicitly mentioned, it is obvious that he describes the mechanism of concertation and dialogue as Islam conceives it.

Concerning this specific point, he goes back over the history of the Latins. He describes in particular their political system and focuses on the rejection expressed by the Roman people at the very beginning of the republican regime to be governed by an emperor, preferring the government of a Senate made of three hundred and twenty men. This Senate was in charge of electing a consul who would represent the whole group during a relatively short time. This political rotation manifested by the renewal of the consul, and the exclusion of the monarchy due to its natural propensity to turn into a tyranny, reflect clearly the democratic feature of the political system in force in Rome at that time.

The way he interprets the structure and the organisation of the Roman political regime in the light of the famous Quranic verse which states that "Muslims submit their affairs to the mutual concertation" is very interesting to observe. We can see here how the hermeneutic schemes are at work in the Khaldunian text. For a start, it could be interesting to take a look at the term *amr*, which appears in the expression *yudabbirûna amruhum* in the second quotation. The word is truly polysemic but more specifically, it brings to mind here the Latin term "res", as one can find it in the term "res publica". Let's add to this the fact that *amr* and *amîr*, that's to say "the prince", come both from the same trilateral root *amara*. This double etymological root shows us the implicit parallel drawn by him between the Islamic caliphate on one hand and the republican regime on the other. This link between the caliphate and the republic gains in relevance in the light of his use of another term, which is *mabda'*. This term is also polysemic inasmuch as it means, in Arabic, "beginning", "principle" and "command" at the same time. Now, I would like to point out that the word "principle" comes from the Latin "princeps" whose derivation produces the word "principality". Notice at this level that "principality" can easily refer to Muslim caliphate which is nothing but the government of the Prince (*tadbîr al-amîr*). Let's remember that since Omar's caliphate, the caliphe is named the "Prince of the Believers" (*Amîr al-Mu'minîn*). All that show, I think, the pertinence of the parallel drawn between Islam and republic, that's to say, democracy.

Nevertheless, one must say that Ibn Khaldun is unknowingly making such an interpretation, so that he doesn't manage to go further than this mere observation by laying the foundations of a democratic system. The reason for such an inability probably lies in the fact that he remained, in some way or another, a hostage to this paradigm of submission and obedience and which prevented him to make further use of his great intuition.

The reference to Ibn Khaldun is of course important because of the bridge he built between Rome and Islam, but not only. I move now to the second chance to which I alluded at the beginning of this part. He was, indeed, the favourite figure of Muslim thinkers at the time of the Arabic Renaissance in the nineteenth century. The Khaldunian thought inspired them to understand the causes of the decline of their civilisation. But the conjunction of three elements made their use of him ineffective. First, the very late discovery of his texts leaves these learners with no sufficient room to see things clearly. Second, most of them only try to find in him things they have themselves put in him. Third, the eclipse of any theoretical attempt that goes on the way of a constitutionalist interpretation of the *shûra*, regarding the general situation of decline in which they used to live. Reference is made here to the works of Tahtaoui, Kheireddine or Ahmed ibn Abi Dhiaf, which were completely forgotten at that time.

The question arising now is: to what extent is the republican model of democracy, in its Roman version, able to help us Muslims to discover our proper tradition? The relevance of this model lies, as I see it, in its interpretation of the democratic idea. Indeed, this model identifies democracy with the possibility to contest all forms of orthodoxy within the framework of a public debate open to every one — which is not the case in the Greek version of democracy, as only a certain elite is allowed the right to discuss and deliberate. Indeed, as you certainly know, the public was, in Rome, the place of conflict between two opposite parties, the Senate and the Roman people, in such a way that one can assert that contesting was the essential mode of the political. Nevertheless, they managed thus to create an equilibrium whose name was democracy. It is very important to understand here that the strength of democracy is not linked to its ability to federate different opinions but, on the contrary, to the possibility to express disagreements.

Now, it happens that Muslim tradition is really able to appropriate this idea of contestation. It is precisely this ability that a certain Islamic orthodoxy has never understood or never wanted to, taking pleasure in raising the spectre of discord (*fitna*) and emphasizing the importance of consensus versus the harmfulness of contesting. In doing so, this orthodoxy forgets that the latter can never be considered as an end in itself but only as the medium of the former. Moreover, the Arabo-Muslim history is full of "contentious episodes" which are not synonymous of dissension at all, like the *murjia'* experience. The *murjia'* advocated, with profound humility and wisdom, the doctrine of suspension of judgement (*irja'*) on political issues of the day. They were the first to initiate a discussion on the question of the destiny of man in terms of moral and religious responsibility, apart from differences on political justice. It is interesting to notice that we can bring together the *murjia'*'s position and the conception of tolerance instituted by the secularization process which appeared in Europe, as a possible solution to end the conflict between Catholics and Protestants. But unfortunately, the difference is that such as progressivism has never been accepted either at the time of the *murjia'* nor by their posterity.

Yet, dissent is the best way to achieve what Rawls, who is not exactly a republican, calls an "overlapping consensus". The relevance of such an idea, for the Muslims, is that it's based on the fact that it is possible to integrate, in the public debate, points of view and opinions which are properly metaphysical, in the Rawlsian meaning of the term. The fact that Rawls understood the return of the religious, taking it seriously and giving it a real legitimacy within multicultural societies fifteen years ago, paved the way to other philosophers like Habermas for example, whose recent works show clearly how much it's necessary to think in terms of post-secular societies and no longer in terms of secularism. This is one of the huge consequences of globalization and, in some way, a golden opportunity for Muslims in the sense that they're given the possibility to institute democratic regimes which, as you might say, "speak to them". Because it is no longer thinkable to identify democracy and secularism, that's to say, in other words, to reject completely the religious outside the public sphere, one can therefore conceive a democracy based on the contradictory debate's principle. The core of this discussion would be the questions Muslims didn't manage to solve since the death of the third Caliph, almost fifteen centuries ago.

One must not consider this debate as an end in itself but as a transition, a kind of strategic good governance, where all actors interact with one another to make the access to a superior step of development possible. Put in a nutshell, people will be able to gradually jettison the metaphysical burdens under the weight of which they collapse and will thus be led to substitute the "universalised particular" which they may have tried, in the past, to impose to the world, for a "common universal". It will be up to them, then, in the same way as all human beings, to define its content and modes, but this, of course, is another story.

Let me conclude by a unique remark, which seems to me able to sum up all the prejudices and reluctances the so-called purists could have when listening to me: to all those who estimate that deliberation is a typical Western concept so that's it looks completely unfit to identify it with the muslim *shûra*, as I made it here to the extent that I interpreted the latter as "public debate", I would only refer to the deliberate choice of Muslim people in the Middle Ages who translated the Aristotelian concept of deliberation by the word *mashûra*, which is, to me, far from being a random fact.

## Quotations for Reference

**The Qurân**

**1. [Chapter of Shûra']: XLII, 38** (*italics added by the author*)

"And those who answer the call of Allah, and perform regular prayer, and who [conduct] their affairs by mutual consultation [*shûra*], and spent out from what we have given them […]"

**2. [Chapter of Al-Imrân] : III, 159** (*italics added by the author*)

"Thus it is a mercy of Allah that thou art lenient unto them; had you been cruel and hard-hearted, they would surely have dissipated around you; therefore, beg forgiveness for them, pardon them, and consult them on the conduct of [their] affairs, and when you are resolved, put your trust in Allah, Allah loves those who trust [in Him]".

**Ibn Khaldûn,** *Kitâb al 'Ibar,* **Dâr al-kitâb al masrî, Cairo, vol. III (our translation)**

**Quotation 1 (p. 401)**

The Roman people unanimously refused to be governed by an emperor [*malak*]. Therefore, they elected 320 senators [*shuyûkh*] to be in charge of governing them. They were then able to govern themselves [*yudabbiruna amrahum*] with the most perfect rectitude up to the triumph of Caesar who was, from then on, conferred the title of emperor. All who followed him were conferred also the title of emperor.

**Quotation 2 (p. 406)**

Ibn Al-'Amîd, the historiographer of the Christians, affirmed, regarding the beginning of the reign of these Caesars, that the government of Rome was at that time in the hands of these senators who were governing it and who were 320 in number. Indeed, the Roman swore not to let an emperor govern them, so that they were governed by those people. Moreover, these men elected one of them at the head [of their group] and conferred to them the title of consul [*sheykh*]. They chose, at that time, to elect Aganius who governed them during four years. Julius Caesar followed him during three years, then Augustus Caesar.

# Between Cultural Exchange and Globalization: a Reading of Arabic Mirrors for Princes

## Syrine Snoussi, Tunisia

The contemporary globalization can be described as the third wave of a progressive phenomenon. It begins with the great discoveries of the 16th Century and continues towards the 19th Century with the growth of imperialism and the inter-colonial conflicts. Globalization in this perspective is a process which characterizes modernity. It describes the deepening of the economical exchanges and their intensification. Its actual phase corresponds to a re-globalization, meaning that, according to the economists, the world achieved again since the 1990s, the volume exchange that characterized the world before 1914, in other words, before the decolonization.

The colonisation period, the second phase of globalization, was also the period of the setting of the institutions that intended to produce a knowledge of the discovered or rediscovered world after the discovery of America. These efforts were not independent from the exacerbated imperialist context. It is in this same way that E. W. Saïd defines his concept of Orientalism, as "the global institution that deals with the Orient, that deals with it by declarations, by positions, descriptions, teaching, administration, government. To sum up, Orientalism is an occidental style of domination, restructuring, and authority of Orient". This institution that has its origin in the 19th century, is reactivated in the 20th century with the field of area studies. It renews some conceptual schemes analysing the Orient that were elaborated in the 19th century. These cultural schemes were addressed in a framework that also studies these cultural areas of domination in terms of globalization: how to promote/universalize certain principles, in a general framework? And in the other way, how to understand what is particular to the different areas? This is how societies are often reduced to some simple features. One of the principle schemes of political analysis, elaborated about Arabo-Muslim world is the statement of a politico-religious essence of power in the Muslim societies before colonization. A representation of an Islam unwilling to self-government and to democracy is deduced and often questioned. It's seems it is only in this aspect that this question is emerging nowadays. But the contemporary fundamentalist reactions to globalization also take up this representation and repeat.

Identity protests in general are regarded by contemporary analysts of globalization as a consequence of globalization. The reference to Islam is conceived as the adhesion to one trans-national community of the global civil society. According to certain sociologists, we can describe different communities with technological basis or economical basis or cultural basis. Thus Islam is considered, as a trans-national community with cultural basis. However, which Islam is spoken about? But it seems that we can quite consider that Muslim fundamentalism can be described in such terms. The universalization and deepening of the capitalistic logic engenders resistance on a world scale, which includes anti-Western, anti-modern, fundamentalist reactions, as well as the environmental movement or neo-nationalist currents. This is the approach of the sociologist Rosenau, for example. Religious fundamentalism is clearly analysed by sociologists as globalization's child. It uses its resources especially in telecommunications. It obviously seems to be a globalist and modern process: globalist, because it is growing in many different parts of the world, and modern despite its protests of return to the foundations of the first Muslims. In this way, it perfectly responds to some occidental readings of Islam. Because this fundamentalism, which crosses national borders, refers to a specific representation of Islam, which was maintained by orientalism, it seems important to focus on this claim of a religious essence of power in Islam. It is not that there could be an occidental interest in promoting this essentialisation of the politico-religious. Yet, globalization, which is presented in the neo-liberal philosophy as an ineluctable phenomenon, creates the illusion of a total collapse of national sovereignties. And this indeed promotes the affirmation of trans-national identities claiming for hegemony. We cannot deny its existence, but these communities never have elective legitimacy. Thus, such claims draw on the same imaginary substrate that orientalism was based on. The politico-religious has to be thought as a result of a powerful imaginary representation, both in some orientalist ideas and in oriental Islamist references.

So, one of the tasks of Arab philosophy, or more specifically Arab political philosophy should be obviously to study the genesis of this politico-religious conception. On one hand, globalization cannot be characterized by the collapse of national sovereignties, meaning that international firms are still localised in national headquarters. On the other, Arab states have not build national sovereignties before decolonisation in most cases. This sovereignty is concerned by this trans-national claim, in law issue as well as in policy issues. One of the challenges of globalization for democracy lies upon this very problem. It can be argued that economic imperatives of the internationalised division of labour, have a great influence on policy decisions. Perhaps the solution of the politico-religious question is to be found in the contradiction between social rights, referring to well living and insured by national states, and productive imperatives of international firms? Globalization submits states to social and political competition. The insecurity that results from this competition drives individuals into a quest for imaginary communities.

## Context

Philosophy could be meant to trace politico-religious conceptions' genesis, to deconstruct and replace in their political and historical context with the new illusions: the illusion of a Golden Age (referring to the rule of the companions of the Prophet after his death), the illusion of a religious essence of policy, or the illusion of an only despotic Islamic power. According to that, philosophy has also an epistemological part to play in history. These illusions often remain outside the historical field, and therefore philosophy has to deal with them. And this is one of the major interest of Mirrors for Princes tradition, to show a somehow different interpretation of the political fact in the Arabic ancient world.

This tradition originates slightly before the great development of the translation movement that begun at the end of the 8th century, during the Abbassid period. D. Gutas study's gives us an interesting point of view on the translation's movement: the translation of the Greek knowledge would have been influenced by Persian Sassanid ideology, which considered science as a Zoroastrian heritage. In the 5th century, Sassanid kings used to collect these books, that they considered as stolen by Alexander the Great. Three centuries later, Persian official servants influenced the Arab Caliph al-Mansur, who could in this way give the impetus to the Arabic translation movement. The translation of astrological history enabled to legitimate the Abbasid sovereignty. It's remarkable how cultural exchanges had first even at this time a political function of legitimization. This movement of caption of the prior knowledge, produced, thanks to the arabisation of the empire apparel, an important development of science and art. However, up to the Ommeyyad domination in the VIIth century, some texts begun to be translated in Arabic. Systematisation and policy impetus characterize the 8th century movement, whereas the very first beginning of the movement in the 7th century manifests a policy and military interest of the political elite. In this context appeared the first work in prose : *The Letters from Aristotle to Alexander*, which are the matrix of the *Secret of Secrets, sir al-asrar*, a very well known book in the Middle ages in the Arab world and then in the Latin world. It is the first book of advices for kings, or Mirror for Princes, and is the adaptation of an Hellenistic epistolary novel. Then, many others Mirrors for Princes are translated and adapted in Arabic, the *Legacy of Ardashir/ ahd Ardashir*, the *Pançatantra* or book of *Kalila and Dimna*. I will talk about these firsts' books of royal advices for today.

We can remark about two things in this contextualization. First, Arabic political society was in the beginning multi-cultural. Some could talk of a medieval globalization. The roots of the political thought are first universalistic, they originate in the knowledge produced by the prior empires: Hellenistic, Sassanid, Indians, Jewish, etc. Second, the tradition of Mirror for Princes shows up quite before the establishment of the Collection of the Words of the Prophet. It is one of the closest scriptural tradition to the so-called Golden Age of policy in the Islamic world.

The first arts of government taught the sovereign. Thanks to this tradition, the concept of sovereignty appeared in the political field.

## A Theocracy?

We can not deny that the Muslim first conquests lie upon a theocratic conception of power. Here there is the influence of the ancient oriental religions and of the Persian political tradition, especially the Sassanid one. One of the first political texts translated in Arabic expresses this political culture: *Ahd Ardashir* : which says:

"Sovereignty and religion are twins, one of them can not exist without the other, because religion is the foundation of sovereignty and the sovereign is the guard of religion". (This is a persian ancient text and the religion here is the Zoroastrian, but the text is very often quoted in the arabic literature.)

But this text betrays a certain exploitation of religion. Religion could be the refuge for oppressed people of low condition. They could therefore contest the power. So the sovereign has a duty to control religion. Nevertheless, he still remains out of the religious sphere. The duty of control does not coincide with the duty of religious edification or with an eschatologist conception of government. Ibn al-Muqaffa's *Kitab al-Sahaba*, goes into the distinction between the two spheres in depth.  In 17§, he gives a list of the sovereign prerogatives: decide to go to war, to return from military operation, collect and distribution, officials appointment and dismissal, judgement by reason for all that is not written in the Book or in the law tradition, struggling with enemies and using trick with them, collecting taxes for the Muslims and distribution upon them.

The theocratic conception of government is not the last word of the policy expression. In the first mirror for Princes of Salim abu al-'Ala, Aristotle gives this advice that the sovereign must establish the law: he must be the legislator. He follows justice. Power is characterized in the first political manuals by strength on one hand, and by legislative function on the other hand. Even Ibn al-Muqaffa' gives this advice to the Caliph al-Mansur to settle the divergent practices of the judges and to constitute a codex of law.

## The Heritage of the Other Ancient Political Conceptions

Which other conception of power is at work in the first mirrors for princes? We can seek in the semantic of power the influence of the pastoral metaphor, analysed by Foucault, in *Security, Territory, Population*. Foucault's idea is that the roots of modern government are to be found in the ancient pastoral conception of government, which was promoted and modified by Christianity as the government of the souls. Thus, the king has only this model of ruling, and his government of the bodies wasz only based on religious ideas until the 16th century. But then, it is only a modification of these features that occurred. We know that the origins of this metaphor are to be searched in ancient Orient, more precisely in the ancient Egyptian theocracy, in which the Pharaoh is represented with a shepherd stick. It also figures in the Aramean royalty and the Hebrew Bible, then in Christianity, to sum up. Historically this metaphor has had a politico-religious function. But we would like to show that its renewal in the first Arabic literature does not seem to renew all the converging significations of the metaphor, and does not seem to be the object of a particular treatment. First, it is mainly the people, who is designated in pastoral terms: *ra'iyya, suqa*. However, the metaphor cannot be exploited to the extent in which Foucault has used it to describe the characteristics of the Christian pastoral rationality. But it can neither be reduced to the signification it has in the Hebrew Bible, where God is the shepherd of his people. The Islamic tradition does not present a strong topicalisation of this metaphor. There is even a saying attributed to the prophet, in al-Bukhary's Sahih, that says that every man is a shepherd. So there is an evolution of the pastoral metaphor that can be construed as the statement of personal responsibility of every man for his life. This is quite different from the Christian sense, as analyzed by Foucault.

Hence to describe the use of the pastoral metaphor in the arts of government, it is worth noting that the people designated by the word "flock" to guard or to guide on the path, is a group. No insistence on the sheep as an individual, being a part of the group. Even the representation of the sovereign as a shepherd is not very used in the first texts. The benefit or the charity attached to the pastoral activity cannot define properly the power as it appears in the first Mirrors for Princes. Power is also determined by its supremacy, its wealth, and the symbols that surround it. Gradually with the evolution of time, splendour retakes its place in the Mirrors for Princes, and becomes an object of advice. Many models of

kings who have elevated personal distinction to the dignity of an art are founded. The Mirrors for Princes insist on the sovereign eminence who must distinguish himself from the masses. It also insists on his physical superiority. The distinction between the elite and the masses, *khassa* and *'amma*, is a classical distinction in the medieval Arabic society and it appears too in the first mirrors. The elite corresponds to the private sphere of the sovereign. The masses are the public sphere. The power of the ruler is defined by its strength: physical and symbolic and is exerted on both spheres. (So, it is wrong to say, as it is sometime heard, that policy affairs in medieval Islam are the objects of the private sphere and what is public is the personal life of the masses.  Yet, the signification of the metaphor as caring for every one and for all, analyzed as being typical of a developed pastoral metaphor, is not exactly missing in the Arabic Mirrors. But it is not related to the pastoral metaphor. The sovereign demand of an information and education network, in Ibn al-Muqaffa' *K as-sahaba* for example, figures this sense of care. But, it is related to the need to secure the government and to ensure a civil peace. The first goal in this case is to avoid contagion of the people if a disruptive element appears. So this demand refers to the political sphere and is characteristic of the sovereign's duty. A therapeutic power is made efficient by political techniques, and it has nothing to do with a thaumaturgic power of the King.

The political function isn't so much characterized by the pastoral metaphor. This metaphor occurs mainly in a context of reprimand and to remind the Prince to his duty to distribute justice. It was the same use of it in the Hebrew conception of power. But, this ancient idea is shifted in the Arabic tradition.

The metaphor of the Prince as a father is more common. For instance, in the *Letters to Alexandre* on policy, the power is patriarchal. The model of the ruler is the father as head of the household. It is a conception inspired from an Aristotelian thesis. In the *Politics*, the city originates in the family. The association of many families constitutes a city. The genesis of the city in not mentioned in the manual of government because they are not a place to express theoretical views on politics. But the metaphor is used in a particular sense: to distinguish between two forms of government. Because of this paternalist model of power, the democratic form is immediately rejected: no one would let children handle material possessions. Another conception is also rejected: tyranny. As tyranny is to use force to win the power and keep it, the patriarchal type cannot define it. On the contrary, tyranny in this text has a pastoral essence. The tyrant dominates men as if they were slaves. He doesn't govern free men. And yet, it is clearly expressed that the Prince doesn't dispose of the people as if they were goods, or personal property. The ruler is not a master. But the Tyrant is a despot. Tyranny is despotism in this conception. The tyrant thinks he has the higher rank in society, whereas in fact, he has the rank of who would rather pasture sheep than rule men. The tyrant does not rule men. This text implies a distinction between a conception of power in terms of property, on one hand, and a patriarchal conception of power on the other hand. This one only is legitimate. It assumed in the text that the patriarchal type of government can encourage people to share fraternity. So in this first text, the concept of government is also distinct from the notion of absolute domination. If a certain kind of domination figures in some representations of power in the Mirrors for Princes, nevertheless, the concept of government should not be reduced to this aspect. We may think that this interpretation of power in patriarchal terms competes with the pastoral conception; and this has led to reduce the influence of the pastoral metaphor.

Instead of the pastoral metaphor, the comparison between the prince and the steersman, or the comparison between the political rule, or the city, and the ship is more used. It also occurred in Plato's works. But this conception too indicates a difference between government and domination on men. The steersman does not rule men, but he steers a ship, the entity that holds the travellers. He has to avoid the reefs, to be prepared to the storms, to know how to find his way out at any time. This metaphor always appears in a context which describes the dangers that threaten the sovereign. There are inner dangers, like a riot, and outside dangers, such as storms, and pirates. The prince defends the city from these perils. This metaphor indicates that the representation of government has less to do with ruling the souls of the citizen in order to lead them to salvation in the hereafter, than with the very political duty to maintain security in the city. This conception seems to be close to the ancient Greek conception of the city and the government, as Michel Foucault pointed out in the book previously named.

The last figure of power I would like to present today is less frequent in my corpus. But, there's an interesting occurrence of it in the Letters mentioned previously. It derives from the metaphor of the weaver that Plato described in the Politic. It is the representation of the weaver that symbolizes the

best political man. Many preliminary preparations are required so he can practice his art. A certain organization is needed before one can weave threads together to make a cloth. In the Letter of Aristotle to Alexander, the metaphor is not developed but there is a "quotation" from the Politic: "The sovereign is the link/the string between the subjects" (cf terme *arabe*) it is defined as a link of friendship. The sovereign of all is the common reference that gives the citizens the opportunity to develop relations of friendship and not of hatred, because he ensures security by instituting a common law. But the sovereign himself is not the link. Even if the metaphor isn't so much developed in our text, we would say that this metaphor well represents the whole function of the Mirror for Princes. This kind of book of counsels gives a great importance to the choice of the sovereign's assistants and helpers. In the Legacy of Ardashir, the first advice of the Sassanid king to his sons is to warn them against these assistants and against all their own. personal circles. This advice is repeated in Ibn al-Muqaffa' and in almost all the Mirror for Princes. It is a cliché that both refers to the social relationship in the city and also to the gender of Mirror for Princes (it is a kind of mirror of the Mirror as a literary gender). The great matter of policy, as Plato reminds us, is precisely the organization of these assistants of the power. Policy lies in thinking on the place, the responsibility and the distribution of the state affairs. The books of advice to the Princes are made to remind the sovereign to this duty.

There is a double interest in the tradition of the Mirrors for Princes. The period of its appearance in the Arabic culture has certain analogies with ours. In a sense there was a kind of linguistic and religious standardisation. Yet, this interpretation does not really resist to the test. The great movement of translation of Greek and Persian works, and the cultural development between the 8th and the 10th century, much contributed to the Arabian classical thinking of government. As we have pointed to it, this thinking has not only one side. But it is only the aspect that seems to present a certain standardisation in language and religion, which is in our days promoted by a certain use of modern globalization, by fundamentalists and also by certain occidental representations of the other. It is as if the actual rejection of globalization implies that those who strongly oppose to it, cannot acknowledge that the multicultural aspects of globalization are not so new. I wanted to present how in the first texts of political art, the power is not only or even always characterized by its divine origin and in a religious sense. These two spheres are early distinguished. The Islamic universal, which is presented in the process of globalization as a transnational reference, is evidently historically determined. Even its globalist diffusion makes it particular. It is a global effect, and we need to analyse its singular repartitions in space and time.

# Philosophy in the Context of Globalization

*Daniel Nesy, India*

The nature and relevance of philosophy in the context of recent developments culminating in what is called globalization is a contested topic. This paper highlights importance of the subject of philosophy and philosophical dialoguing by referring to a historical problem in the Indian context.

1. The nature of philosophy can be summed up as "philosophy is an open-minded and pioneering discipline, forever opening up new areas of study and new methods of enquiry… as a result you cannot draw four sides around it and say that is it". There are various ways of doing philosophy right from the ancient days to the present:

   A. The Socratic way of dialogue and midwifery of thought.

   B. The Aristotelian model of deliberation: the distinction drawn between 'contemplative' and 'calculative' reasons. For example, thinking about the concept of justice is contemplative reason but making decisions about how to implement justice in a particular instance is a function of calculative reason. Aristotle recommended both if we are to live our lives fully, we need both to identify what is true and good absolutely using contemplative reasoning and be able to order our actions and desires so that we are led towards the good in life using calculative or practical reasoning. The procedure adopted by Aristotle is called deliberation which involves the conditions of:

      • The capacity of assuming that in value questions nobody has the monopoly of truth and that others may have at least as much truth as I have.

      • The thought that others can help me find the way to truth.

      • We must have the capacity of listening to others.

      • It has been recommended that deliberative capacities are not natural but cultural and therefore must be developed and trained.

   C. The Kantian way is not to look up on philosophy as a set of problems to be solved or as repository of answers to questions. He conveyed his views to his pupils when he said: "you will not learn from me philosophy but how to philosophize, not thoughts to repeat but how to think. Think for yourselves, enquire for yourselves and stand on your feet".

   D. The Marxian way of doing philosophy: Philosophers have only interpreted the world; but the problem is to change it.

   E. In contemporary times we find Bertrand Russell stating that "in philosophy what is more important is not so much the answers that are given, but rather the questions that are asked". Interested in handling concepts, philosophy is more appropriately thought of as an activity, 'as a battle against bewitchment' of our thoughts by language.

      In India also we have specific ways of doing philosophy:

      A) The Upanisads recommend a three-stage methodology of: listening from a teacher (*Sravana*), reflecting on the heard (*Manana*) and meditating up on the issue (*Nidhidhyasana*). The truth is not an intellectual conviction but an intuitive experience and one has to achieve it.

      B) Jainism in India advocate the view called the many-sidedness of truth (*Anekantavada*). Truth has not only one face, but faces – seven faces. If you want to know the truth, you have to look at it from different perspectives.

      C) The Gandhian way of ahimsa and sarvodaya: Today our lives are becoming increasingly violent as we live in a hurried, selfish, greedy society with little respect for others. We demand more, tolerate less; we are busier, angrier and more judgmental. Many of us live and work in atmospheres of insensitivity, harshness and unkindness. We think of violence as being physical, but violence is also in the words we say, in the tone in which we speak, in the way in which we

look at each other, in what we express in our body language and in a variety of other ways. Our souls cry out for attention, care, affection, softness, compassion and sensitivity—the myriad facets of *ahimsa*.

But at the same time we have to remember that the *ahimsa* person is not a passive, apathetic, door-mat kind of person. They are brave, strong at heart and do not believe in a tit for tat mentality.

The non-violent people practice forgiveness, compromise and reconciliation. They talk to others rather than slam doors on faces. They build bridges, not walls. *Ahimsa* people inspire others and give us an example to follow.

2. The relation between the two communities of Hindus and Muslims in India is a historical event. Let us see four approaches to the same problem:

A) In the 1940 session of the Indian National Congress, the then President of the Congress Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad insisted in his speech:

"it was India's historic destiny that many human cultures and races should flow to her, finding a home in her hospitable soil and that many a caravan should find rest here. Eleven hundred years of common history of Islam and Hinduism has enriched India with her common achievements… everything bears a stamp of our joint endeavour. These thousand years of joined life has moulded us in to a common nationality. Whether we like it or not we have now become an Indian nation, united and indivisible. No fantasy or artificial scheming to separate and divide can break this unity"

B) The speech delivered by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the then President of Muslim League (1940) narrates a different story: "It is a dream that Hindus and Muslims can evolve a common nationality and this misconception of one nation has gone far beyond the limits…. The Hindus and Muslims belong to different religious philosophies, social customs and literature. They neither inter-marry nor inter-dine together and indeed they belong to different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their aspects on and of life are different".

The question is who is correct from the historian's point of view? Can we say Azad is correct in believing that the two communities had borrowed and exchanged ideas and values over the centuries and evolved in to a common nationality? Or Jinnah in believing that the Hindus and Muslims had not and could not amicably co-exist?

Historical records suggest that neither side had a monopoly of truth. Down the ages, the interaction of the two communities was marked by love and hate, by conflict as well as by collaboration. There were times when they clashed and fought and other times when they lived together harmoniously.

Some aspects of Indian culture notably Indian classical music did bear the stamp of their joint endeavour. The two conclusions of the fated enmity of the two cultures and the evolution of a shared composite culture are only simplification of truth.

C) In 1947, Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, records how the two communities relate together in free India: "We have a Muslim minority who cannot, even if they want, go anywhere else… Whatever the provocation from Pakistan and whatever the indignities and horrors inflicted on non-Muslims there, we have got to deal with this minority in a civilized manner. We must give them security and the rights of citizens in a democratic state".

D) M. S. Golwalker, a long-time Head of Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh, in a speech in 1956 stated: "whatever we believed in, the Muslim was wholly hostile to it. If we worship in the temple, he would desecrate it; if we worship cow, he would like to eat it. If we glorify woman as a symbol of Sacred Motherhood, he would like to molest her. He was tooth and nail opposed to our ways of life in all respects—religious, cultural, social etc. He had imbibed that hostility to the core".

Once again in the free India, Golwalker appeared to believe that a Hindu is a Hindu and a Muslim is a Muslim (as we have heard from Kipling: "East is East and West is West; the twin shall never meet") and never there is a meeting point of the two. The claim is that the views and mentalities; their styles of worship and ways of living were so utterly different as not to permit them to live peacefully together. In other words, the two communities were two nations.

## Conclusion

Of the four views of the same problem, which one is relevant in our context? One thing is certain: whatever happened under the rule of Akbar or Aurangazeb in the past or in other countries, in the Indian Republic, by law every Indian is guaranteed the same rights regardless of his or her faith or belief.

We need an inclusive, more specifically, a socially inclusive culture to develop not in the name of caste, religion, vote banks or quotas. We have not been able to achieve in more than half a century of independence an all-inclusive social space where every Indian can mingle freely, where every Indian can study together or work together irrespective of his or her background. In this context the concept of introducing diversity in workplaces that has the potential to make our workplaces more socially inclusive, needs to be commented. The belief that a heterogeneous team will deliver much better than a homogeneous one has prompted the team leaders of IT companies in Bangalore to pick people from different castes, communities, cultures, genders and backgrounds. Such an approach encourages the spirit of working together and can dissolve the socio-economic boundaries that we have built and have selfishly fostered for centuries. We need to make our cultural diversity a virtue and strength and not a mere cultural showpiece. We need a new way of looking at things. Only a philosophical dialogue can contribute to this end.

# Philosophy: A Challenge to Globalization and Democracy

*Abdessamad Tamouro, Morocco*

## How can Philosophy be a Challenge to Globalization and Democracy?

Since Socrates, philosophy has been a challenge to democracy because it challenges, by reflection, every humanity-related subject. It is a "décoincement" (a term that I use to describe the fact of getting out of blockage) by thinking, criticizing, protesting, wondering, and rejecting demagogy and prejudice. It is a challenge to alienation. It unmasks our mistakes our fears, our errors... it asks questions.

Democracy can be a pretext, but it should lead to neither any loss of freedom nor alienation. Who can assess the existence of a perfect democracy? It's not an end, or an already realized existing project, these people who live in democracy are the ones who seek its realization. In this process philosophical reflection on law, rights, politics, the individual, power and society helps us thinking about our acts and our freedom through the democratic way.

In this way philosophy is a real challenge for everyone who seeks his freedom. Globalization is a new popular trend on the global scale. Philosophy is no longer to look up at the sky or stars, it has become present in our popular wisdom, proverbs, political theories, texts from literature and movies. It is an act. As Michel Foucault says, "Philosophy is a challenge to those who constrain our thoughts".[70]

## Philosophy and Décoincement

We know that knowledge is linked to the categories of time and space, and that our actions are controlled by our human conditions possibilities. We are obliged to follow the rules of any order. We live in permanent jamming. Like this, individually or collectively, we use diverse possibilities of categories of thoughts and actions, the case of silence, thought, dreams, spirituality, forgetfulness, extremism, war, escape, marginalization, insanity and suicide.

We try to escape from situations of conflict, loss of control, constraint or loss of freedom; we make strategies of "décoincement". We exchange a total blockage with a set of limitations less complicated to insulate us from the chaos, in order to maintain order. This way democracy is collective blockage to get away from dictatorship and tyranny, democracy means escaping from the worst.

Many countries are blocked by this mode of democracy and human rights. These countries try to reach this 'standard' by 'democratic make-up', and even by the agreement of committees of international observers. They come, even, to the level (That I prefer calling) "urnocracy" (which means, they are democratic only when it is election time, but the results are fake).

Philosophy helps solving blockage, helps insuring thinking freely. Whilst democracy gives speech to the majority (not everyone), and globalization giving control to the few, those who take control! Globalization became, to some people, a cultural standardization or Americanized Westernization. True democracy is an open field to freedom, as recommends Alexis de Tocqueville, in the aim of improving life conditions. Philosophy is anti-standardization, it favourites relativity of truth, debating ideas, cultural diversity.

Here is the true globalization to search for, where we all take control, not just the few. Thus, freedom of thought is the basis of wisdom that allows us to work together even if everyone has their own philosophy.

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70    Foucault, Michel. 1963. *Naissance de la clinique - une archéologie du regard médical.* Paris: PUF. [The Birth of a Clinic.]

# Philosophy and Multiculturalism

*In-Suk Cha, Republic of Korea*

## In Search of Commonality in Diversity

There have been serious debates over multiculturalism as a philosophical issue. Some argue that multiculturalism means the destruction of the philosophical heritage in Western civilization. Others defend it as part of the liberal tradition. The former contend that the concepts of truth, reality, objectivity and rationality, the essence of philosophical thinking, are being challenged by postmodernists who preach cultural relativism. While the latter advocate multiculturalism as the necessary consequence of a politics which grants equal respect to all cultures and recognizes them as having something important to say to all humankind (Nicholson).

It goes without saying that philosophical dialogues in this multicultural world presuppose comparative studies on the different traditions of schools of thought in the regions concerned. Comparative approaches bring together and examine various philosophical traditions from the aspect of commensurability and incommensurability. As a method, comparative philosophy has always had two opposing views. One view argues that meaningful comparison cannot be conducted at all because there is no basis on which to compare, while the other argues that the content of all cultural traditions are largely the same. Comparative philosophy involves the metaphysical, epistemological and ethical matters of diverse traditional thoughts. While there are general differences in the views regarding the question of what is real and the mode of knowledge, there is, nonetheless, a unity of thought with regard to how people ought to live together.

When we examine the breath of plural traditions from the perspective of the universality of humanity, we come to realize that another culture may embrace the same values as we but it expresses those values differently. Recognizing the plurality of expression is only the first step, however. The next steps involve delving into the historical and current contexts of the "alien" expressions with an empathy born of our willingness to deeply imagine the lives of others from their point of view. We cannot see through another's eyes. However, unless we assume that the holders of the different expression of a shared value are, like us, rational, yet compassionate human beings.

Different traditions of thought do connect by interacting and intertwining with one another at various levels. In fact, they have been doing for centuries through cultural dissemination by way of migration, trade, travel and war, to name but a few routes. Globalization dates back to the beginning of human history. Indeed, one might argue that history began with globalization. Think of the contacts between the East and the West that have continued for over two thousand years. At no point have Asia and Europe been entirely isolated from each other. The reciprocity of influence among both disparate and similar civilizations always serves to determine the ways in which members of each society individually and collectively come to understand another's cultural traditions and ways of thinking as well as the manner in which each culture processes, transposes elements from the other culture into its own cultural spheres.

## The "Mundialization of Home" and the Development of the Self

The cognitive ability that allows seemingly disparate traditions and people to connect emphatically begins in every individual's earliest relationship with those nearest in the home. Each child begins life in a family and starts out from that family or home to the neighbourhood beyond, venturing, perhaps, even further to new surroundings, and then, home again. Sometimes, of course, as individuals, we embark on journeys to entirely unknown and strange worlds. Through each repetition of leaving our home and returning again, the different worlds we visit become ever more familiar and intimate, ever more like our home. In such ways, the boundaries of our earliest life-worlds expand. The life-world in

which our daily life takes place is the world in which we feel most comfortable, most at home. This is our home-world, the world that contains the totality of our familiar and intimate entities, including our environment, our language and fellow human beings who share the same mores, customs, and views of life. This "home-world" of ours is never unchanging and static. It is always changing and renewing itself. Despite constant change, it is familiar and intimate to us. When we set out from our home-world to new worlds, we embark unto alien shores.

When we find ourselves in a strange environment, we see at once the things in it that are different from our home-world. But we also see what is similar and, naturally negotiating with what is similar, we also come to accommodate what is strange by virtue of how it fits in with what we recognize as familiar. The similar is easily taken into our existing schemata of orientation, which itself widens as it accepts. In that widening, we are able to reckon with the strange and to accommodate it into our own schemata as well. This process is generally called cultural assimilation. Its end result is empathy by virtue of which we have the ability to think and act in the manner of the other, interacting with the reality of the alien's world as if it were our own.

By way of this cultural assimilation, the horizons of our individual home-worlds become constantly widened as the strange worlds we encounter become absorbed and transformed into our homeworlds. This phenomenon I call "the mundialization of home". The development of one's self takes place through many such mundialization processes. As the nineteenth century American poet Walt Whitman tells us in "There was a child (who) went forth everyday", "the first object he looked upon, he became, and that object became a part of him". What Whitman's wondrous child sees, he acts upon, and, in turn, those objects, people, places and ideas, act upon him. The child learns how to think, to doubt and to question in the bosom of his family culture. Each day the child goes forth, he carries his first life-world in him, that is, his home-world, and returns to physical home-world from the broader life-world with that broader life-world also now part of who he is. And thus the going out and coming back to the seeded values of the early and intimate home-world continues. It is not only that early formative home-world which is carried back and forth in our psyches; because that formative home-world has changed and expanded and it is that ever expanding home-world that goes out each day. All that the child sees and interprets and interacts with becomes part of him even as he "now goes, and will always go forth every day".

In a similar vein, Gadamer, in accord with Hegel's notion of the self, says in Truth and Method that "to recognize one's own in the alien, to become at home in it, is the basic movement of spirit, whose being consists only in returning to itself from what is other". Through the mundialization process, we make a home for ourselves in alien worlds, thus edifying the self. According to Gadamer then, being open to otherness, to wider, different points of view is essential to the development of the self, according to Gadamer.

Each individual is born with unique genetic and biological wiring, so to speak. Even in the unlikely event that two infants might be treated in exactly the same manner, those two infants would invariably respond to the treatment differently. Moreover, we know that even in the smallest, most seemingly uniform of communities, there are varied expressions of emotions and ways of thinking. Furthermore, individuals respond to these models out of their own unique genetic, biological make-up in addition to their past experiences. We do not know the combination of nature and nurture that contributes to the continual development of the self. But we do know that the ideas which govern an individual's behaviour develop in socially communicative, experiential contexts. Each of us interacts with the understandings that others express in their actions and interactions. Each of us constantly interprets the interplay of understandings and expressions so that meaning itself is constantly reorganized and changed.

Each of us is born into a particular culture whose varied and nuanced patterns of thinking have undergone countless transformative assimilations into other cultures. It is the nature of culture to interact with other cultures and to communicatively experience them from their respective world views. Every culture owes some measure of its make-up to other cultures. Cultures travel. Every culture is, in fact, a complex of many cultures. Culture is always in a state of assimilating other cultures. Thus, at any given time, a culture is a culture that is made up of other cultures. Culture is always transcending and widening its boundaries by way of constant mundializations of home by the individuals who act and interact within and on their culture.

# Philosophy and the Modes of Human Coexistence

Every human being is born into a particular community, inheriting a language, a culture, and ways of interacting with other members of the community and with members of other communities. Within the shelter of community we connect to each other as human beings and develop our individuality with self-awareness, as Hegel and Gadamer would say. Interacting with others we come to the understanding of our own self and others. There are various modes of human coexistence. Eugen Fink narrowed the modes to broad categories: love, hate, work, play and death. These he said are the basic phenomena of social interaction. To juxtapose Fink's modes with Dewey's basic requirements for intellectual development, one might say that it is in these modes of human coexistence that an individual's intellectual capacity progresses in observation, imagination, judgment, and invention. One might also say that no matter how the modes are manifest, they are the same in every society. The myths of every culture portray them in origin stories in their most elementary forms, and we know those myths as ageless and renewing, ever resurfacing in myriad guises.

Human beings love and hate one another. They work and play together and lose those they love to death. In the warm bosom of the family, love unites the mother and the child, whereas hatred prompts siblings to quarrel, sometimes to violence, revenge and separation from the family. The family works together, and they also work with neighbours. They till the soil and harvest the crops. After a day's toil villagers eat and drink while humming melodies to whose rhythms they dance.

The notion of love as one of the essential modes of social relationship has surely informed the cultures of our human history. Through parental love a child learns the meaning of oneness with others which imbues him with a sense of wholeness. Through hatred comes the knowledge of destruction and severance. Hatred, a universal capability, which many fear will spell the doom of the human race, is all in the mind. Yet it destroys tangible things. Hatred finds infinite ways to divide; it creates notions of superior and inferior among us, and it annihilates those selected as the latter in the name of a better civilization. Hatred festers into generations of domination and subordination. Cultural diversity is a dazzling proof of human ingenuity. But multiculturalism sometimes entails identity-politics, which, in turn, instigates ethnic antagonism toward others who consequently march in the name of war.

Love brings individuals to unity and hatred to separation. They both teach us the meanings of one and many that may serve as channels for pre-understanding through which we attain a monistic or pluralistic comprehension of reality. We speculate on a unique being that embraces the multiplicities of the world in its bosom or we accept reality as disjoined in infinite pieces that can never be put together in one entity. Hatred sets all against all, whereas work binds together individuals and families in survival at hunting, fishing, ploughing, building houses and constructing dams. Through work, human beings display their potentialities to change nature and make it their own. But when, as Sartre once noted, some human beings labour under the hateful gaze of the other, they lose all their potentialities, become petrified and reduced to nothing. Prejudice against others is the "hateful stare" that brings only destruction into the world.

The relentless gaze of prejudice means the end of my potentiality, eventually the demise of my existence, that is, my death. The dread that I shall no longer exist here and now reveals to me, to every individual, the true meaning of being and non-being. Facing the imminent nullification of my own being I come to see the dark abyss of nothingness, and struggle back to recover my potentiality as a living being.

Mortality defines what it is to be human. We all are aware that we shall one day pass away from here to dust or heaven. We know this with certainty. We have seen this happen to those we love so dearly. We know they will never return to this living planet. Death-awareness accompanies all human beings. The inevitability of own demise holds us captive in thought and imagination. It is a common theme of almost all religions and myths. Death illuminates the disparity between transience and eternity. Perhaps, philosophy derives its inner driving force from the certainty of human mortality, from our being-toward-death (Heidegger), and our moral consciousness attains its strength from the gnawing anxiety about what will become of us after death. And so, we yearn for eternal life and seek a place where there will be no more hate, quarrels, fights, and destruction, a place we can live with one another in perpetual peace and fulfil our potential without hindrance.

Work or labour is the dominant mode of human existence through and in which humans relate to nature and to fellow-beings. Mainly in labour, we human beings fulfil our potentiality because through labour, we humanize the world. We put the stamp of our creativity in our labour. To work is for humans a way of self-realization. Labour liberates us from our physical bond to nature and contrives those entities that are not given to nature. In this way, humankind founds towns and cities, institutes commerce and politics, generating whole civilizations. Work is essentially communal, and this becomes clear in the division of labour. The product of work is always shared or traded. One hardly works alone. In the division of labour lies a powerful motive for our being with one another. Every individual must find a collective solidarity in the products of work. The division of labour implies taking part while others take their parts, all partaking of communal life in the process. In the name of survival, most human societies in the past have found ways to co-operate.

After a long day's end, family and neighbours drown their bodily pains in food and drink, lifting their spirits. Wines invite them to sing and dance life's burden into oblivion. At dusk the hardship of work recedes and the make-believe sets in. Fantasy overtakes reality. This is play. In every culture the idea of play is a universal conception. The capacity to imagine and conjure up alternative realities in play is uniquely human. In play we bring out the distinction of reality and appearance delineated through metaphysics.

In play, the make-believe is brought into the status of reality. In imagination we are infinitely free to do what we want but in real life we are limited by our bodies and by the world. Freedom is thus made relative. Of course, there is no absolute freedom for human beings. Yet in playing with others we glean the true meaning of being free. In the realm of imagination, we can be monarchs, affirming our individual subjectivity against the world. From childhood, we revel in fairy tales, concocting our very own fairylands into which no outsider is allowed. In imagination, each individual learns the genuine significance of freedom of thought and expression.

## The Hermeneutics of a Transcultural Ethics

Human beings in general develop their rational and emotional capacities for relating to self, society and nature by virtue of the five modes of coexistence. The complex of meanings we acquire through constant interactions with others in love, hate, work, play and death is inter-subjective, and it primarily constitutes the basis of our mutual empathic understanding in thinking and feeling. It also serves as the elementary structure for pre-understanding one another's cultural traditions and ways of moral reasoning. Love reveals to humans the meaning of unity and peace whereas hatred forms the meaning of violence and death. Work demonstrates how free we, humans, are by way of bringing the imaginary world into the actual world.

As human history evolves, there are always paired oppositional categories: unity and division, peace and conflict, and destruction and creativity existing side by side in tension. In fact, these pairs are transcultural just as the five modes of human coexistence are. They are manifest in every society and in every culture. Through the mediation of the universal transcultural elements, inherent in every society, barriers to communication among different traditional thought are surmountable.

As we are well aware that hatred can result in conflict and destruction, we arrive at the necessity of reflecting upon living together in peace and security so that each of us may realize all of our potentialities as freely as we can. This is our inner propensity that could enhance moral reasoning to a universal level. Such notions as equality, equal rights and human dignity are by no means universally accepted, and, certainly, not yet fully accepted. Philosophers first articulated these ideas, culled from the transcultural schemata of thought that pervades every corner of this planet. The task of philosophers then and now is to foster such notions by reasoning, articulating, communicating and doing. For over fifty years now, UNESCO's program on philosophical research and philosophy education has been focusing on exploring ways to build a firm theoretical foundation upon which to disseminate democratic ideals. The program has made, and continues to make, an enormous impact on intellectual and civic communities. Today we gather here to celebrate and continue this seminal UNESCO legacy.

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# Problems of Citizenship and Human Rights in the Modernization of Japan

*Naoshi Yamawaki , Japan*

This paper aims at rethinking the problems of citizenship and human rights in the context of the modernization of Japan. It is widely said that Japan is a unique country, which succeeded in the modernization outside the Western countries. In my view, however, there are not only bright sides but also dark sides in this modernization process especially in terms of citizenship and human rights. I would like to point out these and to suggest the future way, which Japan should take for the twenty first century.

## Multiple Meanings of Citizenship and Human Rights

Before discussing Japanese modernization, it is necessary to clarify what the citizenship and human rights mean. British sociologist Thomas Marshall put forward his view of citizenship in 1950. In general citizenship means the status, which is given to the people as full members in a community. There are three elements of citizenship, i.e. civil, political and social. The civil element is composed of the rights necessary for individual freedom. The political element means the right to participate in the exercise of political power. The social element means the whole range from the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society. He thought the civil citizenship was developed in the eighteenth century, the political citizenship was developed in the nineteenth century, and the social citizenship was developed in the 20th century in England.

Historically speaking, different from England, the social citizenship in modern Germany was developed earlier than the political citizenship because of Bismarck's authoritarian social policy. It was not until the Weimar Republic that added the political citizenship to the social citizenship. This is why the name of social state has been so important until now in Germany. Nevertheless, Marshall's classical view of citizenship offers us a starting point to think over the citizenship. At the same time, however, it must be emphasized that the concept of citizenship in the modern world has been closely connected with that of nationality. Marshall's view did not pay close attention to this important aspect.

Since the 1990's, the citizenship studies began to increasingly develop. New concepts such as post-national or denationalized citizenship, cultural or multicultural citizenship, ecological citizenship , and cosmopolitan or global citizenship, etc. emerged. Corresponding to this new situation, people all over the world began to feel a strong need for citizenship education. In Japan too, citizenship education began to be studied not only among scholars and teachers but also in the authority such as Ministry of Industry Trade and Economy. In my view, however, it is indispensable to overcome negative legacies on the citizenship problem in modern Japan.

## Citizenship and Human Rights in Imperial Japan

Japan's modernization began with the Meiji Restoration in 1868 when the new Emperor replaced the Tokugawa Shogunate, the feudal status was abolished and the new construction of an integrated national polity started. It could be said that the national equality in Japan was established then. It should be mentioned that the Movement for Freedom and People's Rights occurred from the 1870s till the 1880s. This movement achieved to establish some modern political systems such as parliamentary government. This democratic movement resulted, however, in a frustration because the Meiji Constitution, which was modelled after the Prussian Constitution and promulgated in 1889, declared the imperial (emperor's) sovereignty. Although this Constitution granted a variety of civil rights to the people and endorsed some modern political systems such as parliamentary government and plural

party systems, its declaration of imperial sovereignty meant that Japanese people were not the citizens but the subjects of the Emperor. Since that time, Japan became a nation of subject with both obligations to the state and political rights.

Thanks to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902-22), Japan could share the victory of the First World War with the other great powers. On the domestic level, the important political outcomes of the so-called Taisho Democracy were the Party Cabinet since 1918 and the establishment of universal male suffrage in 1925. It must not be forgotten; however, that this quasi-democracy had developed in the context of the Imperial Japan. Japan took control of Taiwan as a colony in 1895 and of Korea in 1910. Japan was really an empire in East Asia then.

After Japan annexed Korea, migration of Korean people increased and the Korean population in Japan amounted to more than 400,000 by 1930. Though they were regarded as Japanese subjects, they suffered from discrimination and prejudices. It was really a scandal and tragedy that several thousand Koreans were killed by Japanese police and military troops at the time of the Kanto earthquake (1923). Nevertheless, migration in search for jobs continued to increase and the number of Korean people in Japan amounted to more than 2 million at the end of the Second World War.

On the Korean mainland, the Japanese government imposed cultural imperialism upon Korean people who were forced to become Japanese subjects. They were compelled to speak Japanese in schools and official places. They were also forced to change their own Korean names into Japanese ones. Young Korean people were mobilized as Japanese members of the armed forces during the Second World War. The case of the Taiwanese people from 1895 to 1945 was similar to that of Korean people, though they express less negative memories.

In this way, the modernization of Japan entailed the serious damages to many Koreans in terms of citizenship and human rights. And it is thus understandable that many Korean people of today often blame the Japanese government for having forgotten their past colonialism.

## Citizenship and Human Rights in Post-War Japan

After the Second World War, the new constitution was promulgated in 1947, which declared that sovereign power lies with the Japanese people. The status of Emperor was downgraded to a symbol of the state. It would be important here to note what the preamble to this new constitution declares.

"We, the Japanese people, desire peace for all time and are deeply conscious of the high ideals controlling human relationship, and we have determined to preserve our security and existence, trusting in justice and faith of the peace-loving peoples of the world. We desire to occupy an honoured place in an international society striving for the preservation of peace, and the banishment of tyranny and slavery oppressions and intolerance for all time from the earth. We recognize that all peoples of the world have the right to live in peace, free from fear and want".

To be sure, this preamble is similar to the preamble to UNESCO Constitution as follows:

"Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that defences of peace must be constructed".

The article from 11 to 29 of Japanese constitution guarantees citizenship including civil, political and social rights. It seems that three elements of citizenship in the sense of Thomas Marshall were given to Japanese people. It must not be forgotten, however, that there still remains the negative legacy of imperial Japan in terms of citizenship. When Japan became again a sovereign state by the San Francisco Peace Treaty signed mainly with Western countries in 1952, about 600,000 Korean people in Japan, who could not go back to the Korean Peninsula and had to remain in Japan, lost their Japanese citizenship (nationality). By that, they are not regarded as Japanese people anymore and were deprived of political rights as well as right to become public officials (unless they become formal Japanese citizens). On the level of economic rights, most of them have been discriminated based on social status and some face discrimination in employment.

In terms of human rights, this is a great scandal in post-war Japan. In this situation, some Koreans became naturalized Japanese citizens, but they were forced to change their Korean names to Japanese names. Many Koreans in Japan reject to become naturalized and remain as Korean nationals because in Japan dual nationality is not allowed. Today, some Japanese local governments begin to grant to Korean people in Japan political rights as well as the right to become public officials at the local level, but such governments still belong to a minority of all Japanese local governments. In my opinion, this situation must be overcome both by Japanese as well as Korean people.

On this occasion, I cannot but mention the rights of Japanese women. In post-war Japan, women's political rights were extended thanks to the reformers in the Supreme Command of Allied Powers and women's suffrage was granted. The new constitution declares the essential equality of men and women. In terms of economic rights, however, it was not until 1985 that gender discrimination against women in employment was legally forbidden. This was also a scandal as a contradiction between the ideal of constitution and the social reality in post-war Japan, but this is being overcome, albeit gradually.

## Future of Citizenship in Japan in Defence of Multilayered Citizenship

Now, I would like to suggest the future of citizenship in Japan. As I mentioned in the first section, the meaning of citizenship began to widen and citizenship education began to be studied even in Japan. To be sure, the citizenship and nationality overlapped partly each other. But they are not identical. In my view, it would be necessary to understand the citizenship in a multilayered way such as local, national, global or world citizenship. The permanent residents in Japan, both Japanese nationals and foreigners, should have this consciousness of multilayered citizenship in order to cooperate for peace and justice as the preamble to Japanese constitution declares.

Unfortunately, the majority of Japanese people and government seem to be far from such a consciousness. The anachronistic nationalism or ethnocentrism began to revive as seen in the new notorious textbook of Japanese history, but it is the duty of philosophers in Japan to criticize such a situation and to create trans-national public spaces as many as possible based upon the multilayered understanding of citizenship.

# Citizenship as a Learning Process: Democratic Education without Foundationalism

*Gilbert Burgh , Australia*

Modern democracies are confronted with the challenge of providing education that is responsive to an increasingly complex world, and responsible to the differing needs of students. The challenge is compounded by the fact that in any society that claims to have democratic aspirations, there are bound to be different views on how democracy should be practised. But this challenge should be viewed as a positive one; not to seek to instill the values of a particular model or conception of democracy, but to encourage human freedom and the ability to imagine different ways of organising society for enhancing democratic ways of life. When we look at what is involved in meeting this challenge, it is inevitable that consideration needs to be given to the kinds of educational provisions and teaching practices that will encourage human freedom. To this effect there is a proliferation of literature on the merits of philosophy and philosophical inquiry as a productive pedagogy that claims either to be an exemplar of democratic practice or to have the capacity to cultivate democratic dispositions and skills required for active citizenship. This has been affirmed in the 2008 UNESCO study, *Philosophy: A School of Freedom*. The overwhelming need for pedagogy and curriculum that promotes thinking resonates from the study. Of note is the emphasis on the ability to think about problems and issues of all kinds as a necessary condition for liberating the powers of the individual and developing the social and intellectual capacities and dispositions needed for active citizenship. This means we need to address these matters intelligently; to think about the philosophical and educational basis for developing the kinds of curriculum materials and accompanying teaching practices that will enable students to explore the core conceptions associated with democracy and citizenship. But this cannot be done without an understanding of the relationship between democracy and epistemology.

One of the aims of this paper[71] is to explore the relationship between democracy and epistemology. This inevitably raises questions about the purpose and aims of education consistent with conceptions of democracy. These ultimately rest on the practical applicability and outcomes of competing visions of democracy without appeal to pre-political or prior goods, nor to certain knowledge about justice or right; that is, to the dominant liberal discourse of citizenship that has become indistinguishable from the citizenship implicit in official policy documents. I argue in favour of a notion of citizenship conceived of in terms of learning processes that have a developmental and transformative impact on the learning subject, and an educational model that is more attuned to the procedural concerns of deliberative democracy than civics and citizenship education which tend to be underpinned by preconceptions of liberal citizenship, values and democracy.

## Citizenship as the Foundation for Democratic Theory

Historically, democracy is a social and political construction that has been shaped by diverse ideologies under very specific social circumstances. The debate on democracy has been dominated by Western political thought, especially normative political theory, and recently through the contributions of the social sciences. While there is much contention over definitions of democracy, and disagreement over competing models, it could be argued that democracy is characterised by two principles in terms of power relations in which individuals and institutions stand to each other in society: (1) citizen control over public decision-making, and (2) equality between citizens in the exercising of making decisions. In their current form democratic institutions reaffirm majority rule and generally have failed in practice to strengthen these principles, as evidenced by increasing social divisions. The result is that democracy fails to live up to its own rhetoric. I am not implying that alternative conceptions of democracy would

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necessarily live up our expectations of what a democracy should be. Rather, my claim is simply that the dominant conception of democracy is underpinned by an adversarial conception of politics, and is, therefore, antagonistic toward democratic ways of life. It rests on the assumption that without representative government, free and fair elections at regular and frequent intervals, and mandate and merit as rationales for governance, there is no democracy. But this view is seriously flawed. Representative systems of democracy concentrate power with a parliament or congress, and all but exclude citizens from direct decision-making and participation; "power is concentrated on a small number of politicians and high-level bureaucrats and citizen input into policy is minimal, political accountability is low and elected representatives susceptible to vested interests, misconduct and corruption" (Burgh et al., 2006, p.91).

If it is the case that democracy is a social and political construction that has been influenced and shaped by specific social circumstances, then so too are conceptions of citizenship. In terms of the relationship between democratic and epistemology, representative democracy is unpinned by conceptions of citizenship in either the classical tradition of modern liberal thought as a particular relationship of right and duties and bound up in notions of the market or the state, or in the tradition of civic republicanism as participation in civil society. Citizenship in the classical tradition of modern liberal thought is a legal status, bound up in pre-political notions of liberty, the private domain, and consumer rights, to the neglect of the public sphere as the location of citizenship. While much contemporary debate on citizenship has focused on a return to the substantive dimension of citizenship, the relationship of citizenship to democracy has not been the focus of discussion in liberal debates. Instead, "citizenship is reduced to a formalistic relationship to the state as one of rights and duties" (Delanty, 2000, p.22). With the arrival of neo-liberalism and the emphasis on decentralisation, deregulation, and privatisation, the concept of citizenship has once again become strongly linked to the market. In sum, citizenship is typically viewed as a legal status bound up in pre-political notions of liberty, the private domain, and consumer rights, to the neglect of the public sphere as the location of citizenship. By denying the social in favour of individual consumers, neo-liberal versions of citizenship have relegated citizenship to the realm of the market or the sphere of the state.

Unlike the liberal tradition, which appeals to the individual as the foundation of civil society, communitarian versions of citizenship locate civil society in community. Emphasis is on identity and participation rather than on rights and duties. Communitarians reject contract in favour of community, extending citizenship to the domain of politics, although the concept of politics does not extend to democracy (Delanty, 2000, p.24). However, there are also marked differences in the ways communitarians treat identity and participation. In reaction to liberal conceptions of politics, liberal communitarians stress the importance of citizenship as participation in a political community, but they also stress identity as specific to a particular community. What is rejected is a notion of self as an abstract and universal entity, replaced by a culturally specific, and therefore socially constructed and embedded self. The encounter between self and other is embedded in a shared language, and crucial to this encounter is a discourse of recognition at a public level. Conservative communitarianism also focuses on identity and participation. However, identity is allied with the notion of the nation or civil society, and participation with civic responsibility. In its most conservative form it is likely to "stress family, religion, tradition, nation and what in general might be called cultural consensus" (p.29). Civic republicanism is a radical form of liberal individualism that places emphasis on public or civic bonds, rather than on moral communities as is the case with communitarianism in general. Participation in public life occupies a central space and is the essence of the public bond. It is also equivalent to, but far more pronounced than, the emphasis given to identity in liberal communitarianism. In republicanism we find a commitment to public life, whereas the liberal formulation emphasises self-interest or personal autonomy. Any connection to privatism and negative liberty, which are hallmarks of liberalism, is denounced in favour of an explicit political conception of citizenship, positive liberty, and a self-governing political community.

These characteristics and underlying assumptions about citizenship typical of modern democracies have come under scrutiny. There seems to be agreement among many commentators that "the premises of this hierarchical and representative political system are crumbling, and we must seriously consider the need to revitalise democracy" (Anttiroiko, 2003, p.121). This should not come as a surprise as the relationship between democracy and epistemology has always been an uneasy one. The foundations upon which liberal and communitarian theories of democracy are constructed have been eroded by

the postmodernist demolition of political certainty. Abandoning the philosophical quest for truth in certainty shifts the emphasis away from epistemological concerns to the politics of democracy. As Benjamin Barber notes: "The question is not which politics is legitimated by a certain epistemology, but which epistemology is legitimated by a certain democratic politics" (1996, p.350). But what sort of defence may be available for the ideal of collective self-government? If we abandon the idea of political foundationalism, in the sense that a particular model of democracy can be justified only by an appeal to a self-evident truth about human nature, natural rights or politics, then an adequate theory of democracy needs "to give reasons in defence of democracy against undemocratic—or less democratic—alternatives" (Gutmann, 1996, p.341). Justification for democracy must ultimately rest on the practical applicability and outcomes of competing visions of politics without appeal to pre-political or prior goods, or to certain knowledge about justice or right.

## A Radical Theory of Citizenship and Democracy

To avoid the problem of democracy being subservient to a normative theory of citizenship, radical democracy offers a theory of democracy whereby the citizen plays an active role in the construction of democracy. Radical democracy implies a conception of citizenship which is "repoliticized by democracy, allowing us to speak of democratic citizenship" (Delanty, 2000, p.36), rather than confining citizenship to membership of society or the bearer of rights which informs democratic theory. More specifically, it is a theory of democracy whereby citizenship is seen as participatory citizenship with a democratic aim; that is, of transforming the relationship between society and the state. By shifting the emphasis away from a model of citizenship that rests on political foundationalism, in the sense that a particular model of democracy can be justified only by an appeal to self-evident truth about human nature, natural rights or other pre-political or normative foundations, toward an emphasis on democratic engagement, citizenship itself becomes the means of transforming politics.

What makes theories of radical democracy distinct from liberal and communitarian conceptions is that democracy and citizenship are not treated as separate discourses. Citizenship is not a theory of the individual but of collective action. By extending citizenship to democratic participation, rather than confining it to societal membership, citizenship is an active process of social change through political transformation. Put another way, the dualisms of the state and society, democracy and citizenship, and the individual and community are resolved. The state and the community are seen as interdependent, and citizenship the prime mover for democratising both. John Dewey's notion of democracy is exemplary of community tied to democracy. Democracy, according to Dewey, "is more than a form of government, it is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint, communicated experience" (1916, p.87). Dewey's vision of democracy is that of a strong democracy; a process of community formation founded on deliberative communication. It is a deliberative model of democracy that provides a vision of an ideal democratic society which supports greater participation and deliberation as necessary conditions for democratic life.

Dewey's version of democracy could be described as a precursor to discursive democracy, later elaborated by Jurgen Habermas, as it locates democracy in both the state and society and is concerned with the deliberative process within public communication. Emphasis is not only on participation, but also on the quality of the participation, and thus challenges the notion of the liberal autonomous individual subject and the private-public distinction. This shifts the emphasis also on civic virtues such as tolerance, a willingness to listen and be open to alternatives, and a readiness to reason. It also stresses the relationship between language and a sense of community, and locates the epistemological justification for democracy as a form of communal deliberation in both the public sphere and the institutional political culture of civil society. Dewey's justification, therefore, satisfies Barber's demand for an epistemology that is legitimated by a certain democratic politics rather than politics that is legitimated by a certain epistemology. This form of deliberative communication implies an intersubjective understanding of self where the "idea of the public is also recast as a medium of open-ended communication" (Delanty, 2000, p.42). The epistemology of the community is fallilbilism; an ongoing learning process of reconstruction through reflexive scrutiny and self-correction. It is what Habermas calls "a fallible learning process through which a society gradually overcomes its ability to engage in normative reflection on itself"

(1996, p.444). Citizenship, in this sense, "is as much about the articulation of problems as it is about their resolution" (Delanty, 2000, p.46).

Radical democracy recognises that citizenship, like democracy, is a fluid and on-going process of socio-cultural construction; it is never permanent and complete. What I am stressing here is the learning dimension of citizenship as a process of social reconstruction. As a learning process, citizenship takes place in communicative situations arising out of ordinary and extraordinary life experiences and events. Seen in this way, citizenship has a cognitive dimension, i.e., it is experienced as a practice that connects individuals to their society, sustained by individual and collective narratives, consisting of memories, common values and shared experiences. Thus, citizenship has a transformative role to play, not just in enhancing the individual's cognitive competencies, but also in bringing about collective learning. The advantage of framing citizenship as an active learning process is that it shifts the focus of citizenship from membership of a political community onto common experiences, cognitive processes, forms of cultural translation, and discourses of empowerment. Citizenship must be able to give voice to personal identities that come out of communicative relations, rather than as an expression of neo-liberal values of individualism or shared communitarian values. While coping with diversity is one of the tasks of citizenship, as an active learning process citizenship can become an important means of cognitive transformation of self and other. Put another way, citizenship as a learning process shaped by communicative and deliberative processes and relations is radically democratic. It concerns the task of constructing and enhancing democratic ways of association, such as learning to give new definitions to work, social relations, and ecological relations.

The fact that a genuine deliberative democracy does not as yet exist should not be considered a hindrance. If we are ever going to achieve a stronger democracy of the deliberative kind in what Dewey called the Great Community we need to have microcosms in place. This leads us to the kinds of educational arrangements required to fit deliberative democracy and to facilitate democratic transformation.

## Implications for Education

The importance of citizenship preparation as an integral component of schooling cannot be denied if education is to make a contribution to the cultivation of democratic competencies and values to enable civic participation. The overall goal of civic participation is for better decisions, supported by the public and fostering the increased wellbeing of the population (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006, p.173). Civic participation can be described in two ways: (1) as collective and individual activities reflecting interest and engagement with governance and democracy, and (2) as the quality of the participation with regards to deliberative processes and decision-making. Radical democracy as opposed to liberal and communitarian conceptions of democracy directly addresses also the second kind of participation. To achieve this requires a radical review of education. I have argued elsewhere that a useful framework for assessing education with regards to citizenship preparation according to the above measures is to distinguish between education for democracy and democratic education (Burgh, 2003b; Burgh et al., 2006).[72] Whereas education for democracy focuses on the acquisition of knowledge and skills as a means to improve the capacity of future citizens to exercise competent autonomy, democratic education recognises the social role of schooling as that of reconstruction and that children and young people have an integral role to play in shaping democracy. What follows is a description of the various educational practices subsumed under the categories of education for democracy and democratic education. This is essential to understanding the relationship between educational practice and citizenship as a learning process.

The primary goal of education for democracy is the achievement of an educated citizenry competent to participate in democratic societies. It is not a proposal for a particular way of teaching, but rather it is a

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72   The distinction I make between education for democracy and democratic education initially appeared in Burgh (2003a) and later modified in Burgh (2003b). It was modified again and appeared as part of a larger argument on education for deliberative democracy in Burgh, Field and Freakley (2006). I discuss it again in relation to politics, power, and group dynamics in Burgh and Yorshansky (2008). In this section I make significant amendments in terms of discussing it within the context of citizenship, and focus on different approaches to classroom practice.

way of teaching that has been interpreted in various ways. One way is to teach or instil a set of values or to stress democratic values as respect for the institutions of democracy. This approach to education for democracy presupposes a common identity—one in which values, beliefs, morals and perceptions are congruent with those that are dominant within the society at the time, notably those identified with liberal-democracy. It is displayed in the calls for teaching values designed to promote national identity, global identity, or multicultural identity. For example, in July 2002, with the unanimous support from the Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs (MCEETYA)[73] the Australian Government commissioned a values education study designed to:

- "enable schools to develop and demonstrate current practice in values education,
- provide an informed basis for promoting improved values education in Australian schools, and
- make recommendations on a set of Principles and a Framework for improved values education in Australian schools". (Department of Education, Science and Training, 2003, p.1)

The report of the study led to the development of a Draft Framework for Values Education that was modified after further consultation, endorsed by MCEETYA, and published in 2005 as the National Framework for Values Education in Australian Schools. The emphasis is on democracy underpinned by a set of broad, general values as a body of knowledge, rather than on democracy as a way of life.[74] The assumption is that values can be prescriptively taught through either: (1) a character education approach which identifies the stated values as universally shared values that students will supposedly accept and enact as guides for behaviour, or (2) a cognitive developmental approach which promotes moral reasoning through moral dilemmas or values clarification.

Another approach to education for democracy is through civics or political education, often infused into social studies programs. According to this view, in order for students to be adaptable and socially responsible contributors to the democratic society in which they live, they must acquire a thorough knowledge and understanding of their country's political heritage, democratic institutions and processes, systems of government, the judicial system, and other aspects that will assist them to become fully functioning citizens. This approach need not be purely descriptive. It can provide opportunities to expose students to concepts and values supposedly necessary for democracy, such as social justice, rights, equality, freedom, choice, culture, identity, ecological and economic sustainability, and so forth, or to model procedures, such as classroom elections or mock parliaments. The assumption behind this approach is that not only is there certain political knowledge that can be attained, but also that it is desirable that such knowledge, namely liberal-democratic values, principles and procedures, be reinforced in schools. Pedagogically it relies on a normative approach to education, and if not taught critically it becomes a model of cultural transmission whereby students take on board particular facts and apply these to their lives. To avoid these problems, some approaches emphasise political literacy. This approach places less emphasis on political competence, and aims at developing a broad range of knowledge, skills and attitudes that are prerequisites for political understanding (Wringe, 1984, p.97). Typically stressed are procedural principles that underlie democratic attitudes, a focus on political issues rather than on political institutions, or the skills required to influence group decisions and how to do so in an appropriate democratic way. Teaching democracy through civics, political education or political literacy programs focuses on the role of the individual as having certain political obligations and social responsibilities as a citizen. Of the three approaches, the political literacy approach affords more opportunities to develop the knowledge, skills and attitudes for active citizenship, but it too falls short of a radical view of the citizen as a democratic citizen. Democratic values are seen in a favourable light as shared values bestowed upon all citizens, albeit that they may require gradual reform. This is a far cry from radical citizenship whereby education is seen as a means of transforming democratic politics.

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73  Membership of the Council comprises State, Territory, Australian Government and New Zealand Ministers with responsibility for the portfolios of education, employment, training and youth affairs, with Papua New Guinea and Norfolk Island having observer status.

74  The values that prevail are basic values which the then Australian Federal Minister for Education, Brendan Nelson, proclaimed are "intuitive of education itself, parents want prescriptively taught. Imperfect though each of us is as parents, we nonetheless expect school to reinforce the values we believe important foundations for life" (2004, p.7).

Critical thinking approaches to educating for democracy have also found a place in the school curriculum. The aim of these approaches is to provide opportunities for students to critically evaluate the principles, values and processes that underlie democratic institutions and systems of governance. Rather than superficial discussion of particular facts, emphasis is on the underlying concepts that those particular facts reflect. The basis of this approach is to develop an active and informed citizenry able to participate responsibly as members of their society. Some approaches expand on the notion of critical thinking beyond civics, political education or political literacy programs as a means for developing critical attitudes in students to articulate and support their views, and to develop skills in problem-solving and decision-making as future citizens. What is crucial to this view of education for democracy is that education develops in students a sufficient degree of social understanding and judgment so that they have the capacity to think intelligently about public issues that matter to them. This approach is a step in the right direction. However, the underlying idea of all such education is that students should be initiated into the established traditions and institutional practices, and that gradually they could adapt their ability to think critically to novel situations or challenge some practices that may no longer be rationally defensible. While the emphasis is on developing democratically minded citizens, the character of the citizen is still that of the liberal citizen; an autonomous individual with the capacity to think rationally and to make choices.

Recent moves toward a thinking oriented curriculum have placed the development of thinking at the centre of education reforms. Emphasis, in particular, is on higher-order thinking skills. The failure of students to learn these skills has resulted in a rapid growth in thinking skills programs aimed at developing students' analytic and logical acumen. Moreover, it has re-kindled an interest in the use of philosophical discussion as an effective pedagogy for facilitating deeper learning and intellectual engagement. Not surprisingly proponents are eager to point to the merits of philosophical inquiry in improving students' thinking. But this narrow conception of philosophy as merely a thinking skills program is misleading, because 'it immediately marginalises the social, ethical, aesthetic, affective and political components that are as integral to the teaching of thinking as the skills themselves" (Splitter and Sharp, 1995, p.3). While an adequate theory of education for democracy must include a place for critical thinking, it would be a mistake to de-emphasises or deny altogether the integral link between philosophy and democratic practice, as it is this link that distinguishes education for democracy, whereby citizenship is seen as a set of values, from democratic education which emphasises citizenship as a learning process.

The question remains: 'How does education for democratic differ from democratic education?' While the primary goal of democratic education also is the achievement of an educated citizenry its emphasis is not on promoting the competencies considered to be necessary for flourishing in a pre-existing model of democracy. Democratic education recognises that students also have an integral role to play in shaping democracy, and that democracy is an educational process rather than a political and social system to educate toward. Historically, the connection between democracy and education and intellectual discussions about schools as democratic institutions can be dated back to Dewey's influential book Democracy and Education. Two different models of democratic education have emerged, both intellectually and rhetorically influential, but limited in practice due to their seemingly incongruence with conventional methods of schooling. Whereas one of the models emphasises self-regulation and progressivism, the other is concerned with communicative and deliberative capabilities.

The self-regulating or school governance model has been mistakenly identified with vulgar interpretations of progressivism. Progressivism is underpinned by the belief that the aim of education is to change school practice, a view that can be traced back to the French philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau, the Swiss educational reformer Johann Pestalozzi, and the German educator Friedrich Froebel, but most notably influenced by the educational philosophy of Dewey. Although he was an early proponent of progressive education, Dewey never aligned himself to the movement, and in fact distanced himself from it. But it was his principles that schools should reflect the life of the society and that the process of upbringing and teaching is an end it itself that shaped the progressive movement in the USA and other parts of the world. In practice progressivism advocates a curriculum that follows the interests of students and emphasises active learning and deep understanding. While it can be loosely said that Dewey advocated some sort of progressivism, the theoretical underpinnings of the progressive education movement, especially the relationship between education and democracy, are too vague.

Despite the connections between Dewey and progressivism, the school-governance model of democratic education I refer to here is more closely aligned to progressivism in the UK, particularly to A.S. Neill's Summerhill School, which is notable for its application of the educational principles set out in Rousseau's *Emile*. Neill believed that if students were given freedom and self-governance in relation to school practices they would develop good habits and demonstrate the capacity to share responsibility with adults for positive social reconstruction. On this account of democratic education schools must embody decision-making structures that facilitate and foster meaningful participation by all members of the school community, which may lead to ongoing social reconstruction and change. Although, in practice, restructuring efforts have been more rhetorical than actual, this progressive model of democratic education provides not only opportunities for students to participate in decision-making, but also purports to enhance their ability to self-regulate their roles within community life through learning and sharing. As the history of progressive education has shown, few schools actually practiced school democracy in the full sense of the term, insofar as all functions of school management, curriculum, and the pedagogical relationship between teachers and students were fully democratised. Mostly, schools were less permissive, leaving administration mainly to professionals with varying degrees of input from students and parents.

The idea that students ought to govern themselves as a means to developing their intellectual capacities and democratic dispositions has been heavily criticised. It is not evident that freedom and self-governance in relation to schooling are sufficient to foster an educated citizenry competent to participate in democratic societies. According to Mark Weinstein "children have neither the responsibility for making actual school policy decisions, nor information and deliberative competence adequate to the task", and, therefore, expecting them to participate and share the responsibility for school governance is "contrary to the democratic principles of nondiscrimination and nonrepression" (1991, p.16). Students learn deliberative strategies not through participation in school-governance, but by focusing on issues in such a way that enables them to prepare for sharing the responsibility of public deliberation and governance.

Unlike the self-regulating model, the second sense in which the term democratic education is used refers to an education where communicative and deliberative capabilities and attitudes are developed. This account of democratic education, which relies on a pragmatist interpretation of Dewey's educational philosophy, recognises the importance of education as communication "where different perspectives are brought into ongoing meaning-creating processes of will-formation" (Englund, 2005, p.141). Like Neill, Dewey also understood the importance of participation, but a significant intellectual difference is that he also recognised that the development of democratic dispositions required effective communication. This is achieved through education as communication because social life is communicative, or as Dewey put it: "Not only is social life identical with communication, but all communication (and hence all genuine social life) is educative" (1916, p.8).

According to Matthew Lipman (1991), the constructivist pedagogy of the community of inquiry provides a model of democracy as inquiry, as well as being an educative process in itself, and as such has much to offer with regards to democratic education. The term community of inquiry has a long history that dates back to Charles Sanders Peirce, whose original formulation is grounded in the notion of communities of disciplinary-based inquiry engaged in the construction of knowledge. However, its current usage as a productive pedagogy owes much to Lipman who placed it at the centre of his *Philosophy for Children* curriculum. The community of inquiry is a collaborative, inquiry-based approach to teaching and learning through philosophy; a teaching methodology in the tradition of reflective education in which good thinking and its improvement are central. It has been described variously by different authors (Cam, 2006; Burgh et al., 2006) and has been embellished in practice, but mostly it follows the method of practice set out in Lipman's publications on his educational theory and practice and implicit in his curriculum materials. Briefly, it commences with the students sitting in a circle reading a text, a story, or other stimulus, which is effectively an introduction of a problematic situation to stimulate students to think about what might be puzzling or disagreeable. As a group the students identify problems through the generation of questions based on what the each of the students find problematic. Following on they offer suggestions in response to a central question by expressing their opinions, exploring ideas, stating conjectures and generating hypotheses in order to find possible answers, solutions or explanations. This leads to the analysing of concepts and use of reasoning to develop arguments, in order to gain deeper

understanding of the problems, issues or topics into which students are inquiring. The teacher's role is to facilitate the substantive discussion through the use of open-ended questioning and the introduction of exercises, discussion plans and other classroom activities that compel students to inquiry further and to connect their questions with the philosophical questions of the tradition. Only after such a thorough investigation is the community of students ready to evaluate their thinking and to bring their deliberations to closure (Freakley et al. 2008, pp.6-7).

While the community of inquiry has gained attention from both scholars and classroom teachers alike, it is important to note Dewey's contribution to the formulation and evolution of this model of democratic education, in particular the incorporation of practicality. According to Dewey, an idea must be tested and final judgment withheld until it has been applied to the situation or state of affairs for which it was intended. Through reflection and reasoned judgment the consequences that ensue from the testing of ideas are evaluated, and only then do the inquirers establish meaning. In other words, the practical testing of ideas becomes an integral part of the inquiry process; it is essential for the facilitation of the Deweyan ideals of thinking, community, autonomy, and democratic citizenship that it intends to facilitate (Bleazby, 2006). Building on Dewey, Lipman explains that the classroom community of inquiry is "the embryonic intersection of democracy and education," and "represents the social dimension of democratic practice, for it both paves the way for the implementation of such practice and is emblematic of what such practice has the potential to become" (1991, pp.249-50). However, Lipman and other proponents of the community of inquiry pedagogy are vague on the facilitation of practicality as an essential feature of the inquiry process itself. To be effective the community of inquiry as a teaching practice must fit with democracy and support it; that is, it must support a collaborative form of inquiry that encourages the social communication and mutual recognition of interests. This requires the integration of practical learning with philosophical communal inquiry in order to facilitate learning outcomes which may lead to social reconstruction, wherein citizenship is seen an active process of social change through political transformation.

The notion of social reconstruction rests on an interpretation of Dewey's educational theory and practice as reconstructionism. Whereas progressivism is directly aimed at schooling practices and curriculum to develop individual capacities, reconstructionism uses democracy as the reference point for schools to develop the participatory capacities and dispositions in students as a way to ensure on-going development of society. Seen in this way reconstructionism views schooling as making a contribution "to the development of pupils' interest in societal questions by focusing on possibilities for everyone understanding the kind of issues involved in such questions and opportunities for discussion of controversial questions offering" (Englund, 2005, p.137). It advocates education as an instrument for change; a view that can be traced back to Dewey's fundamental concern that schools and civil society needed attention to strengthen democracy. Democracy in its fully fledged form as a way of life could only be obtained through a civil society comprised of citizens with the capacity for fully-formed opinion. Dewey highlights this in the following quotation: "Since education is a social process, and there are many kinds of societies, a criterion for educational criticism and construction implies a particular social ideal" (1916, p.105). In other words, reconstructionism is concerned with the reconstruction of civil society as the root of democracy, which has its beginning point the transformation of the student thinking.

As mentioned, social reconstruction requires the integration of practical learning with philosophical communal inquiry. Practical learning approaches vary, and might involve scientific experiments, productive labour, or some kind of service learning, usually work experience or community service activities. As we are concerned with the tie between education and democracy our chief concern is with service learning. However, as Jennifer Bleazby points out, "in practice, many service learning programs fail to fully facilitate the reflective, creative, caring and critical inquiry and disposition, and the meaningful practice that they intend … Social reconstruction learning involves the identification of social problems in order to develop and implement real solutions to them" (2007, p.1). This account of practical learning as social reconstruction learning emphasises communicative and deliberative capabilities, and is consistent with Dewey's conception of communal inquiry as a process of constructing and applying ideas that aim at real social change. Whereas Dewey argued that common and productive activity through school occupations, properly used, would connect students to the school curriculum and engage them in social activities via firsthand experience, social reconstruction learning incorporates student participation in community development projects and other social and political activities

to facilitate an understanding of the process of self-governance, and therefore has the potential to bring about social change. By applying their inquiry skills to actual situations students purposefully reconstruct their social-cultural environment (Bleazby, 2004).

Self-governance, as the term is used here in relation to social reconstruction, is not to be confused with school-governance. Rather, it is engagement with the design and implementation of solutions to social problems that affect not only the members of the class, but also members of the greater community. In this sense democratic education extends beyond the classroom and the school. Democratic education requires members of the school community to understand the connection between themselves as active members of the community, the school of which they are a part, the greater community, and responsible decision-making. The school and the community to which it belongs becomes a microcosm of a greater deliberative democratic community.

My emphasis on democratic education as social reconstruction relies on Dewey's notion of communion, which is present in his educative ideal of communal dialogue as being identical with social life. To fully appreciate the impact of Dewey's education theory and practice democratic education needs to not only consider Dewey's emphasis on reconstruction, but it must also incorporate a pragmatist interpretation. Following from his own words regarding reconstructionism in the quotation cited earlier Dewey reveals his debt to pragmatism when he says: "The two points selected by which to measure the worth of a form of social life are the extent to which the interests of a group are shared by all its members, and the fullness and freedom with which it interacts with other groups" (1916, p.105). According to Thomas Englund, from a neo-pragmatist perspective these words emphasise the importance of education as communication (2005, p.137). Not only is education communicative, but communication in the form of communal dialogue is itself educative. As Dewey puts it: "Not only is social life identical with communication, but all communication (and hence all genuine social life) is educative" (1916, p.8).

If we take into account Dewey's emphasis on reconstruction and the pragmatist interpretations of his theory of education what is revealed is a radical conception of citizenship.

To convert the classroom into a community of inquiry is to foster in students the capacity to form opinions about democratic ways of life; to encourage experimental intelligence and plurality as a way of transforming or reconstructing society. But it is also accomplished through education as effective communication which is exemplary in communal dialogue. It is an educative ideal that moves between the classroom and civil society. (Burgh, 2008)

Dewey's emphasis is on social integration as a "communicative and argumentative consensual process" (Englund, 2005, p.139) that is an on-going educative process. It follows that the philosophical and educational basis for developing the kinds of curriculum materials and accompanying teaching practices that will enable students to explore the core concepts associated with democracy and citizenship needs to take into account the primacy of deliberative democracy (i.e., the development of deliberative and communicative relationships) and place emphases on the radical conception of citizenship as a learning process (i.e., citizenship is experienced as a practice that connects individuals to their society, sustained through social reconstruction).

## Conclusion

I have argued in favour of a notion of citizenship conceived of in terms of learning processes that have a developmental and transformative impact on the learning subject, and an educational model of democratic education that is more attuned to the procedural concerns of deliberative democracy than civics and citizenship education which tend to be underpinned by preconceptions of liberal citizenship, values and democracy. I mentioned at the outset of this paper that civic participation can be described in two ways: (1) as collective and individual activities reflecting interest and engagement with governance and democracy, and (2) as the quality of the participation with regards to deliberative processes and decision-making. A reconstructionist and pragmatist interpretation of democratic education is underscored by a radical conception of citizenship and directly addresses both the first and second kinds of participation. In other words, it acts as a useful framework for assessing education with regards to citizenship preparation according to the above measures.

If we view democracy as a way of life that is inherently discursive, then paying significant attention to educational arrangements that fit democracy and support it is essential, perhaps even more so than to the political dimensions of governance, systems, and organisations. As I said, these matters are also of utmost importance, but they are subsidiary to the social dimension of democracy, especially where education is concerned. The account of democratic education and citizenship that I have argued for here, binds both the political and social dimensions in a form of communal inquiry. The notion of the community of inquiry captures the deliberative ideals of Dewey's educational theory and practice and his ideal of democracy as a form of associated living, much more than participatory democracy which fails to encapsulate the quality of the communication required for democratic participation and the kind of citizenship required to bring about a deliberative society.

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# Islam and Modernity

*Abdessalam Benmaissa, Morocco*

As mentioned in the title, I will deal with a passionately debated topic currently, not only in the Arab world and Asia, but also in Europe and North America. Namely the relationship between Islam as a religion and modernity as a Western style of life. I will raise questions such as: Do Muslims need to be modern? Are Islam and modernity compatible? Is modernity a good thing in general and for Muslims in particular? Some basic elements of suggested answers will be given.

Modernity as a social phenomenon in the Arab world goes back to the advent of the Prophet Mohamed himself since Islam was a modern socially revolutionary event when it was revealed in the seventh century. In the course of the middle ages, Muslims made several attempts to modernize Islamic philosophy and scholarly thought starting by translating and commenting thousands of western texts in different branches of human knowledge. However, the results are unclear. But in the Middle Ages Islam encompassed the 'developed world', the leading seat of science and civilization. The itijad (legal framework of sharia) in Sunni Islam began with the decline of Mesopotamian dominance.

The question of the possibility of modernizing Islam was raised again on the occasion of the first contacts of Muslims with the modern European colonizers especially with Napoleon in Egypt, the British in the Middle East and South Asia, and the French in North Africa. The same question has been re-examined more recently by the Iranian Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (Pan-Islam, 1838-1897), the Egyptians Mohammed 'Abduh (1849-1905), Hassan al-Banna' (Muslim Brotherhood, 1906-1949), and Said Qutb (intellectual inspiration to generations of fundamentalist militants, 1906-1966, executed) and the Indians Sir Ahmed Khan (Islamic modernist, 1817-1898), and Mohamad Iqbal (1877-1938). But, unfortunately, almost all the works of the scholars have thus far been without much clear success.

In contemporary times, the issue of modernity in Islam takes different dimensions. Most Muslims, especially Fundamentalists, reject modernity on the pretext of being a western product. They want, on the contrary, to go back to the Salaf period, which is the one of the first four Rightly-Guided Caliphs of Islam. In this paper, I will use, as a standard meaning of modernity, the one offered by Western references. Modernity, from a Western point of view, is the cultural and social style of life founded notably on the concept of freedom of individuals, especially freedom of reasoning, freedom of speech, freedom of worship, secular democracy and liberal economics. Roughly speaking, in the contemporary Islamic world, there are three main attitudes towards modernity as it is defined above:

The first attitude consists in saying that there is no need to modernize Islam, because the Qur'an contains everything we may need. Moreover, Islam is a religion that has been founded on a Holy text, so we do not have the right to change it in order to make it fit to what is now called Modernity. This defensive attitude is generally adopted by fundamentalists or radical Muslims, namely those who usually call themselves Salafists. According to them, modernity, as it is understood in the West is not only a threat against Muslims, but also a blasphemy. To defend this attitude, radical Muslims put forward several arguments from which we have chosen the following:

- Modernity as it is understood in the West is founded on rational analysis, which is not methodologically a good means to deal with religious affairs in Islam.
- Many Muslim scholars during the middle ages, such as Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn al-Salah, and others, were definitely against Greek philosophy and logic, because they considered these disciplines as parasitic elements within the Muslim culture.

The second attitude accepts modernity on one condition: it should be Islamized. Hassan al-Turabi from Sudan, Abdessalam Yassine from Morocco, Tariq Ramadan from Switzerland and Hassan Hanafi from Egypt, are all good advocates of this attitude. According to them, two main aspects of the Western modernity should be removed from the definition suggested in Western dictionaries: (1) the absolute freedom that sacrifices moral values; (2) If modernity means break with the past, Muslims cannot be modern; because the past for them is nothing but Islam.

Hassan al-Turabi, the founder of the Sudani National Islamic Front, goes even further in Islamizing modernity and says that his political party intends to aim at Islamizing America and Arabizing Africa. That would facilitate, according to him, the task of Islamizing modernity. Muslim Brotherhood is another example.

The third attitude accepts modernity as it is understood in the West and tries to modernize Islam instead of Islamizing modernity. According to this category, we should find a bridge that could help to link these two different outlooks of life, namely Modernity and Islam. Islam, argue the advocates of this approach, must be adjusted to modernity as it was the case for Christianity during the period of enlightenment in the West.

In order to achieve this task, we have first to distinguish between "Islam" and "Islamic thought" (or "Islamic thinking").

Islam consists of the Qur'an and the Hadith while "Islamic thought" is made up of all the different types of comments based on the interpretation of both the Qur'an and the Hadith. When we say "we have to modernize Islam", it is not that we have to change the Holy text. On the other hand, we could freely change the Islamic thought in order to make Islamic culture fit to modern universal values. As to the Holy text, since we cannot change it, we can, at least, freeze some verses that conflict directly with the main values of modernity as they are accepted in the West. For example, "theft" (Arabic "*sariqa*") is punished by cutting off the hand, according to verse:

"5.38": And (as for) the man who steals and the woman who steals, cut off their hands as a punishment for what they have earned, an exemplary punishment from Allah; and Allah is Mighty, Wise. [Yusuf Ali's translation]

This verse is a good example of frozen verses in Islam. It has been forgotten, for social reasons, since the time of the second Muslim Caliph Umar Ibn al-Khattab (634-644). It is no longer applied in contemporary Muslim countries, except in Saudi Arabia some times, because it violates human rights. Moreover, almost nobody protests now against the non-application of this verse, and nobody can prove that those who do not apply it are not Muslims. Consequently, why do we not generalize this methodological principle and deal in the same manner with all the verses that seem to be in contradiction with modernity? For example, the following verse allows men to beat their wives in order to make them more obedient:

- "4.34": Men are the maintainers of women because Allah has made some of them to excel others and because they spend out of their property; the good women are therefore obedient, guarding the unseen as Allah has guarded; and (as to) those on whose part you fear desertion, admonish them, and leave them alone in the sleeping-places and beat them; then if they obey you, do not seek a way against them; surely Allah is High, Great. [Yusuf Ali's translation]

- This verse should be frozen because it goes against modern human rights. Also that the root word often interpreted as to 'beat', *Daraba*, also has numerous other interpretations in its implemented forms from to 'to tap', to 'go abroad' (hit the earth) and within the context of the Qu'ran and family matters is also used to mean to 'set forth a clear example'. It likewise runs counter to other Hadith, such as "Could any of you beat your wife as he would a slave, and then lie with her in the evening?"

Besides the methodological principle mentioned above, the third category stresses the need to reduce Islam, in order to adjust it to modernity, to its original spiritual dimension because Islam is a religion not a political ideology. In this case, it is necessary to adopt one of the most important values of modernity as it is understood in the West, namely secularism. Moreover, argue scholars belonging to this category, Modernity is not really a pure Western product contrary to what is supposed by those who reject it on this basis. Modernity is a set of values that are now considered as universal, exactly in the same sense in which we consider the invention of the wheel or fire as universal. We can even show that, historically, some of the Western values that constitute modernity may find their origin in some Averroistic ideas that have been transferred from medieval Muslim Spain to Christian Europe in the course of the thirteenth century before they got reformulated by the medieval group of scholars known under the name of "Latin Averroists" (see for example Marsilius of Padua (1270-1342), Alighieri Dante (1265-1321) and Siger of Brabant (1240-1280)).

By way of conclusion, there is a lot still to be done in order to modernize the Islamic culture. It is notably urgent to begin by reforming educational systems in Muslim countries, to teach young people a soft and open Islam and be a pro-modernist. To teach young Muslims how to define the future of Islamic society for themselves, and how 'Islamic culture' will better adapt to the challenges of the modern world. We especially need to take advantage of philosophy by promoting its methodological tools and use them to teach young Muslims how to argue and not handle weapons.

# A Philosophical Concern in Understanding Democracy and Sustainable Development in the Global Context

## Sivanandam Panneerselvam, India

The Greek word "democracy" was formed by combining *demos*, meaning people, with *kratein*, meaning "to exercise power". Democracy presupposes that the constitution assures its citizens justice (social, economic and political), liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship, equality of status and opportunity and to promote among them all fraternity, assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation. Democracy also emphasizes the need for the spirit of tolerance, catholicity of outlook, respect for each other's faith and willingness to abide by rules of self-discipline. This has to be both at an individual as well as group level. Democracy places more emphasize on popular participation and popular sovereignty. Thus the role of civil society and the government are synthesized in democracy. Thinkers like Habermas offer a philosophical justification of democracy and develops a theory of deliberative democracy, which combines the elements of both liberalism and republicanism.

In the broad context, there are some fundamental concepts that we must accept, if democracy is not to become increasingly peripheral to the vast majority of human beings but, on the contrary, develop into a dynamic force for a new integration. The first is the concept of the unity of the human race. It is the concept of *vasudhiva kutumbakam* (the world as a family) which is now becoming a reality. The second concept is the divinity of man. And, finally there is the reconstruction of society. It is our duty to work for the betterment of society. We must realize that as long as millions in the world go without adequate food and clothing, shelter and education, our theoretical postulations regarding democracy have little relevance. The concept of human rights is the basic presupposition in democracy. Human rights and sustainable development are interrelated. They reinforce each other. Without rights the State cannot promote the common welfare. Democracy has some basics pre-requisites: (1) social, economic, political and gender justice, (2) removal of oppression, whether it is economic or cultural, politics of difference, (3) group representation to enable different voices to influence policy-making, (4) safeguarding the claims of aboriginals and different ethnic groups, (5) peace within the country and outside, (6) protecting the individual as well as social good.

According to Amartya Sen, there is no conflict between political freedom and economic performance. We have to see the impact of democracy and the political freedom on the lives and capabilities of the citizens. This means political freedom in the form of democracy helps to safeguard economic freedom and freedom to survive. The significance of democracy lies in three distinctive roles: Intrinsic, Instrumental and Constructive. Development is a process of expanding the real freedom that we enjoy. There are five types of freedom: political freedom, economic freedom, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security. Freedom helps in carrying forward an ever-advancing civilization. Freedom and development are compatible and they should be treated as one variable. In democracy, multiculturalism is inevitable with the politics of equality leading to universal equal rights irrespective of group membership. This politics of equality should be complemented by politics of difference, which takes into account the differentiation and heterogeneity of human existence, and the particular identity of cultural groups. Within this context various cultural groups indicate that they want to preserve their cultural identity and express their demands for recognition, which results in an advocacy of minority rights. Kukathas and Waldron argue that preservation of a cultural identity need not require special rights and that a politics of difference can be integrated into politics of equality. A politics of multiculturalism can be both universal and particularistic.

The relationship between sustainability and development is always complex. The problem is not just that it can be hard to discern where the sustainability arrow is pointing. The very status of sustainability sometimes remains unclear. The socio-cultural concept of sustainability seeks to maintain the stability of social and cultural systems, including the reduction of destructive conflicts. Both intragenerational equity (especially elimination of poverty), and intergenerational equity (involving the rights of future generations) are important aspects of this approach. The distinction between the "environmental sustainability" and the "development" components of sustainable development has the advantage of

avoiding the ambiguities inherent in such terms as "economic sustainability" ,"social sustainability" and "cultural sustainability" where it is not certain what is to be sustained and how sustainability would affect environmental capital. For instance, the concept of social sustainability might be taken to mean the sustaining of current societies and their social structures when the meeting of human needs without developing environmental capital implies major changes to existing social structures. Social sustainability can be taken to mean the social measures needed to prevent social disruption or conflict, and the reduction of poverty justified by this. Here the significance of the "means" is also important. The development should not be assessed from "end" alone. Mahatma Gandhi, for example stressed the importance of the means. Kant's categorical imperative very aptly explains this in a different way: "Act so as to treat mankind, in your own person as well as in that of anyone else, always as an end, never merely as a means". Ethics and Economics must always go together to see a sustainable development in the globe.

As it is necessary at the secondary education level, we must introduce a philosophical understanding of the following concepts, in a very simple way, teaching the following, both at the theoretical and practical level: (1) the implication of democracy in life (teaching the rights and duties), (2) how democracy promotes the welfare and equality of all (teaching as individual as well as social good), (3) preserving the cultural identity, values, and uniqueness at the same time participating in a larger group (teaching the politics of difference and identity), (4) the real meaning of "development", i.e. to work for a total development, which implies the preservation of nature, plants and animals for the future (to teach the need to develop the policy of "preserve the planet"), to introduce a philosophical methodology keeping some of the thinkers like Buddha, Gandhi, Confucius, Kant, Hans Jonas, Rawls and Habermas at the background (to teach the creative method of philosophizing to understand the problems .

# The Method of Description in Comparative Philosophy: Justice and Recognition

## Ali Benmakhlouf, Morocco

Description is not explanation, not even the low level of explanation. It is somehow a manner to put facts as they are without trying to complete them by a research of causes. Such research may lead to falsify the facts it pretends to explain. From another side, one of the benefits of description is to avoid any essentialisation, and that is strengthened when we compare. In this paper, I will describe and compare very shortly two situations of human rights, one in South Africa, the other in North Africa, namely in Morocco. In both cases, a Commission of Equity and Reconciliation (Morocco, 2003), or Truth and Reconciliation (South Africa, 1993) was founded to restore justice.

Dead people continue to tell us to take care of them, not as representations or myths, but as people. Driss Benzekri, now deceased (2007), was one of the most famous political prisoners in Morocco in the last forty years. He was in prison for 17 years because he was supposed to be a member in the 1970s of an opposition group to the government. After being freed, he was one of the supporters of political victims.

After independence in 1956, Morocco was looking for its route forward. Between 1968 and 1972, many young people were fighting for their rights, political rights which include also cultural rights, rights to share the knowledge for all. It is hard to say that this fight was completely clear. It was, as all fights often are, ambiguous because it carried a lot of indistinguishable hopes. For example, the fight against French domination was confused with the fight against the French language. However, the submission to the post-colonial institutions has nothing to do with the submission to a language. As Jacques Derrida says "language is what does not belong", what does not belong to anyone, nor to any country. Language is a question of learning not of belonging.

In this political fight, the role of women was great. They are a minority, not by the numbers, but by the historical and cultural submission. Many of them have a husband, a son or a brother in prison and show, what the South African lordship Desmond Tutu calls "*ubuntu*" in Bantu language. What is *ubuntu*? "The word *ubuntu* is very difficult to translate in a western language" he says:

"It expresses the fact of showing how human we are. When we want to make know the all good we think about someone, we say: 'he has ubuntu', that is to say that he is generous, welcoming, friendly, feeling compassion and ready to share what he possesses. Put in another way, it means: 'my humanity is so closely linked to yours', or 'we belong to the same beam of life'…a person who has ubuntu is open-minded and does not feel threatened when someone is competent, as far as he or she has confidence to be a member of a whole, feeling put down when others are put down, tortured or oppressed".

So, women, having their relatives in prison, have shared the lack of justice and of recognition the prisoners were living. Women obtain for them the qualification of "political prisoners".

*Ubuntu* is the situation where mutual comprehension rather than revenge, mutual humanity rather than reprisals, restorative justice rather than denial of justice, triumph. When freed, Driss Benzekri fought in a similar manner as Mandela did. What women have done for him, when he was in prison, Mr. Benzekri will now do for others. The addressee of the restorative justice, whom he was the advocate, was not only for the law and the victims, but mainly the organic link which holds together the human community, that is to say the justice which restored the link. The challenge here is to cure the divisions of the past by the recognition of human dignity. The question as Paul Ricoeur puts it is: How to see and name the past and how to forgive in order to cure memory, to give a future to memory?

The fight of Mr Benzekri and his wife shows us how the prison sentence was a scandal as far as it is addressed to our responsibility, something that engages our mind, but it is our body that is put in prison. The fight of Mr. Dris Benzekri was not always understood. Whilst physically free, he spent the majority of his adult life in a mental prison and died, a victim of cancer, the year he was first sentenced to be released from prison in 2007.

Mr. Benzekri had a very strong sense of justice. He, by methodological learning (seminars at the University of Essex, researches on torture) wanted to make this common sense. Distance and serenity of the concept help to face a past which does not pass as far as it is not expressed in words, as far as the words have not avoided obsessions and fear. The difficulty Mr. Benzekri faced is ours as well. How to reconcile generations and renew the social link? How to permit the children of victims to live in harmony with others? We have to tell reality as it is because nothing is more therapeutic than reality itself. We can dream of a justice which will just give the evidence for stubborn facts. Vaclev Havel, the Czech president said:

"We have to find the just balance of things. A human and civilised attitude without escaping from the past. We have to face our past directly, give names to things happened and restore justice. But we have to do it honestly, with clemency and inventiveness. When we see people feeling guilty, we have to find the way to forgive". (*Le monde*, 8/9 2002).

## Concluding Remarks

As Desmond Tutu puts it, between the sufferings not said of the past and the future based on recognition, the challenge is human dignity. For example, the Truth Reconciliation Commission (1993) had to give an existence to the community of South Africa. For this commission, the crime against humanity is the crime against national unity and democracy. The commission is not the end of violence, but the demonstration that the threat of a non-ending violence can inspire the mutual desire of dialogue between enemies. Desmond Tutu says:

"Reparation is the term used in the law. We find important that the law does not use the term of compensation. To speak of compensation seems signifying that we can quantify the sufferings, repay someone of the loss of his relatives. But how can we give a prize to that?"

In his dialogue, the *Menexene*, Plato imagines dead people addressing a message to living people. They don't ask us to cry or to complain, but to endure with moderation the weight of their death, to be able to give around us education. According to Plato we have to pass on a treasure to the people coming after us, not to glorify the ancestors.

# In Search of a Philosophy of Life in Contemporary Society: an Introduction

*Masahiro Morioka, Japan*

In this paper I am going to talk about the "philosophy of life" project, which my colleagues and I have attempted over the last few years at our college. I believe research into the philosophy of life should contribute much to our discussion about many issues, such as democracy and war and peace in contemporary society. Before entering the main topic of this presentation, I would like to briefly introduce my academic background up until the present.

My first major was analytical philosophy, particularly the later philosophy of Wittgenstein, and I turned to bioethics and environmental ethics. I have published some Japanese books on bioethics in the late 1980s and early 90s, which were early examples of philosophical approaches to bioethics in Japan. Then I published a Japanese book and papers on brain death and organ transplants, which included a paper, "Reconsidering Brain Death," (Morioka, 2001). Since then, my research has been extended to other areas such as criticism of contemporary civilization, gender studies, Japanese studies, and cultural studies.

Recently, Professor Christian Steineck of Frankfurt University, and I proposed a research on "philosophy of life," which aims to combine a philosophical approach to contemporary issues in life, with a philological approach to ideas (philosophies) of life found in the writings of great philosophers in the past. We made a leaflet entitled, Proposal for the "Philosophy of Life" Project, in 2006, and distributed them informally.

Today is the age of nuclear war, environmental crisis, and technological intervention into human life. It is desperately needed to discuss "philosophy of life" against a background of radical changes of life situation. This should be an urgent mission for contemporary philosophers. However, surprisingly, there is no entry for "philosophy of life" in, for example, the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, or in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

Of course, we have well-known French "philosophie de la vie" and German "Lebensphilosophie", but these two usually mean a group of European philosophers in the 19th and 20th century. We have to widen our scope in terms of time and space when talking about philosophy of life in its broadest sense. And we have to keep in mind that in "philosophy of life," the word "life" means not only human life, but also non-human life and nature, and furthermore, the relationship between them.

In English, the words "philosophy of life" might sound like a personal philosophical view of one's own life. However, we want to redefine it as an academic research field that covers:

1) Cross-cultural, comparative, historical research on philosophies of life, death, and nature,

2) Philosophical investigations on contemporary problems surrounding human and non-human life, and

3) Theoretical discussions of "life" and "philosophy of life" itself.

The third, theoretical discussion, includes both: 1) the discussion of "life" such as "What is life?", "What is death?," "What is nature?," and "What is the meaning of life and death?", and 2) the discussion of "philosophy of life" such as "What is philosophy of life?", "What can we talk in the name of "philosophy of life"?," and "What should be the real subject of "philosophy of life"? When discussing these topics, contributions from philosophy of biology, existential philosophy, and philosophy of religion (and many other branches of philosophy) are highly required.

Since 2007, I have started a (very) small research group on philosophy of life, and have had 10 meetings at Osaka Prefecture University. The themes of discussion (2007-2008) included: 1) Philosophy of life found in the texts of great philosophers (Henri Bergson, Max Scheler, Hans Jonas, Ancient Greek philosophers, Ancient Chinese philosophers, Japanese medieval Buddhist, Shinran); 2) Theoretical questions (The idea of life. "What is life?", What is "ageing"?, What is "philosophy of life"?); 3) Individual topics in philosophy of life (Issues in bioethics and social welfare, viewed from philosophy of life, problem of future generations).

Because we have just launched this project, we have not yet yielded fruitful results in the field of philosophy of life. However, we are hoping to found a firm basis on which to establish our "philosophy of life" project, and create a network of philosophers who are interested in this project in Japan and in the world. Historically speaking, this kind of serious speculation on life has been mostly attempted in religious communities. However, in our "philosophy of life" research, we should show tolerance toward all approaches inside and outside religious circles. (I am an agnostic, but I never exclude religious approaches.)

Here I would like to take three topics in philosophy of life, namely, "life extension", "brain death" and "future generation", and briefly illustrate the central points of the problems.

## Life extension

"Life extension" is a newly emerging topic in philosophy of life, which was extensively discussed in the report of the USA President's Council (2003), *Beyond Therapy*. This topic has been frequently discussed in bioethics since then. Liberal philosophers and trans-humanists tend to think that there is no problem with extending one's healthy life as long as possible using (future) biotechnologies. Conservative philosophers think that extremely extended life, even if it is healthy one, will lead us to a miserable mental state dominated by adherence to anti-ageing and fear of death.

The problem of "life extension" cannot be fully discussed in the field of bioethics. It should be discussed in a more comprehensive framework, "philosophy of life". The crucial point here is how to accept one's own death in the age of life extension. We have to study various classical literatures in which the meaning of life and death was deeply discussed, and learn their philosophical discussions and wisdoms, and then again, come back to contemporary issues and tackle them.

## Brain death

In Japan, the question "Is brain death human death?" is still fiercely debated. 50% think brain death means human death, 30% think it is not human death, and 20% could not decide. There is a considerable conflict of opinions among not only ordinary citizens but also in academia. We should know the following facts. The brain function of a brain dead person is believed to have stopped, however, in some cases, the heartbeat of a brain dead person can last more than a month, the longest was a period of 17 years. The arms and legs of a brain dead person frequently move. A brain dead female can give birth to a baby. A brain dead person is warm, sweats, and urinates. Sometimes, the parents of a brain dead child believe their child is alive in the state of brain death, and give devoted care at the bedside for more than a year.

Here we face the fundamental question, "What is human death, especially when it occurs to an intimate, loved one?" Those parents sometimes say that the life of their child exists in every part of the warm body, not in his/her dead brain. They see something more than a mere biological life there. This is a contemporary version of the fundamental question, "What is life?" and "What is death?"

## Future generations

Professor Tetsuhiko Shinagawa (2008) pointed out in his book, *Bordering on Justice*, that a theory of justice cannot set a theoretical foundation for our obligation to reproduce future generations. This is because a theory of justice basically deals with just relationships among "existing" people. Of course, it can deal with just relationships between the current and future generations, but it doesn't justify our "obligation" to reproduce future generations.

Theoretically, it might be OK for all people on earth to suddenly stop reproducing for some reason, and die naturally and happily. But intuitively, all of us would feel uneasy about this idea. The fundamental question here is: "Is there any specific reason why humans must not stop reproducing future generations?" Hans Jonas (1985) answered yes to this question, in his book, *The Imperative of Responsibility*, saying that

human survival must be the most fundamental imperative for humans. But is this a correct answer to that question?

Can we find a "philosophical foundation" for our obligation to reproduce future generations? This might be an important philosophical question when thinking philosophically about future generations in the age of war and environmental crisis. And this question has a close connection with the philosophy of life extension, because if extreme life extension and age retardation become possible in the future, we might be liberated from our responsibility or imperative to produce our children. But is this really correct? I believe this issue must be one of the most important topics in the field of philosophy of life in the contemporary age.

I hope to create a network of philosophers who are interested in "philosophy of life". If you have an interest, please visit our website www.lifestudies.org and contact us.

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# Conditions of Women and Their Philosophical Interpretation

*Tran Han Giang, Viet Nam*

## Philosophical Background on Women in Viet Nam

It should be noted that Eastern thought, unlike Western philosophy, does not express a clear distinction between philosophy and religion.

### Confucianism on Women

Philosophy has had a tremendous effect on East Asian civilization as a whole. It is quite safe to say Confucianism has had the greatest impact throughout East Asia. The cultures most strongly influenced by Confucianism include those of China, Japan, Korea, and Viet Nam, as well as various territories (including Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Macau).

Confucian philosophy focuses on the fields of ethics and politics, emphasizing personal and governmental morality, correctness of social relationships, justice, traditioning, and sincerity. Confucianism, along with Legalism, is responsible for creating the world's first meritocracy, which holds that one's status should be determined by ability instead of ancestry, wealth, or friendships. It is arguable that Confucianism is most responsible for shaping the Vietnamese culture and feudal state of Viet Nam.

**Confucianism on Women's Responsibilities and Roles: Confucian Patriarchy**

Women's three obediences to men:

- When women are children they have to obey their fathers.
- When women get married they have to obey their husbands.
- When their husbands have died they have to obey their sons.

Men are household-heads and men have the right to control women in the families:

- Fathers have the right to control their wives and daughters in all aspects of their life such as education, participation in social activities, etc.
- Fathers have even the right to decide upon the marriage of their daughters.

Women have the responsibility to do all household chores:

- Women have the responsibilities to do all household's chores, such as taking care of their children, their parent and sick people in their families. They have to stay at home to do these responsibilities and not leave the household environment. The public sphere is considered the realm of men, not women.

Education: meritocracy established for men not for women:

- Women do not have the rights to go to schools. Pursuing education is considered men's responsibility. Women have the responsibility to support their husband's education. Going to school and taking examinations to be promoted are considered men's whole-life works. Women have the responsibilities to produce foods, earn money for their family and support their husband's education.

Marriage:

- Polygamy was accepted: A man can marry multiple women. The second wife is inferior to the first wife.

Confucian-based Legislation:

• In the fifteenth century the first Law of the Feudal State was released. Patriarchy was defended and formally legislated.

## Taoism and Women

Philosophical Taoism emphasizes various themes such as the strength of softness (or flexibility), receptiveness, spontaneity, the relativism of human ways of life and ways of speaking and guiding behaviour. Most philosophical debate within Taoism concerns the Dao — the ways we should follow, yet in actuality Taoists more directly question what the Dao is, how or if we can know it and emphasize more than other schools the ways the social aspects of the Dao depend on and presuppose a natural Dao.

### Deities

Its deities are arranged into a heavenly civil service. Deities may be promoted or demoted. Many are said to have once been virtuous humans. The particular deities worshipped vary somewhat according to geography, and much more according to historical period (though the general pattern of worship is more constant).

There is also something of a disconnection between the set of gods which currently receive popular worship, and those which are the focus of elite Taoist texts and rituals.

### Philosophical Taoism

We must not confuse Dao with the Western concept of monotheism. The Dao is not personal, nor is it an unchanging spiritual entity similar to the Hindu *Atman*. The Chinese word *Dao* can mean a process or a path, but not an entity. It is only to be followed, not to be worshipped. Dao merely means the natural way of the universe. Being one with the Dao does not indicate a union with an eternal spirit in the Hindu sense, but merely to live with the change and accept the way of nature; that of impermanence and flexibility. Early texts describe Tao not as equal to "the One", but as a principle underlying both the One and the Many.

### Taoism and Female Goddesses

Matsu, literally "Mother-Ancestor", is the Taoist goddess of the Sea who protects fishermen and sailors. She is extremely popular among the Taiwanese, Fujianese, Cantonese, Teochew, and Vietnamese people who all have cultures strongly linked to the sea. The Matsu Islands are named after her. According to a legend, Matsu was born in 960 (during the early Northern Song Dynasty). She did not cry when she was born, and thus her given name means "Silent Girl". There are many legends about her and the sea.

Although she started swimming relatively late at the age of 15, she soon became an excellent swimmer. She wore red standing on the shore to guide fishing boats home, even in the most dangerous and harsh weather. According to one legend, her father and brothers were fishermen. One day, a terrible typhoon arose while they were out at sea, and the rest of her family feared that those at sea had perished. In the midst of this storm, depending on the version of the legend, she either fell into a trance while praying for the lives of her father and brothers or dreamed of her father and brothers while she was sleeping. In either the trance or the dream, her father and brothers were drowning, and she reached out to them, holding her brothers up with her hands and her father up with her mouth. However, her mother discovered her and tried to wake her, but she was in such a deep trance or dream that it seemed like she was dead. Her mother, already believing the rest of her family dead, now broke down, crying, believing that Matsu had also just died. Hearing her mother's cries, in pity, she gave a small cry to let her mother know she was alive, but in opening her mouth, she was forced to drop her father. Consequently, her brothers returned to life (sadly without their father) and told the other villagers that a miracle had happened and that they had somehow been held up in the water as a typhoon raged. She died in 987 at the age of 28 when she climbed a mountain alone and flew to heaven becoming a goddess. After her

death, the families of many fishermen and sailors began to pray to her in honour of her acts of courage in trying to save those at sea. Her worship spread quickly. Much of her popularity in comparison to other sea deities resulted from her role as a compassionate motherly protector, completely different from authoritarian father figures like the Dragon Kings. She is usually depicted wearing a red robe, and sitting on a throne. She somehow became an empress figure during the Yuan Dynasty.

## Buddhism

Buddhism (also known as "the teachings of the awakened one") is a dharmic, non-theistic religion, a way of life, a practical philosophy. Buddhism spread throughout the Indian subcontinent in the five centuries following the Buddha's passing, and propagated into Central, Southeast, and East Asia over the next two millennia.

A Buddha is generally considered to be a person who discovers the true nature of reality through years of spiritual cultivation, investigation of the various religious practices of his time, and meditation. This transformational discovery is called literally an "Awakening" (more commonly called "Enlightenment"). Any person who has become awakened from the "sleep of ignorance" by directly realizing the true nature of reality is called a Buddha. Gautama Buddha is said to have been only the latest of many of these; there were other Buddhas before him and there will be others in the future. According to Gautama Buddha, any person can follow his example and become enlightened through the study of his words "Dharma" and putting them into practice, by leading a virtuous, moral life, and purifying the mind.

Concisely put, the aim of Buddhist practice is to put an end to the stress of existence. "I teach one thing and one thing only: suffering and the end of suffering" (The Buddha). To achieve this state of the end of suffering (Nirvana or Nirodha) adherents train and purify the mind by following the Four Noble Truths and the Noble Eightfold Path, eventually arriving at an understanding of the true nature of all things. In this way all ignorance and unhappiness is ended, and liberation attained. Buddhist teaching encourages individuals to practice and verify the Buddha's teachings based on their own personal experience, and also after consulting with the wise. If they find the teachings are valid (leading to more happiness and less suffering), they can apply these teachings in a practical form into their daily life if they so wish.

From its inception, Buddhism has had a strong philosophical component. Buddhism is founded on the rejection of certain orthodox philosophical concepts, in which the Buddha had been instructed by various teachers. Buddhism rejects atheism, theism, monism, and dualism alike. The Buddha criticized all concepts of metaphysical being and non-being.

### Ethics

Although there are many ethical tenets in Buddhism that differ depending on whether one is a monk or a layman, and depending on individual schools, the Buddhist system of ethics can always be summed up in the Eightfold Path. The purpose of living an ethical life is to escape the suffering inherent (co huu) in (unenlightened) worldly life. Although early Buddhism (Hinayana) is contrasted with later Buddhism (Mahayana) in that the latter emphasizes striving for the enlightenment of all (apparent) beings rather than simply oneself, in neither case can the motivation for ethical living be called 'selfish', because Buddhist doctrine holds the notion of a 'self' to be illusory (hao huyen). Buddhist teachings claim that there is no real difference between ourselves and others; therefore one should attempt to increase the happiness of all living things as eagerly as one's own. This is why many Buddhists choose to be vegetarians.

## 1.4. Ho Chi Minh's Ideology on Women

His ideologies on liberty, equality and compassion were much affected by America's Declaration of Independence, which emphasized human liberty and influenced many other ideologies of other nations in the world. He was the first Vietnamese President to declare equality between men and women and to defend women's rights in all aspects of their lives, such as equal rights to education, employment and marriage. The first time in Viet Nam's history the polygamy was abolished and monogamy stipulated was in the new Constitution and Laws on Marriage and Family.

# Conditions of Women in Contemporary Society

## Women and Employment

With cuts of employment in the state sector, women are often the first to lose their jobs. During 1990-1992, the first employment cut period, approximately 550,000 women and only 300,000 men lost their jobs. Women are in the first list of cut-off employees due to their maternal leaves, child sickness leaves and so on. In the informal sector, women make up 70 to 80% of the labour force.

There are very few women in positions of leadership in the administrative and scientific sectors. Even in sectors where women make up majority of the total number of employees, such as in textile industry and primary education, men hold the leadership.

Women in rural areas often work around 16 to 18 hours a day, which is 6 to 8 hours more than men. Women have difficulties in employment because they have to fulfil "nature-functional" responsibilities such as bearing child, taking care of children, taking care of elderly and sick people in the households and doing all household chores, etc. Women spend most of their time taking care of family, which impedes them from opportunities in education and seeking good employment.

To justify preferential recruitment of male over female workers, employers show the cost of investment into female workers is increasing about five to 15% compared with male workers. This is in disregard to the Code of Labour which has articles on giving privilege for the enterprises which recruit large numbers of female workers.

There is a huge disparity between salaries of the female and male work force. The salary of females equals 85.4% of their male counterparts. In all fields the salaries of women are lower than that of men. Women are concentrated in more lower-skilled jobs than their male counterparts, such as kindergarten teachers (100% are women), secondary school teachers, nurses (females make up 81%) and manual labourers. Women rarely have positions of leadership.

One of the most controversial problems is inequality in the retirement age of women and men in the formal sector. Women retire at 55 years and men retire at 60. Earlier retirement of women at 55 years compared with that of the men is accompanied by disadvantages in terms of their pension benefits. The average woman's life expectancy is longer than that of a man. Therefore if their pension is not calculated with consideration of the inflation rate, their benefits are gradually reducing.

The retirement age of women at 55 also adds additional obstacles to their promotion. Required ages for promotion and norms of maximum age for professional advancement are lower for women than that of men.

## Women in Education

One major visible educational problem for women is literacy. Women have a higher illiteracy rate than that of men. According to the living standards survey of 1997-1998, the rate of illiterate women of over 10 years old is 14.38%, while this figure for men of that age is 6.35%. According to the Census on Population and Housing in 1999, the rate of literate adults for men and women is 50.17% and 49.83% respectively. The women's illiteracy rate is double of that of men. Illiterate women count for 68.62% of total population of those over 10 years in age while this figure is 31.37% for men.

Girls of poor families are more inclined to drop out from school whilst higher priority for education is given to the boys. Parents think that girls don't need high levels of education and instead channel them towards traditional domestic duties. The girls are expected to do household chores, taking care of elderly people, sick people in the families. This ideology is demonstrated clearly when parents have to chose to give a chance to boys or girls in the situation of economic constrains.

## Women and Healthcare

The findings of the 2001-2002 National Health Survey reveal that there is a disproportion in access to health services between men and women. Women tend to chose private centres and communal health care centres more than men (5.13% vs 3.25% for private centres and 18.44% vs 12.09% for communal health care centres), while men tend to go to provincial and central hospitals more than women (45.1% vs 39.93%).

Reproductive health and family planning services target only married women. Unmarried women, including female adolescent and single, divorced, widowed and separated women have limited access to information and reproductive health and family planning services. Women are expected to be the family's main care-givers and in addition to everything else, must take care of every family member in time of illness. As a result, women have even less time to their own healthcare needs) According to the result of a survey of the Ministry of Education, 85% cases of ill children are taken care by their mothers or grandmothers.

Women are expected to take responsibility for family planning such as the using of contraceptives, oral pills (11.4%) and IUD (57%). The rate of male users of family planning methods such as condoms and sterilization remains low, just 7.5% for condoms and 0.5% for sterilization (in 2003). The rate is still low even in the context that condoms are considered an effective method for prevention of STDs and HIV/AIDS. At present, urban and rural areas show a clear differential in access to and usage of pregnancy care services. The rate of women giving birth at home is still very high with 26.93% among rural women and 5.46% among urban women.

## Women and Politics

**Table 1. Women in elective bodies (%)**

| Position | 1992-1997 | 2002-2007 | 1994-1999 | 2004-2007 | Increase |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| National Assembly Deputies | 18.5 | 27.3 | | | 8.8 |
| Provincial People's Council Members | | | 20.4 | 23.9 | 3.5 |
| District People's Council Members | | | 18.1 | 23.0 | 4.9 |
| Communal People's Council Members | | | 14.4 | 19.5 | 5.1 |

Source: National Assembly Office-1997, 2003; Ministry of Internal Affairs, 2004.

**Table 2. Women in State Management**

| Position | 1989-1994(%) | 1999-2004(%) | Increase/Decrease (+;-) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ministers and equivalent | 9.52 | 11.29 | 1.77 (+) |
| Deputy-Ministers and equivalent | 7.05 | 12.85 | 5.80 (+) |
| Chiefs of Department | 13.03 | 12.02 | 0.83 (-) |
| Deputy-Chief of Department | 8.90 | 8.10 | 0.80 (-) |
| Chairs of Provincial People's Committees | 2.00 | 3.00 | 1.00 (+) |
| Chairs of District People's Committees | 1.40 | 5.27 | 3.87 (+) |
| Chairs of Communal People's Committees | 2.80 | 3.02 | 0.22 (+) |

Source: Document of the National Congress of the Vietnamese Women's Union, 2002. Review Report on the Implementation of Directive 37 on Women Card Affairs, 2004.

The number of women in leadership and decision-making positions has increased in recent years. However there is still a very small number of them compared with that of men. Women tend to be the deputies, instead of chairs, and they hold positions of little influence in decision-making.

## Women in Family

Women are expected to take care of all household chores and elderly and ill members of the families. The time devoted to house chores for women is double compared to that of men. Domestic violence against women is still serious in Viet Nam, especially in rural areas. So far there are no official national statistics on domestic violence against women; however its indicators have been defined. Most of the cases took the form of violence by a husband against his wife and by adults toward children. The rest was violence by family members toward each other, such as grown-up children towards parents, husband's parent to daughter-in-law, and among siblings and relatives.

Prevailing domestic violence, e.g. a husband battering his wife and causing serious injuries, is frequently not reported because in many areas it is the commonly accepted thinking in a community that a husband can "teach" his wife. Therefore domestic violence remains under-reported. Because of its sensitive nature, domestic violence remains among the most hidden evils. It is one of the most important causes of family break-down, resulting in an increased prevalence of separation, divorce, infidelity, homelessness, prostitution, and trafficking of women and children.

Gender inequality is demonstrated in preference of having sons than daughters. Everybody in the family expects a son when the wife gives birth. Property usually is given to the oldest son, who is considered the main person to take care of his parents when they get old.

## Philosophical Interpretation on Conditions of Women

Usually the above-mentioned negative conditions of women are attributed to effects of Confucianism such as patriarchy in the household. The question now is whether it is the right interpretation? In the Arab world, is there not the same situation and conditions for women? And how is it interpreted philosophically?

We need to find out any similar conditions of women in modern societies in the Asian and Arab worlds and take them into the consideration for multi-cultural, multi-philosophical analyses. From there, we can raise the strategies to change the negative conditions for women for the betterment of their societies.

# The Feminist Concept of the Self and Modernity

## Xiao Wei, People's Republic of China

The relationship between the community and the individual is a key issue in contemporary political philosophy and ethics. The concept of the self is very important for individualism, communitarianism and feminism when they respond to the relationship, particularly, when we have to situate selfhood in the condition of modernity. Therefore, my article can be divided into six parts. Firstly, I will introduce the debate about the concept of the self between individualism and communitarianism. Secondly, I will discuss the feminist critique on this issue and analyze the feminist concept of the self. Then I will discuss modernity within the condition of women. Then I shall discuss how women situate themselves in the condition of modernity. Finally, I will draw some brief conclusions.

## The Concept of the Self: Individualism and Communitarianism

Both individualist and communitarian theories begin with the image of the individual or self. How is the self constituted? How does the individual gets his identity? In this part, I want to discuss the individualist concept of the self. Obviously, classical and modern liberalism have talked of the self in the sphere of individualism. As such it appears that individualism defines the self in some ways as follows:

1. The notion of the self or subject is a rational being and prior to and independent of any experiences.

   "On the Kantian views, the priority of right is both moral and foundational. It is grounded in the concept of a subject given prior to its ends, a concept held indispensable to our understanding of ourselves as freely choosing and autonomous beings". [75]

   Because different people have different desires and ends, any principles can be contingent. But a moral principle must have a basis prior to all empirical ends. For Kant, how does the self go beyond the experience? The self must be a rational being who has an autonomous will which enables him to participate in an ideal, unconditional realm wholly independent of our social and psychological inclinations.

2. The self is prior to the ends which are affirmed by it. For the individualists the self is not merely a passive receptacle of the accumulated aims, attributes, and purposes thrown up by experiences, not simply a product of the vagaries of circumstance, but always, irreducibly, an active, willing agent, distinguishable from its surroundings and capable of choice. [76]

3. Since the self is prior to the ends which are affirmed by it, the self is concerned with the concept of right politics rather than the common good.

   Michael J. Sandel, a critic of modern liberalism, asserts that liberalism is a rights-based approach to politics. He tries to analyse liberalism as individualism, and states that individualists care about the concept of rights over that of social welfare or concepts of good. For instance, Rawls claims that rights secured by justice are not subject to the calculus of social interests. The essence of liberalism is this:

   "A just society seeks not to promote any particular ends, but enables its citizens to pursue their own ends, consistent with a similar liberty for all; it therefore must govern by principles that do not presuppose any particular conception of the good. What justifies these regulative principles above all is not that they maximize the general good, but rather that they conform to the concept of right.' [77]

   Nozick, another libertarian, claims that rights should not be pushed aside for the sake of any idea of a general good.

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75    Sandel, Michael J. 1998. *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice. Cambridge*, Cambridge University Press, p.9.

76    *Ibid*. p.19.

77    Sandel, Michael J. 1999. *The Procedural Republic and the Unencumbered Self.* Avineri, Shlomo and De-shalit, Avner (ed.) *Communitarianism and Individualism.* Oxford, Oxford University Press. p.13.

4. Since individualists are primarily preoccupied with individual rights, and regard rights as a moral category, one's rights come prior to the good and are independent of it. Probably, the idea has two senses: individual rights cannot be sacrificed for the general good; the right cannot be premised on any particular vision of quality of life.

5. Because the individual self must come prior to the ends which it affirms, and because of the significance of one's rights, the self, as a bearer of an end and rights has the kind of dignity beyond the roles that he inhabits and the ends he may pursue.[78]

6. The role of government is to ensure basic rights, it is not the business of government to promote or sustain any idea of a desirable life path.

Dworkin suggests that community is not a need in general, but it is a need in the sense that people need a society in order to identify with it and recognize that the value of their own lives is only a reflection of and is a derivative from the value of the life of the community as a whole.

Communitarianism claims that social attachment determines the self and self is constituted by the community of which he is a part:

1. From the ontological sense, we have the special obligations to the community and others. Those obligations are part of what constitutes the self. The relation to others constitutes the self, so those obligations are natural for communitarians.

2. For communitarians, people cannot be independent of the society, because they derive their sense of identity through communication with others within the community rather than outside of communal life. For individualists, people's dignity comes from escaping social roles, but communitarians believe that the social roles and obligations make one's self-identity.

3. Individualism pursues the rights-based politics. In contrast, communitarians like Charles Taylor attack atomistic liberals who try to defend the priority of the individual and his or her individual rights over the greater good of society. Communitarians aim at that common good. For them, in society, the individual should regard the common goal as his own.

4. While individualists think in terms of the priority of the self over one's aims, communitarians regard this priority as artificial and impossible.

5. Communitarians regard society as a need and a good. Taylor states that by the virtue of our being members of communities, we can find a deeper meaning and substance to our moral beliefs. Walzer sees the society as a contract, and if people's needs are met, the contract is valid. Gauthier explains the society as a process of cooperation in which people seek to find the mutual advantage.

6. For individualists, the self depends on distance from others. The further the individual is from the other, the more self he has obtained. Liberalism concerns about how to limit the sphere of politics while communitarianism is about how to extend it.[79]

## The Feminist Critique of Individualist and Communitarian Concept of the Self

Although some feminists share some similar ideas with communitarians, an important theme for the recent feminist thought is the critique of abstract individualism and communitarians on the issue of the concept of self.

Firstly, feminists criticize the individualist and communitarian conception of the self in some ways as follows:

1. The self of individualism is an abstract self which considers human beings as social atoms, abstracted

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78    *Ibid*. p.20

79    Avineri, Shlomo and De-shalit, Avner. 1999. (ed.) *Communitarianism and Individualism. Oxford:* Oxford University Press, p.7.

from their social context, and disregards the roles of social relationships and human community in constituting the very identity and nature of individual human beings.[80]

2. The self of traditional philosophy is constituted by the image of man which is conceived as a rational human being. The image fails to see social relations, connections, care, nurturance and experience. This is a common mistake for individualists and communitarians.

3. Feminists share some ideas with communitarians, for example, "the broad metaphysical conception of the individual, self, or subject as constituted by its social relationships and communal ties, or the assumption that traditional communities have some value".[81]

However, for the feminists, communitarians have some mistakes when they are talking about the concept of the self:

1. Communitarians fail to recognize the social roles and structures which have been oppressive for women in the communities. Their theories have a gender blinding point.

2. The communitarian concept of the self does not provide basis for regarding nurturing, relational selves morally superior to those who are highly individualistic.

3. Communitarians regard communities as a moral starting point. For instance, Macintyre refers to the debts, inheritance, rightful expectations and obligations which we inherit from family, nation and so forth. For feminists, the point falls short in two aspects: that society is changeable, and that many societies exclude people who are not group members, especially outsiders defined by ethnicity and sexual orientations.

## The Feminist Concept of the Self

Within feminist theory, the main aim is to eliminate the gender discriminations and oppressions in all the traditional philosophical theories and practices. As such the self is defined as a 'relational self', 'embodied self' and 'autonomous self'. I will discuss these in detail.

### Relational self

For feminists, most accounts of the self, from Descartes to contemporary theorists, have been individualistic, based on the assumption that one can individuate selves and determine the criteria for their identity independent of any social context. In contrast, feminist accounts of the self have focused on the ways in which the self is formed in relation to others and sustained in a social context.[82] The self is related and constructed by others in an ongoing way, not only because others continue to shape and define us throughout our lifetimes but also because our own sense of self is couched in description whose meanings are a social phenomena.

### Embodied self

Feminist philosopher Susan. J. Brison talks about trauma experiences from gender perspectives. She finds that one's self-identity has an intimate relation with one's body. Even "the study of trauma does not lead to the conclusion that self can be identified with the body, but it does show how the body and one's perception of it are nonetheless essential components of the self".[83] In the traditional philosophy, there was a tendency to deny experience; moreover, this rejection of the body has been most apparent in the denying of the female body. Therefore, feminist embodied self is closer to nature, more bodily and more experientially orientated.

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80   Friedman, Marilyn. 1999. *Feminism and Modern Friendship: Dislocating the Community,* Avineri, Shlomo and De-shalit, Avner (ed.) *Communitarianism and Individualism.* Oxford, Oxford University Press, p.101.

81   *Ibid*. p.104

82   Meyers, Diana Tietjens. 1997. *Feminists Rethink the Self. New York:* Westview Press, p.14.

83   *Ibid*. p.18.

## Autonomous self

For feminists, the self is the focus of autonomous agency, which freely makes choice and wills actions. But the autonomy is different from the self in traditional philosophy because it has a nature of relations. "Not only is autonomy compatible with socialization and with caring for and being cared by others, but the rights sort of interaction with others can be seen as essential to autonomy".[84] Based on the experiences, especially the traumatic experiences, feminists believe that the autonomous and the relational self are shown to be interdependent, even constitutive of one another.

## Caring and cared self

In the early 1980s, care ethics became an important trend in feminist ethics of the Western society, following particularly from the work of Carol Gilligan. Based on empirical studies, Gilligan reported a significant connection between gender and moral perspectives. According to her book *Different Voice*, males are characteristically concerned with moral matters of justice, rights, autonomy and individuality. In their moral reasoning, they tend to rely on abstract principles and to seek universality. By contrast, women are more concerned with caring, and pay more attention to personal relationship and to avoid hurting others. They focus on emotions and concrete context rather than abstract principles. From her work, care ethics began to develop as a new approach to feminist ethics.

Four distinctive features structure the ethics of care:

(1) A relational ontology.
(2) A relational ideal.
(3) A methodology of caring attentiveness.
(4) An insistence upon knowledge of the particular.

To create, maintain, and enhance caring relationships among us constitutes the central moral task. In order to do so we practice what Nel Noddings terms 'engrossment,' the giving of caring attentiveness to particular persons in particular situations.[85]

## Integrity Self

From feminism, self should express the character of integrity. In its general sense, moral integrity means sound reliability, wholeness, and integration of moral character. In a more restricted sense, moral integrity means fidelity in adherence to moral norms. Accordingly, the virtue of integrity represents two aspects of a person's character. The first is a coherence integration of self emotions, aspirations, knowledge, and so on so that each complements and does not frustrate the others. The second is the character trait of being faithful to moral values and standing up in their defence when necessary.[86]

## Modernity as the Condition of Women

There have been many attempts to understand what modernity is. In the field of sociology, modernity may be considered as marked and defined by an obsession with evidence, visualizations and visibility.[87] There are a lot of words used by people to describe modernity from social transition, such as

84  *Ibid*. p.28.

85  Diller, Ann. 1993. Pluralisms for Education: An Ethics of Care Perspective. *Philosophy of Education,* Urbana, Ill., Philosophy of Education Society, p. 22-29.

86  Beauchamp, Tom L. and Childress, James F. 2001. *Principles of Biomedical Ethics. Oxford,* Oxford University Press, pp.35-36.

87  Leppert, Richard. 2004. *The Social Discipline of Listening.* Jim Drobnick, (ed.) *Aural Cultures.* Toronto, YYZ Books, pp.19-35.

industrial society, mass society, decontextualization, secularization, commodification, mechanization, democratization and linear progression generally. However, in terms of philosophy, modernity means more concern of hierarchical organization, individualism, subjectivism, universalism, reductionism, totalitarianism and diversification.

However, the key word of modernity is social transition, and this phenomenon shows some aspects as following:

1. Every culture has to be forced from a small isolated local community to a more integrated large-scale society.

2. Economic elements occupied the whole of society. The new order regulated by economic standards which also become a control force to the society.

3. Instrumental rationality. People pursue short term and short-sighted interests under controlling of the moral principle of Utilitarianism.

4. People travel too much with the flowing of labour force and capital.

5. People lose their identity and selfhood with the change of traditional life-style and social relationships.

What does modernity mean for women? What is the place granted to women in this process? What role is recognized to them?

For women, it has shaped a new world to live and also changed the ways of women in thinking and behaving. Modernity impacts women in two ways, positive and negative. The former can be described in four aspects:

1. Modern democratic politics brings a consciousness of right and liberation to women, for instance, the feminist movement worldwide.

2. Modern markets train all kinds of capabilities for women to live with competition.

3. Culture diversity leads women to go beyond their limited world and have a broader vision.

4. With the increase of travelling, women have more opportunities to experience social transition.

5. Instrumental rationality acts as guide to have more economic efficiency, as well as the development of productive forces.

However, women have also been undergoing unprecedented impacts of modernity. We can raise the negative impacts of modernity on women as followings:

1. Modern democratic politics still puts women in the margin as the traditional society did. Michel Foucault thinks of modern power as a *Panopticon* which fixes prisoners (people) in their places and also leads to a rivalry between the master of power and his oppressed people. Modernity addresses rationality, public sphere and capital profits, political power and hierarchical organization, and all of them are held by men traditionally. "Women's place in man's life cycle has been that of nurturer, caretaker, and helpmate, the weaver of those networks of relationships on which she in turn relies".[88]

2. In modern society, every class has to have a general framework for living. Women have more struggles for living under the competitive market economy. Women in developing countries have become an exploited object by the capital of capitalist countries.

3. Local culture is invaded and lost by the increased mobility of cultural elements. With the cultural merging process, women who have lost the root of local culture are making all their efforts to pursue their own places in the new diversified cultures.

4. Modernity makes women lose their stable and peaceful life. Traditionally, compared with men, women were more attached to agriculture, family, and local traditional culture.

88   Gilligan, Carol. 1993. *In a Different Voice Psychological theory and Women's Development. Boston,* Harvard University Press, p.17.

5. Women also lose their identities and selfhood with the fragmentation of thought and practices in modernity. In modern society, gender difference creates more spaces and areas than it usually did in the past time.

6. Individuation still limits women's living space. Individuation becomes a necessary rather than an option.

In addition, modernity has brought a key issue to the redistribution and relocation of people. As an individual, women need to use their new freedom to find out a proper place for their own and adapt to the new order in modern society. As a reflexive-being, women have been free from religions and recover their freedom in modernity; however, another task comes to them with this liberation. It means that they have to improve themselves endlessly, becoming modern means to develop continually. People will not consider gratification to be impossible, but just to presume it may take a long time to feel it. Adapting to modernity requires one to remain fluidly flexible, and always have many future plans.

## Women: Situate Self in the Condition of Modernity

At a crucial time of transition in an increasing globalization, women more and more have to fallback to identity and selfhood, as well as communitarianism to address gender perspectives. Care ethics, classified as cultural feminism, states women have gender distinctive traits, but that these traits are not necessarily inferior to those of men. They are just as valuable as, or even superior to those of men.

Can morality be gender-based or gender-biased? Although this is a big issue for the philosophical world, in spite of her critics, Gilligan definitely crafted a gendered perspective for ethics. Care ethics emphasizes virtue and community. In contemporary time, care ethics seems to pursue an alternative to utilitarianism and Kantian ethics in the Western ethical history.

Compared to other ethical theories, care ethics highlights relationships through caring practices. This is a trait lacking in traditional ethics. "Even Aristotelian ethics pays little attention to caring and to efforts required to maintain relationships".[89]

Care ethics suggests the emotional role in morality. There is a dichotomy in traditional western ethics: culture/nature, man/woman, reason/emotion, and so on. In this tradition, the former part is superior to the latter part. This is a typical patriarchal value system. Mainstream ethics tries to regard emotion as a less important element in ethical thinking, and this phenomenon leads to a denial of women's role in morality. But care ethics stresses emotion as a vital part of moral life, and this challenges mainstream ethics.

## Brief Conclusions

Generally speaking, how one defines self depends on what explanatory work one wants the concept of the self to do. Neither communitarian nor individualist self can work very well in the real society due to some fatal defects. Feminists try to correct the defects, but their efforts are still not perfect.

1. Individualism regards the self as an abstract being who can escape from the society. Individualists deny the obligations because they fear that the affirming of any obligations will offer a pretext for the restriction of freedom.' For the individualists, freedom is the primary principle and nothing else can be over it. Individualists address that the society should not seek to promote any particular ends, but enables its citizens to pursue their own ends, consistent with a similar liberty for all. That means what makes the just society is not the telos, but individual rights and freedom. I try to make two points to challenge the idea:

89  Friedman, Marilyn. 2000. *Feminism in ethics conceptions of autonomy*. Miranda Fricker and Rennifer Hornsby (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Feminism in Philosophy*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p.208.

1) How do individualists manage the individual rights and freedom conflicts?

2) If a society does not have the common goal, can the individuals belonging to it get equal liberty and rights? So in this case, the individualist concept of the self cannot work in the society. It must lead to anarchy and social disorders.

2. Communitarians overlook the self autonomy, as individualist critic sing: If the communitarian is right, in saying that we are not free to choose but rather our values are determined by our community, then there is no reason to criticize the values of one's society. Moreover, feminists state that communitarian fail to recognize gender oppression in the traditional society. Therefore, they do not go beyond the patriarchal system.

3. Comparing with communitarians and individualists, feminists address the relational self, embodied self and autonomous self. However, some feminists' make the final goal for the society very naïve. For instance, Marilyn Friedman suggests the friendship, and "that means that friendship is more likely than many other relations, such as those of family and neighbourhood, to be grounded in and sustained by shared interests and values mutual affection, and possibilities for generating mutual respect and esteem".[90] But how can we manage the multiple interest conflicts by friendship? If the terrorists attack your country and you, can you say intimate friendship with them? So I don't think the feminist strategy always working very well, especially in the case of the interest-conflicts.

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90   Friedman, Marilyn. 1999. *Feminism and Modern Friendship: Dislocating the Community,* Avineri, Shlomo and De-shalit, Avner (ed.) *Communitariranism and Individualism.* Oxford, Oxford University Press, p.114.

# What Philosophical Practices are Conducive for Philosophy Education for Democracy?

*Clinton Golding, Australia*

## Education for Democracy

Education for democracy is concerned with encouraging democracy, rather than learning about democracy. The aim is to develop a participative, deliberative and communitarian citizenry.

UNESCO recognises philosophy as being especially pertinent for education for democracy. It teaches us to make judgments for ourselves, subject only to the authority of reason, and as a result, the teaching of philosophy leads to the "establishment and maintenance of peace," (UNESCO, 2006, p.5) and "contributes to the development of free citizens" (UNESCO, 2006, p.12). The title of the UNESCO publication *Philosophy: A School of Freedom* (2007) summarises this well.

Yet even though philosophy teaching is valuable for education for democracy, this does not mean that all philosophical practices are equally suited to this task. The issue I consider in this paper is what sort of teaching and learning methods would be appropriate for philosophy education for democracy (rather than teaching the philosophy of democracy or social philosophy)? If, to use Lipman's phrase, philosophy is to function educationally (2004, p. 6) for democratic aims, what practices should we use?

My approach to this question will draw on the Philosophy for Children literature, which says a great deal about how and why philosophy, suitably reconstructed, is well-suited for education for democracy (Sharp, 1991; Cam, 2000; Lipman, 1998, 2003; Burgh et al., 2006). My contribution is to compare and illustrate two major practices of teaching philosophy, and to analyse their suitability for education for democracy. I argue that the practices of academic philosophy are not suitable while the Community of Philosophical Inquiry approach is perfectly suited.

## Community of Philosophical Inquiry

One practice of philosophy teaching is that typically associated with university and secondary philosophy subjects. I call this 'academic philosophy'. Even though there are various methods and techniques used, underlying them all is the aim that students master a body of philosophical knowledge including arguments, counter-arguments, positions, theories, philosophers, schools of thought, texts, distinctions, conceptions, conclusions and issues. To deal with this body of knowledge, students also should develop critical thinking skills related to stating, analysing and evaluating arguments.

A second practice of philosophy education is the tradition that developed from Lipman and the Philosophy for Children movement. For the purpose of this paper I will refer to this tradition by the term Community of Philosophical Inquiry (CoPI). I use this term to refer to a tradition of philosophical pedagogy that is broader than Lipman's original Philosophy for Children materials, but which has arisen out of and is indebted to these materials and which is now "a sub-discipline of philosophy with its own history and traditions" (Splitter and Sharp, 1995, p. vii). The CoPI tradition is applicable for all people, and has its own distinctive pedagogy and approach to philosophy, based on engaging participants in philosophical inquiry. The core praxis is the Community of Inquiry (CI) involving a group of people who engage in critical dialogue and reflective deliberation, inquiring together for a common goal.

Although I compare CoPI to academic philosophy, I do so only to highlight some of the methods needed for philosophy education for democracy, and some of the methods which are not suitable. I do not claim that there is only one unified style of academic philosophy; that every style of philosophy employed at an academic level is completely different from CoPI; that the methods of CoPI could not be usefully employed in an academic setting; that academic philosophy is not an appropriate way of teaching philosophy; or that CoPI is always a better way of philosophising.

I argue that CoPI is better suited for education for democracy because it is better able to educate for democratic skills and dispositions. I argue that these outcomes cannot be easily met by academic philosophy because of the emphasis on mastering the scholarship. Furthermore, students learn as much by how we teach as by what we teach, so if the outcome sought is democratic students, then the methods themselves must be democratic. I argue that CoPI is deeply democratic in its methods, and so it is better suited for education for democracy than academic philosophy, which tends to be exclusive and elitist.

## Philosophy Education for Democracy

There are at least three main types of outcomes we would expect from a programme of philosophy education for democracy. Students would be expected to develop democratic:

1. Knowledge: A body of philosophical knowledge about democracy such as concepts, positions, theories, problems and arguments related to freedom, justice, responsibility, etc. This includes know-that or what Delors (1996) calls 'learning to know'.
2. Skills: The tools and methods for democratic decision-making such as giving reasons and considering assumptions. This includes know-how or what Delors (1996) calls 'learning to do.' Philosophical ways of thinking provide these skills.
3. Dispositions: Social and cognitive dispositions needed for democratic living and decision-making such as open-mindedness and tolerance. This includes valuing or what Delors (1996) calls learning to be. The general spirit of reasonable and open inquiry in philosophy can provide these dispositions.

Out of these three outcomes, the third is the most important for education for democracy. The primary aim of education for democracy is cultivating students who *are* democratic, which goes beyond knowing about democracy or having democratic skills and requires the promotion of democratic dispositions.

Not all philosophical practices can deliver these outcomes. Dispositions in particular cannot be 'taught' in the normal way we think of teaching. We can present students with as much propositional knowledge as we like but this will not make them a reasonable person. We can even teach them all the skills of reasoning we like, but this does not mean they will employ them.

Although the dispositions cannot be 'taught', they can be encultured or educated for. To understand how, we need to draw on the tradition that derives from Vygotskiian social learning (1986), and includes situated learning in a 'community of practice' (Wenger, 1988), and more specifically, learning by enculturation in a culture of thinking (Tishman et al., 1993; 1995; Perkins et al., 1993). This tradition acknowledges that the way in which something is taught has as much educative force as what is taught, or to put it differently, the hidden curriculum is as influential as the explicit curriculum.

The implication of this community learning theory is that if we want to have philosophical education for democracy, we have to exemplify democratic practices in the pedagogy itself. For a practice of philosophical education to be suitable for education for democracy it must provide a model of a democratic community, so we can cultivate democratic dispositions in students by enculturating them into this community.

A functioning democracy relies on dialogue and deliberation amongst the citizens (see Burgh et al., 2006 and Golding, 2008). This is different than what might be seen as the hallmarks of modern democracies - voting and elections. Democracy requires citizens to deliberate about social issues and problems, to participate in social dialogue and problem-solving and to do this out of concern for the common good. It is not enough to vote for the candidate who will best serve your own individual interests.

So, to educate for democratic dispositions, a philosophical practice must provide a model of a dialogical, collaborative, inclusive, community (rather than authoritative, monological and exclusive) that students can be initiated into.

Teaching philosophy in the academic tradition can help students to know about democracy, and have critical skills, but is unlikely to lead to students who *are* democratic. The culture that students are initiated into is exclusive and elitist (after all it is the heir to Plato's anti-democratic academy). Academic philosophy is restricted to only the 'best and the brightest', and the aim, at least initially, is to learn the philosophical scholarship rather than to participate in it. Such practices are not conducive for cultivating democratic dispositions and thus not conducive for education for democracy.

## Required Changes from Academic Philosophy

If there is to be philosophy education for democracy there needs to be a reconstruction (in the Deweyan sense) or an opening (MacColl, 1994, p. 5) of the scholarly and technical practice of academic philosophy. As Lipman explains, academic philosophy would have to be:

> "redesigned and reconstructed so as to make it available and acceptable and enticing to children. Moreover the pedagogy by which the subject was to be presented would have to be just as drastically redesigned as the subject itself" (Lipman, 1991, p. 262).

Brennifer explains what this reconstructed practice of philosophy would need to be like:

> "… the common assumptions about philosophy need to be put aside, starting with its elitist and exclusively academic image as a particular 'subject'. The object here is to think of philosophy in a different way: as a practice that invites all members of the public, whatever their personal level of education or their general knowledge, to engage in dialogue and reflection" (2007, p. 180).

The CoPI tradition presents just such a reconstruction of philosophy. It is better suited for developing democratic dispositions because the CI exemplifies democratic practices. Through a Vygotskiian process of collaborative learning, students internalise the democratic culture of a CI: "collaborative dialogue, problem-solving and deliberative decision making" (Burgh et al., 2006, p. 88).

The CI is a practice to participate in rather than a body of scholarship to learn about. The Philosophy for Children (P4C) teacher's job is to help their students to uncover philosophical problems in their own experience and then to follow the inquiry where it leads to resolve these problems, rather than to cover a pre-decided agenda of positions and arguments. Students "actively engage in dialogue over topics of interest, in the service of constructing knowledge and common understanding, and internalising the discourse of the inquiring community" (Pardales and Girod, 2006, p. 306). "Students and teachers can talk together as persons and as members of the same community" (Lipman, 1988, p. 41-42), participating in genuine inquiry and making judgements about how to deal with diverse views. By participating in the reasonable and collaborative CI students learn to operate democratically, because it enculturates the civic values and democratic character needed for reasonable participation, collaboration and deliberation.

To illustrate why the CoPI approach is superior for education for democracy, I present an example of what might occur in one practice of academic philosophy and then an example of what might occur in a CoPI class. To better illustrate the different approaches, both examples depict learning about the same philosophical topic, freedom. In the example of academic philosophy, students address sophisticated, scholarly problems and arguments about freedom, while in the CoPI example, students raise their own problems and engage in inquiry to resolve these without addressing the scholarship. Although the methods are different, in both examples students develop a better understanding of 'freedom'. I expand on these illustrations in the following sub-sections to discuss why CoPI is more suited for educating for democracy.

## Illustration of Academic Philosophy

Jenny's first subject in philosophy is Metaphysics. She thinks she is getting the hang of it, and is starting to understand some of the arguments, but she still struggles. The lecturer sometimes speaks too fast and sometimes too slowly, but at least the notes give a handy outline to follow. She likes the way they set out the four important assumptions commonly made about freedom:

- We are free when our actions are caused by ourselves
- Freedom is incompatible with determinism
- We are determined
- We are free

She also likes how the notes clearly explain how the different traditional positions about freedom result from denying one of these assumptions while accepting the rest:

- If we deny assumption 2 we get compatibilism
- If we deny assumption 3 we get libertarianism
- If we deny assumption 4 we get hard determinism.

Jenny is not quite sure what compatibilism or libertarianism are yet, but she knows she has to write an essay that explains one of them and then examines some arguments for and against. She figures she will be able to understand the positions and the arguments when she has re-read the notes, attended the tutorial and gone over the positions and arguments in her head.

The main feature of this illustration is the focus on arguments and positions from the philosophical tradition. Rather than participating in inquiry, students are presented with the arguments and positions already organised into a logical structure to make them easier to understand. There is no dialogue and the focus is on learning about rather than participating in philosophy, so this practice is not suited for democracy education.

However, It might be objected that I am unfairly rejecting academic philosophy as a medium for education for democracy by focusing on lectures rather than the small group discussions which also occur in academic settings. However, even small group academic discussions are not conducive for education for democracy because the teacher stills controls and directs the discussion without allowing a more democratic exchange, as I illustrate in the following:

## Illustration of Academic Philosophy Tutorial

In her tutorial Jenny gets a chance to discuss some of the issues about freedom.

"OK", her tutor Geoff began, "What do you think freedom is?" Jenny was excited. She reckoned that freedom was doing whatever you wanted to, and said so.

"Good", Geoff replied. "Now, how did you come to want the things you want?"

Jenny hadn't thought this far, and she paused, frowning. But another student had a ready answer. "Well, you were born with certain desires, or you pick them up from your environment".

"Ah-Ha!" Geoff exclaimed, "in other words you don't choose your desires, because you are either born with them or you get them from your environment. But if you don't choose what you want, how can you be free when you do what you want? Aren't we controlled by our desires?"

Jenny found this confronting. "But that can't be right," she claimed. "I know I make free choices every day".

"But maybe the feeling that you're free is an illusion", Geoff countered. "This is what motivates the hard determinist position".

Jenny was starting to change her mind. Maybe she was one of those hard determinists.

Although there is student participation and dialogue, it is still inappropriate for education for democracy because of the emphasis on covering the philosophical scholarship. The tutor has a pre-decided agenda of positions and arguments, and only encourages discussion so that students can come to understand these. There is no opportunity for students to raise their own problems and to follow the resulting inquiry where it leads. As such the students are being led and directed by the expert, and do not learn to participate in deliberative inquiry, nor do they develop democratic dispositions.

The philosophical practice in CoPI functions very differently, as I illustrate:

## Illustration of Philosophising in CoPI

James looks puzzled. His year four class is participating in a philosophical Community of Inquiry. They had read a story about a boy who was so sick he couldn't go outside and now they were sitting in a circle discussing the ideas from the story to see what questions would arise. James had said that it was a sad story because the boy wasn't free to play outside, but Alisha had disagreed and said the boy didn't want to go outside anyway, so it wasn't sad because he *was* free to do what he wanted. Ying agreed with Alisha. "You're only unfree if you can't do what you want", she argued.

James had a question sparked off by the story, but he was struggling to get the wording right. "What if he wanted to go outside though?" he finally asked. "Yeah", said his friend Sam. "He's not really free because he might want to go outside sometimes".

Mrs. Adams paused the class then and said: "It seems like we have two different views about whether the boy is free. Who agrees with Alisha?" and six or seven children put their hands up. "Who agrees with James" and three children put their hands up. "Who needs more time to make up their minds?" and the rest of the twenty or so students put their hands up. "OK, talk to the people beside you: is the boy in the story free or unfree and why?"

The class broke into small groups of students eagerly discussing their view of freedom and trying to resolve the problem that arose from the difference between Alisha's and James' ideas.

After each student seemed to have developed some ideas, Mrs. Adams drew the class back together. "We're doing some philosophical thinking about whether the boy in the story is free or not," she said. "James and Alisha have put forward two suggestions. What do the rest of you think?"

"I think we need to define freedom before anything else," Amy blurted out.

"Yeah", Ahmed agreed. "If we know what freedom is we can decide whether the boy is free or not".

"So we'll start with trying to define freedom," Mrs Adams said. "What is freedom?"

After some thought, Ying offered a restatement of her earlier suggestion: "Freedom is doing whatever you want".

"Thanks Ying. Are there any other possibilities to consider?" Mrs Adams asked.

"I think freedom is when there is nothing stopping you". Amy suggested.

"Yeah," Jill built on what Amy had said. "Like in the story, his illness stops him doing lots of things so he's not free".

"But that means that I'm not free because gravity stops me flying," John laughed.

"I reckon Ying's idea that freedom is doing what you want is better than the idea that freedom is when nothing stops you. There's always something stopping us, so if freedom was when nothing stopped us, we'd never be free, but we can sometimes do what we want," James concluded.

"I've changed my mind," Amy added. "I agree with Ying's idea as well".

In this example, James' class is pursuing their own inquiry in a CoPI rather than learning about what philosophers have said about freedom. In response to the story they read, they raise philosophical problems and questions which they experience as genuine problems. In their inquiry to resolve the

problems, the students respond to each others' ideas by building, challenging, and testing. Disagreements are occurring, yet these are not treated polemically, but as opportunities to help test the ideas and make progress together. This is more inclusive than the assertive (and sometimes aggressive) intellectual environment that is sometimes associated with philosophy. This is also an example of collaborative philosophy because the thinking work is distributed throughout the class. Each student who contributes does only one part of the philosophical work: Amy suggests a view, Jill elaborates and John explores the implications of this view before James makes a conclusion. With guidance from their teacher, together they follow the inquiry where it leads, rather than being led to understand predetermined outcomes taken from the philosophical scholarship.

In the following sub-sections, I elaborate on these features of a CoPI approach that make it so conducive for education for democracy. CoPI functions as a deliberative democratic community, and so by participating in this community, students are initiated into being democratic. In particular, CoPI functions as a democratic community because this practice of philosophy education involves inquiry, community and care, is inclusive and because the teacher encourages student deliberation rather than directing them to teacher-decided outcomes.

## Philosophical Inquiry

CoPI encourages students to develop democratic dispositions because it is a democratic practice of participating in philosophical inquiry, rather than learning about philosophy. It is based on a Deweyan-inspired approach to philosophy as a form of inquiry involving "perseverance in self-correcting exploration of issues that are felt to be important and problematic" (Lipman, 1988, p. 20). These issues are drawn from the lived experience of the students and in particular the philosophical problems they experience. Students then engage with these problems and attempt to resolve them through a process of inquiry, which is shaped by these problems rather than by philosophical scholarship.

Dialogue is the primary mode of philosophical inquiry in CoPI. This involves engagement and exchange with others in a self-corrective inquiry (Lipman, 1988, p. 128) and is different from monological forms of philosophy: "the thinker meditating in solitude, or the Professor holding forth to an audience" (Brennifer, 2007, p. 174).

Collaboration rather than intellectual sparring is an essential feature of this dialogical philosophical practice. Students inquire together rather than present and defend their individual positions and arguments. Suggestions made in a CoPI are not put forward as positions to attack and defend, but as possibilities to be elaborated and tested in a spirit of partnership, joint inquiry, creativity and play with ideas. Students are thus encouraged to be fallible and open with their critical scrutiny, rather than confrontational and polemical.

## Community

CoPI is also like a democratic community because the philosophical inquiry involved is not an individual endeavour but occurs in the context of a Community of Inquiry. Such a community need not be a group of people who are all the same, think the same or even who start with an understanding of each other. The community in a Community of inquiry (CI) is a group willing to inquire together about community chosen questions and issues. It is egalitarian, but not all participants need to be equal, and it involves dialogue across difference where everyone has an equal chance to participate.

CoPI students form a community when they come together for the purpose of collaborative inquiry. They commit to addressing common philosophical problems using shared or interpersonal reasonable methods for inquiry (Sharp, 1987, p. 44). Thus the community in a CI is formed in a similar way to how a team or band is formed by a group of people 'playing' together (Glaser, 1998b).

The individuals in a P4C classroom become members of a community of fellow inquirers rather than a collection of individuals (Glaser, 1998a, p. 266) who inquire with others for a common goal, rather

than inquiring in the company of others by offering a series of monologues to meet their individual goals. They are consolidated into "a single community, containing both children and adults engaged in a single inquiry" (Lipman, 2008, p. 109). Participants in a CI thus experience themselves as members of a community and their actions as co-inquiry.

Because of the self-correcting nature of the inquiry, the shared methods employed in a CI are at least partially self-constructed through critical reflection and so the community is strengthened as it establishes its "own procedures for thinking, judging and behaving" (Splitter and Sharp, 1995, p. 2).

A deeper sense of the community in P4C is developed when, as Lipman argues, "each participant contributes to the single thinking process" (2003, p. 139) and the community as a whole philosophises as a "thinking community" (2003, p. 95). The community thinks together as an instance of shared cognition or distributed thinking, where there is a cognitive division of labour and each member does some of the thinking necessary for the inquiry.

In a prolonged session of private reflection, an individual will engage in a series of mental acts aimed at penetrating and analysing the matter at hand. Thus one will engage in wondering, questioning, inferring, defining, assuming, supposing, imagining, distinguishing, and so on. In shared cognition (also called "distributive thinking"), the same acts are engaged in, but by different members of the community. One person raises a question, another objects to an underlying assumption, still another offers a counterinstance (Lipman, 2003, p. 95).

Through shared cognition the community as a whole takes on its own identity as an inquiring community which cannot be reducible to the identity of the individual members (Splitter and Sharp, 1995, p. 37).

In these various ways, 'we' the community emerges (Glaser, 1998a, p. 268). This is why we can speak of the community's ideas, questions, inquiry, conclusions and progress, and why it makes sense for those in a CI to say such things as: "We came up with several different perspectives" or "We clarified the difference between friendship and love.' Through participating in such a community, students learn how to participate in a deliberative democratic community.

## Caring Ethos

Community and inquiry are connected in CoPI by the ethos of care which is what Splitter and Sharp call the "form of life" (1995, p. 20) or "lived experience" (1995, p. 165) of the CI. The caring 'form of life' gives it the features of an ideal democratic community and allows collaborative inquiry and dialogue across difference. In a CI, students show "care for the procedures of inquiry, care for one another as persons, care for the tradition that one has inherited, care for the creations of one another" (Sharp, 1987, p. 43), as well as care about ideas, issues and concepts (Splitter, 2006, p. 7). Care therefore implies collaboration, rigor, safety, encouragement, responsibility and respect and is the foundation for both philosophical inquiry and its community context. Inquiry requires epistemological care while community requires social care. Each reinforces the other in an ethos of intellectual and social responsibility which is the foundation for a deliberative democracy.

The caring CI involves inclusive and non-adversarial dialogue. In a CI, students care about their own views, but they also care about the views of others and for 'getting to the bottom of things' rather than trying to win arguments. As such the spirit of the CI is collaborative inquiry rather than 'us' versus 'them' or my idea against your idea.

In a caring CI, students are interested in, and listen carefully to, what others have to say. They respectfully "attempt to understand another's perspective from her point of view," even if they do not agree with it, "and only then subject it to critical inquiry" (Sharp, 1987, p. 43). At no time are ideas to be disagreed with before they are given due consideration, and disagreement is always to be respectfully given as a way of moving the discussion forward, not simply for the sake of proving a point.

The collaborative respect involved in a CI is what makes communal inquiry possible. The CI provides a safe (Sharp, 1987, p. 44) and trusting (Splitter and Sharp, 1995, p. 20) mode of philosophising in a supportive

and nurturing community because it is cooperative rather than competitive. The collaborative nature of CoPI emphasises rigorous thinking and reasonableness while minimising the intellectual risks associated with more polemical styles of philosophy which involve the adversarial attack and defence of positions and arguments. CoPI, in a similar way to feminist philosophy, offers an inclusive alternative to what is seen as the alienating, 'combative', and exclusive practice of much academic philosophy (Moulton, 1983; Sharp, 1993; MacColl, 1994; Collins, 2000). Even when a participant's ideas are being challenged or rejected, this is to be done in a spirit of moving forward together and requires careful listening, consideration of what is heard and then respectfully building on or challenging the ideas suggested. Because students in a CI are to disagree with and challenge ideas not persons, neither disagreement nor challenge is seen as a personal attack, but instead, as the means to advance the joint inquiry. "That's a stupid idea" becomes replaced with "Some reasons to agree are … but a reason to disagree might be …"

By minimising intellectual risks, the caring CI allows dialogue across difference where individuals can inquire together and be a community despite disagreements. Challenge and disagreement is essential for a dialogical-inquiry to move forward or make progress, but it can also tear a community apart if not handled respectfully or safely. Care sustains the underlying relationships of the CI and thus sustains the dialogue even when dealing with challenging subject matter and the resultant differences of opinion.

Participants in a CI also care about advancing their inquiry, so they not only keep the inquiry safe, but also rigorous. They give reasons, justification and support for their suggestions and request the same of others. They are concerned to move outside their own limited points of view and consider a range of possible perspectives, without getting 'trapped' in an assumption, prejudice or mistaken view. They treat all views, including their own, as fallible and thus are willing to critically evaluate all views and to change their minds in accordance with the weight of reasons. They will also offer suggested ideas to public scrutiny as a 'quality control' mechanism so they can get constructive criticism.

The rigorous care in a CI, involving multiple perspectives, fallibilism and public scrutiny of ideas, can be summarised as self-correction. Students care about ideas and they want to correct and improve them. "This means, for example, that [they] are not afraid to modify their point of view or correct any reasoning – their own or that of their fellow members – which seems faulty" (Splitter and Sharp, 1995, pp.18-19).

Being immersed in the caring ethos of rigour, collaborative inquiry, reflection and self-correction encourages the development of what Sharp calls "cognitive virtues" and I have called dispositions, such as: "open-mindedness, willingness to accept criticism, or consider alternative positions, willingness to subject our hypotheses to analysis, willingness to consider reasons… impartiality [and] consistency" (Sharp, 1987, p. 39). By being immersed in the practice of caring, collaborative and rigorous inquiry, P4C students come to be caring, collaborative and rigorous.

Possessing these cognitive virtues is what both Lipman (1988, p. 128) and Siegel (1988, 2003) call 'being reasonable' or "appropriately moved by reasons". Because this involves both epistemic and ethical or social care, being reasonable goes further than being logical. As Rorty explains, care moves us from cold, rational, logic to being a warm, sympathetic human being (1999, p. 82f). Caring thinking strives for the most reasonable perspective that involves empathy, compassion and valuing of the other, not just the most logical argument. Without logical care we get nonsense, but without empathic care we get icy, dehumanised rationality. The CI combines both.

The ethos of care that composes a CI means it has the features of an ideal democratic community involving communal, reasonable, egalitarian, deliberative and participatory dialogue (Cam, 2000; Burgh et. al., 2006, p. 32). Both a CI and an ideal democracy proceed by "exploring different points of view, discussing disagreements reasonably, and keeping an open mind" about issues of importance to the community (Cam, 2006, p. 19). The CI is non-hierarchical and egalitarian and involves open intellectual exchange that "excludes claims based on authority, tradition, force, charisma, or intellectual status" (Kennedy, 1999, p. 345: citing Habermas, 1984, p. 42). Each member can make a contribution and all perspectives and experiences are to be considered without being swayed by irrelevant personal details (Splitter and Sharp, 1995, pp. 34-36). By participating in a CI with these features, children strengthen their civic and democratic character and become democratic (Lipman, 1988, p. 57-61).

## Inclusive

CoPI is part of the inclusive philosophical tradition stemming from the practices of Socrates that attempts to make philosophy available for everyone. It is a different tradition from that stemming from Plato's academy that reserves philosophy for the mature, trained scholar. As Lipman says:

"The paradigm of doing philosophy is the towering, solitary figure of Socrates, for whom philosophy was neither an acquisition, nor a profession but a way of life. What Socrates models for us is not philosophy known or philosophy applied but philosophy practiced. He challenges us to acknowledge that philosophy as deed, as form of life, is something that any of us can emulate" (1988, p. 12).[91]

Because of this inclusivity, CoPI enculturates being democratic better than academic philosophy.

The language of philosophy employed in CoPI is inclusive. Philosophising is conducted in everyday language without the barriers posed by the "forbidding terminology" of scholarly traditions of philosophy (Reed, 1992, p. 148-149). Children philosophise in CoPI by doing such things as asking questions (Why …?), giving examples (An example is …), clarifying (I mean …), drawing implications (That means …), suggesting (I think …), and changing their minds (I now think …). Everyone who has the ability to speak can make these philosophical moves and so philosophy is open to everyone in the community of speakers (Lipman, 1988, p. 194-195).

Just as CoPI students do not need to master a technical language to philosophise, they also do not need to learn about the problems and arguments of academic philosophy. Because CoPI addresses problems and issues from the participants' experience, they do not need a mastery of the philosophical scholarship before they can participate in inquiry about these problems.

CoPI is also inclusive because students can participate even if they have not mastered all aspects of philosophical thinking. Individual students can participate in the collaborative philosophical dialogue by listening or by performing only one of the many philosophical moves required for philosophical inquiry because it is not so much the individual child who philosophises as it is the CI as a whole. With orchestration by the CoPI teacher, all the various moves are performed, but each one is performed by a different member of the community. One might provide a suggestion, then another clarifies this suggestion, while two more provide a reason for and against accepting the suggestion. In this way a whole group can operate philosophically even if no one student can do it all on their own (Murris, 2000, p. 263).

The inclusivity of CoPI is also the result of taking a Brunerian approach to philosophy. A Brunerian approach is to argue that any child of any age can approach any discipline, even the most complex and abstract, if that discipline is appropriately positioned (1960, p. 12-13). Put the other way around, CoPI rejects the view that philosophy is so difficult and esoteric that only the mature and intelligent can handle it.[92] Philosophy can be done in a sophisticated form with a high level of scholarship or at a novice level. Children can grasp philosophy in an intuitive and simple form and participate in novice level philosophical thinking, long before they can do the formal, scholarly work associated with academic philosophy.

CoPI thus views children learning philosophy in the same way that most people view children learning mathematics. What goes on in academic mathematics departments is sophisticated and specialised and beyond most children. However, this does not mean that when five year olds count rocks that they are not doing mathematics. It may not be of the same sophistication or complexity but it is age appropriate mathematical thinking. Likewise even though children might not produce sophisticated essays and papers on contemporary philosophical issues, they can do philosophy. For example, although young

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91   Although informative, the analogy to Socratic philosophy can be taken too far. Much of the Socratic practice, as depicted in Plato's dialogues, is overly directive and inconsistent with the open dialogue necessary for a CoPI and education for democracy. Socrates sometimes seems to be pushing an agenda and more or less subtly manipulating his interlocutors, rather than openly following the inquiry where it might lead.

92   See Kitchener (1990) for a good overview of the arguments that children cannot do philosophy because it is too complex for them. However, many of the arguments do not apply to the philosophical practice of P4C, but only to an exclusive conception of philosophy. See Murris (2000) for an overview of the case that children can do philosophy when philosophy is appropriately reconstructed, pitched at the right level, and made inclusive.

children doing CoPI would not write essays analysing different positions and arguments about the traditional problem of free-will, this does not exclude them from philosophy. Instead, they converse "about philosophical topics in ordinary language disciplined by logical constraints" (Lipman, 1988, p. 143). They would, for example, consider how much freedom they have, listen to the ideas of others, consider problems with their initial thoughts and modify their views in response.

In particular, Bruner's idea of the spiral curriculum is relevant for understanding how children approach philosophy at a novice level in CoPI. Young children engage with basic ideas from the discipline of philosophy and use foundational philosophical thinking. They then revisit these over the years in more and more complex forms. For example, five year olds might think about what it means to be a friend in concrete terms, and then come back to this concept in more and more sophisticated and abstract ways in later years by considering the connections between friendship and trust, integrity, happiness and living a good life. Although they might not be considering the most sophisticated philosophical problems, they are considering simpler versions that arise in their conceptions.

Even if we take the exclusive position that real philosophy is only the most rigorous inquiry done in universities, we should acknowledge that there is a developmental process to philosophical thinking. This starts with very young children learning to state their beliefs on philosophical issues such as friendship, and giving reasons in support ("I think friends should always share because it's mean to not share and friends are not mean to each other"). This is a necessary developmental stage before they can learn to state and evaluate arguments for and against, say, a Platonic position about friendship. But if we admit that there is such a developmental process, it seems unnecessary to withhold the name 'philosophy' from what children do during this developmental process. Children doing CoPI are obviously not academic philosophers yet they are philosophising.

Lastly, CoPI is inclusive because it rejects the Piagetian view that children are incapable of philosophical thinking. The standard interpretation of Piaget's theory of cognitive development is that children go through fixed, age-based stages of cognitive development and they can't think in the patterns of higher stages. In particular, because children have not reached the adult stage of abstract reasoning, they are inherently unable to handle the complexity and rigour of philosophy.

CoPI rejects this Piagetian position as it does not apply when the philosophical practice has been reconstructed to be inclusive, as it has been in CoPI. Nor does it apply when children have had philosophical experience, as they have by participating in CoPI. There is ample evidence that children have the capabilities they need to philosophise when they have had the opportunity and training in a philosophical CI. For instance, see Matthews (1978, 1980, 1984) for a wide variety of examples of young children engaging in complex and abstract philosophical dialogue and exploration.

Modern neo-Piagetians take a similar position to CoPI that children can have the cognitive capacity to do philosophy. Cognitive acceleration theorists agree with Piaget that there are stages of thinking that humans go through in their normal development, and that early, concrete stages of thinking are not sufficiently sophisticated to support philosophical thinking. Yet they present evidence that children can be 'accelerated' to higher, abstract stages by being confronted with an appropriate cognitive challenge (Adey and Shayer, 2002; Shayer, 1997). With the right challenge, children can engage in the abstract thought necessary for philosophy, and CoPI provides just such a challenge.

In these ways the philosophical practice of CoPI is inclusive and accessible to children. CoPI students are initiated into a practice of philosophical inquiry that is appropriate for them, rather than being initiated into the scholarly practice of academic philosophy, or being taught the subject 'philosophy'. Children can participate in CoPI because they inquire in ordinary language, in a safe, supportive dialogue, about problems from their own experience. There is no barrier posed by convoluted texts, or lengthy periods of training and apprenticeship to gain the specialist knowledge that would be required for mastering a 'subject', and the philosophical work is distributed so that individual students can participate and develop the needed cognitive skills without first having extensive experience. By participating in such an inclusive inquiry, students develop the skills and dispositions needed for an inclusive, deliberative, democratic community.

## Inquiry-encouraging Not Outcome-leading

A fundamental difference between academic philosophy and CoPI, and a central reason why CoPI is more democratic, is the role the philosophy teacher plays in each practice. The teacher in CoPI encourages collaborative deliberation about issues of common concern, while the academic teacher directs and leads students to authoritative positions, arguments, distinctions and interpretations about issues from the scholarship. The main objective of the CoPI teacher is to run their class as a CI where students participate in philosophy as a collaborative inquiry. To do this, the CoPI teacher needs to be 'philosophically self-effacing but procedurally strong' (Lipman and Sharp, 1982, p. vii; Splitter and Sharp, 1995, p. 149). They do not have an agenda of philosophical arguments and positions that must be covered and instead emphasise the procedures of philosophical inquiry. This means they are not the "informational authority" (Lipman, 1988, p. 96) and cannot claim to have the answers in advance (Burgh et al., 2006, p. 152).

CoPI teachers are to avoid what Splitter and Sharp call "pre-empted conclusions" (1995, p. 137-139) and what I call "pre-decided outcomes" or "pre-decided milestones". A pre-decided outcome is some substantive point that the teacher decides must be addressed or reached in the inquiry. One type of pre-decided outcome (probably uncommon in philosophy teaching) is a final conclusion that that the teacher pre-determines the students should adopt at the end of their inquiry. Other types of pre-decided outcomes (perhaps better called milestones) are aspects of the intellectual terrain that must be addressed or covered during the inquiry, such as an argument that must be considered, a distinction that must be made, an interpretation or implication that must be acknowledged, or a line of inquiry that must be pursued. A pre-decided outcome could be determined before an inquiry begins, but the teacher could also decide during an inquiry that the inquiry must cover particular milestones.

CoPI teachers avoid pre-decided outcomes and encourage students to follow the inquiry where it leads. Academic teachers, on the other hand, have to cover a body of scholarship, and so embrace pre-decided outcomes. Thus the academic teacher could be described as outcome-leading (as in the tutorial illustration) while the CoPI teacher is inquiry-encouraging. The outcome-leading teacher listens to what students say and evaluates whether they have covered the 'correct' content, argument or interpretation, and if not, they direct them (subtly or not) to this. The inquiry-encouraging teacher does not have a pre-decided outcome in mind and instead evaluates what further thinking would be useful to advance the inquiry, for example, perhaps students need to justify, clarify or compare their ideas. [93]

By avoiding pre-decided outcomes, and emphasising the process of philosophical inquiry, the CoPI teacher is able to engage in genuine inquiry with their students. A genuine inquiry occurs when neither teacher nor students have the answers before-hand, and thus they have to follow the inquiry where it leads (Burgh et. al., 2006, 51, p. 152). A genuine inquiry is "a process of discovery and invention – bringing together different perspectives and building on these differences" rather than "a process of working inexorably and inflexibly towards a predetermined answer" (Splitter and Sharp, 1995, p. 139).

In a genuine inquiry, the teacher becomes a co-inquirer with students (Burgh et. al., 2006, p. 111; Splitter and Sharp, 1995, p. 149). Although the teacher will be likely to have their own answers to the questions being discussed, and their own views about what arguments and distinctions need to be considered, they do not lead students to these answers or outcomes. Their role is to "*relearn* all this when they are engaged with students" (Burgh, et al., 2006, p. 86). The teacher must be ready to re-discover and re-construct philosophical ideas, rather than presenting pre-existing ideas or taking students down pre-existing paths. They are not instructing them so much as participating in the philosophical inquiry with them – albeit as a more skilled participant and coach who scaffolds and supports the students so they learn how to philosophise for themselves. By participating in such a co-inquiry, students learn to operate as participants in a deliberative democratic community.

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93   Although CoPI teachers reject pre-decided outcomes, this does not mean that they take a completely free approach to inquiry. A free discussion would not be conducive for democratic education as such discussions tend to be nothing more than an exchange of opinions without critical reflection. This is more likely to enculturate a superficial relativism where all views are taken to be equally good, than the dispositions of deliberative democracy. CoPI, on the other hand, provides the minimal imtervention needed to cultivate democratic dispositions and skills in their students.

## Conclusion

In this paper I considered which practices would be suitable for philosophy education for democracy. I argued that for a practice to be suitable it must educate for democratic knowledge, skills and dispositions, and in order to educate for philosophical dispositions, a philosophical practice must provide a model of deliberative democratic society that students can be initiated into. Such a practice of philosophical education needs to be collaborative, dialogical, inclusive, and participatory (rather than authoritative, monological and exclusive). My conclusion is that the Community of Philosophical Inquiry approach is suitable for education for democracy whereas the academic approach is not. When students engage in a CoPI, they engage in rigorous philosophical inquiry and learn to be deliberative. They experience themselves as part of a deliberative community where "we inquire together" and they learn to be part of a community. They learn to care both for their inquiry and for each other, and so learn how to participate in a deliberative, democratic community, despite the inevitable disagreements.

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# Doing and Teaching Philosophy in
# the Cambodian Context

*Chanroeun Pa, Cambodia*

## An Overview

Cambodia is one of the oldest nations in Asia. It is a land of cultural heritage and civilization. The Angkor Period (A.D. 802-1431) was the Golden Age of Cambodia. The temples in that era represent the great civilization and thoughts. Yet after that period, the country faced civil wars and suffered greatly from wars with its neighbours for long periods. From 1431 to 1863, education in Cambodia survived through Buddhist temples and community supported school, even during the French colonization period (1863-1953). From 1960-1975, philosophy was taught at the Royal Khmer University as a course but not as a major subject. Philosophy was also taught in the final year of high school. It covered the brief history of both Eastern and Western Philosophies and included some major concepts.

Yet these education centres were closed during the Pol Pot regime (1975-1979). After the fall of the Pol Pot regime in 1979, the university was reopened. Since the new government followed the communist ideology, the priority of philosophical teaching was on Marxism and Leninism. Some courses such as Philosophy of Dialectic Materialism, Political Economy and Scientific Communism were included in the curriculum. In 1993 after Cambodia changed from a communist government to constitutional monarchy, the Philosophy Department opened its window to the West. In 1994 with the financial and technical support from an NGO called New Humanity from Italy the curriculum was updated by including both Western and Eastern philosophy. Cambodian lecturers also received further training and education in both.

More recently, the curriculum has been updated every four years. There is still only one Philosophy Department at the Royal University of Phnom Penh, in Cambodia. Yet from 2005 the Accreditation Committee of Cambodia (ACC) of the Ministry of Education requires all first year university students (non-philosophy majors) to take at least one course in Philosophy.

## Teaching Philosophy in Cambodia

Teaching and practising philosophy are two different things. The outcome of philosophical research or philosophizing can enrich its teaching. Yet many teachers of philosophy pay more attention on teaching rather than practising philosophy outside of the classroom. Part of the reason for this is the low income of teachers. Many in Cambodia are poorly paid and often take secondary employment as a means of survival.

## The Challenges of Teaching Philosophy in Cambodia

There are several obstacles for philosophical education in Cambodia, especially including difficulties in teaching philosophy such as:

• Lack of teaching materials in Khmer
• The obstacle of language
• The obstacles in raising some issues relevant to politics, culture, and history.
• The obstacles for those who teach philosophy but do not practice philosophy.

This results in many students of philosophy receiving the preparations for philosophizing without having the ground foundation for dealing with philosophical problems in a creative manner. There are also obstacles to the practices of philosophy:

- The nature of philosophy is controversial and abstract
- Majoring in philosophy does not guarantee a good job after college

Some people devalue philosophical education because they do not clearly understand its worth. This is also in part a negative reaction after year's of war and difficulties under an overbearing communist philosophical ideology.

To solve these problems, philosophy should be taught in a very simple way and needs to include both theory and practice. In short, how is philosophy being taught in Cambodia? The answer is depending on the teacher. One can teach philosophy as a subject matter to be memorized, or one can also teach it to encourage reflection and critical thinking. It is critical thinking that helps students to have a better understanding of themselves, and grasp the crucial tasks enabling them to be and to do what they value in life.

## Doing Philosophy in the Cambodian Context

Etymologically, philosophy means the search for or love of wisdom. Within Cambodia this gives rise to the questions of whether there is a Cambodian (Khmer) Philosophy, and if so, what is Khmer Philosophy? There are attempts to answer these questions among the philosophy scholars in Cambodia and the discussion is still going on. To me, the answer to the above questions is yes and no because there has never been in our academic tradition a Khmer Philosophy in the same way one speaks of Chinese, Japanese or Indian Philosophy. Still, in those countries few follow philosophy by intently specifying philosophy as the philosophy of his or her own country.

As one of the oldest nations in Asia, Cambodia has an originally rich cultural heritage of its own. Subsequently, that culture has been transformed from generation to generation. Based on this reality, there are four sources in searching for Khmer Philosophy:

- The first source is the folklore, myths, epics, proverb, and many forms of versed debate in Khmer culture that have survived to this day.
- The second source is language - the Khmer language is a root of our cultural value. The language frames and determines the moral conduct, social order and the way of thinking.
- The third source is the religious experiences of Cambodians. The teachings of the Buddha and the practice of Buddhism in Cambodia. This also comprises of the combination of Khmer Traditional religion, the belief in Nak Ta, and Theravada and Mahayana Buddhism.
- The fourth source is the social ethics, norms and the way of life. This opens one's consciousness to many ethical issues in the country such as oppression, democratization, rights and responsibilities, civil society, poverty and so on.

## Conclusion

Philosophy plays very important roles in human resources development in Cambodia. It helps to challenge people to shape their world and make people to be and to do what they value in their lives. The challenge of teaching philosophy is to provide the academic capability to form generations of leaders and citizens who can adjust their lives in the changing world. Recently poverty has been a big challenge to many of our philosophy professors in Cambodia. Yet, it is our task to overcome this obstacle for a better future. Therefore we need to:

- Promote learning and teaching of philosophy at all levels in our education system in order to train the next generation to become more critical and ethical people.
- Put together our resources in order to train the next generation of philosophy professors.
- Popularize philosophical insights by translating, teaching and writing in the Cambodian language

(Khmer).

- Search for our authentic ways of life and thought (Khmer Philosophy) which can serve as the bacon of light for the national reconstruction process.

- Learn and offer different courses: Khmer Philosophy, Eastern Philosophy, and Western Philosophy in order to assist students to comprehend different dimension of thoughts.

- Participate more often in international seminars and conferences and with foreign scholars in order to learn and share philosophical information for the sake of cooperation, peace and development.

- Our task as philosophers is to play the roles as an educator in encouraging liberal education to direct the minds and the hearts of young citizens and future leaders towards greater concerns and compassion for society.

# Philosophy Education for Democracy:
# From Theory to Practice

*Philip Cam, Australia*

Nearly fifty years ago, the educationalist Jerome Bruner suggested that we should not avoid teaching subjects in our schools because they are reckoned to be too advanced for school-aged students, and he went on to make the startling claim that "the foundations of any subject may be taught to anybody at any age in some form".[94] As Bruner explained:

"Though the proposition may seem startling at first, its intent is to underscore an essential point often overlooked in the planning of curricula. It is that the basic ideas that lie at the heart of all science and mathematics and the basic themes that give form to life and literature are as simple as they are powerful. To be in command of these basic ideas, to use them effectively, requires a continual deepening of one's understanding of them that comes from learning to use them in increasingly complex forms. It is only when such ideas are put in formalized terms as equations or elaborated verbal concepts that they are out of reach of the young child, if he has not first understood them intuitively and had a chance to try them out on his own.... A curriculum as it develops should revisit these basic ideas repeatedly, building upon them until the student has grasped the full formal apparatus that goes with them".[95]

This is what Bruner called a 'spiral curriculum', one that begins with the child's intuitive grasp of ideas and builds upon it by returning to the same basic concepts, themes, issues and problems at increasingly more complex or abstract levels. Whatever may be said about other areas of education, a spiral curriculum provides a way of developing the kind of understanding that we associate with the humanities. Take reading, discussing and writing about literature, for example. The problems of freedom and responsibility implicit in many picture books for the young child resurface in story books for an older reader, only to be taken up again in the adolescent novel and then elaborated at length in adult fiction. At each return the student comes to the theme with more experience and more powerful ways of articulating that experience. Beginning with an intuitive grasp of these ideas in simple and concrete form in the early years, students of literature progressively reconstruct their experience in ever more complex and abstract ways.

The interplay of freedom and responsibility is an abiding theme in philosophy, of course, and we might just as well have been talking about coming to understand through philosophical inquiry. This is indicative of the fact that Bruner's remarks apply equally to the task of reconstructing philosophy for educational purposes, so that it spirals down through the secondary and into the primary school. They challenge us to present the foundations of philosophy in a form that is accessible to students of all ages, beginning with an intuitive grasp of its main ideas, through which students can "try them out" for themselves, and upon which they may build when they return to a more elaborate consideration of its subject matter in later years.

In designing a curriculum, there are a couple of things to which I would like to draw attention. First, the educational reconstruction of any subject matter must anticipate its mode of delivery. That is to say, designing a curriculum is not just a matter of dealing with the scope and sequence of the substance to be taught. It is also a matter of envisaging the form in which it is to be taught. Would the subject matter best be taught through lengthy disquisition by the teacher, or is it the kind of thing that lends itself to "learning by doing"? Should it be limited to reading and writing, or would it be better to allow for discussion and small group work? Should it be undertaken as individual study, or would collaborative learning be more appropriate? Different subject matters obviously lend themselves to different forms of instruction, and we need to take that into account.

94    Bruner, Jerome. 1960. *The Process of Education*. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, p. 12.

95    *Ibid*, p. 12-13.

Even more obviously, any curriculum is designed with certain educational objectives or outcomes in mind. These objectives are primary, in the sense that they will govern the selection of subject matter and the form in which it is taught. To say that a short summer course is meant to establish basic swimming proficiency in a given student population, for example, is already to imply a good deal about both the content of the course and the form of instruction. We would be incredulous if told that it involved learning an instruction manual by heart and sitting a written test.

I raise these points as a preamble to my presentation because I wish to make some suggestions about the educational aims, form of instruction, and reconstruction of subject matter in our philosophy education project. My suggestions will be fairly general, which is appropriate at this early stage, but I hope that what I have to say is sufficiently definite and agreeable to provide some guidance as we feel our way forward.

## Democratic Dispositions as an Educational Aim

Whatever else it does, a project devoted to philosophy education for democracy must aim to develop an understanding of democratic ways of life. It will almost certainly do so through the exploration of relevant themes, issues and concepts. Being primarily concerned with the philosophical subject matter, we may call this the substantive dimension of the aim. It is also common for philosophy educators to cite the development of intellectual skills as among the benefits of their courses, and that would certainly not be amiss here. Since skill has to do with dexterity of conduct, we may call this the procedural dimension of the aim. In addition, however, I believe that a course in philosophy can help students to reflect democratic ideals in the kinds of regard that they come to have for one another. This is what I will refer to as the dispositional dimension of the aim. Since the last of these is somewhat novel and unlikely to be as instantly accepted as the other two, it is the one upon which I will concentrate.

Elsewhere I have shown how an analysis of democracy's guiding ideals points to a range of dispositions that help to develop and sustain democratic ways of life, from which we can draw some general educational implications.[96] This is not the place to work through the details of that account, but it is worth presenting an overview. By analysing the twin democratic ideals of maximizing the community of interests and creating free interplay and cooperation,[97] we can distil the following traits. The dispositions that underlie and support democratic ways of life include:

- an inquiring and open-minded outlook
- willingness to look at things from other people's points of view and to consider their interests
- a disposition to respond to differences and disagreements on the basis of reason rather than resorting to force or abuse
- a tendency to be actively involved in matters of common concern
- an inclination to think for yourself and to take responsibility for your decisions and actions.

Some of these dispositions may be regarded as intellectual and others as social. I do not mean to imply that they fall entirely into one category or the other, but that it is convenient to tease them apart when we consider how we may help to develop them through the way that we approach the curriculum and teach in our schools. In my account of the matter, I argued that we need to place an emphasis upon inquiry-based learning if we are to develop an inquiring outlook and a tendency for students to think for themselves; and that we need to engage students in collaborative learning if we are to promote the social dispositions that cluster around the development of reciprocal relations and an inclusive community of interests. The upshot is that in order to develop the range of dispositions upon which democratic ways of life depend, we need to engage our students in collaborative inquiry-based learning.

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96  Cam, Philip. 'Educating for democracy', delivered at the Philippines' Sixth National Social Science Congress, held in Manila, May, 2008. The paper will appear in the conference proceedings and in the journal *Diogenes*.

97  These ideals are drawn from John Dewey's account of democracy in *Democracy and Education*. See Jo Ann Boydston (ed.), 1980. *The Collected Works of John Dewey: Middle Works, Vol. 9,* Carbondale: Southern Iilinois University Press.

## Associated Aspects of Teaching and Learning

It may be easiest to appreciate what is involved in inquiry-based teaching and learning by contrasting it with more conventional ways of operating in the classroom. Let me make a few brief points. In the conventional classroom the teacher is supposed to know the subject matter that he or she is meant to convey. In the inquiry-based teaching, by contrast, the teacher is not the font of all wisdom on the matter under discussion, but he or she must be a competent inquirer who can assist the students to learn to think for themselves. In the conventional classroom the teacher relies upon right answers, a good deal of student memorization and the reproduction of knowledge. In inquiry-based teaching, however, emphasis is placed upon questions to which there may be a variety of good answers, and where students' capacities to reason, analyse and evaluate come to the fore. The conventional classroom trades upon established facts and settled opinions, whereas the inquiring classroom explores alternative possibilities and different points of view. In general, in the conventional classroom subject matter is presented as incontrovertible, whereas in the inquiring one it remains contestable.

| Conventional teaching and learning | Inquiry-based teaching and learning |
|---|---|
| • The teacher knows the subject matter and conveys it to the students | • The teacher does not have all the answers and acts as a facilitator |
| • Involves closed questions, right answers, reproduction and memorising | • Involves open questions, conjecturing, reasoning, analysing and evaluating |
| • Relies upon established facts and settled opinions | • Relies upon possibilities and different points of view |
| • Subject matter is presented as incontrovertible | • Subject matter is presented as contestable |

We may contast collaborative learning with individual learning in a similar fashion. Most obviously, collaborative learning engages students with one another, whereas individual learning does not. Interaction between students is usually seen as distracting from learning in one case, while it is integral to learning in the other. In individual work, students primarily rely upon the teacher and the text as their sources of knowledge and inspiration, whereas in collaborative learning students learn from one another as much as they do from the teacher or the text. In collaborative learning they see themselves as cooperating with one another rather than as being in competition, as is so often the case when education is centred upon individual learning. Along with this, student performance is acknowledged to be a group attainment, every bit as much as it involves individual achievement. In this respect, the attainments of a class engaged in collaborative learning are more akin to the performance of the school's dramatic society or a school orchestra, rather than the ranked performance of academic work.

| Individual learning | Collaborative learning |
|---|---|
| • Students interact with the teacher | • Students interact with each other |
| • Interaction between students is regarded as interfering with learning | • Interaction between students is regarded as integral to learning |
| • Students learn from the teacher and text | • Students also learn from each other |
| • Students see themselves as in competition with each other | • Students see themselves as cooperating with each other |
| • Student performance is conceived of as an individual attainment | • Student performance is also seen to be a collective attainment |

At the risk of repetition, let me pull together those aspects of collaborative inquiry-based learning that characterise the approach to knowledge acquisition. I will set them down without comment as the epistemology of the kind of class that I believe we need to engender in a philosophy program that aims to develop democratic dispositions.

| The Conventional Classroom | Collaborative Inquiring Classroom |
|---|---|
| • The teacher is seen as knowing and the students as ignorant | • Both teacher and students are seen as in some ways both knowing and ignorant |
| • Teachers present students with results of inquiries carried out by others | • Students collaborate in their own inquiries under the guidance of the teacher |
| • Student questions are directed toward the teacher as knower | • Student questions are directed towards members of the class as inquirers |
| • Teachers use questions to assess student knowledge of what they teach | • Teachers use questions to model the process by which students attain knowledge |
| • Students' conjectures are subject to correction by the teacher | • Students' conjectures are subject to investigation by their peers |
| • The body of knowledge is settled in advance of student learning | • The body of knowledge is open to challenge and remains contestable |
| • 'knowing that' normally predominates over 'knowing how' | • 'Knowing how' is at least as important as 'knowing that' |

## The Reconstruction of Subject Matter

Just as we should choose an educational means that satisfies our educational ends, so we need to reconstruct our philosophical subject matter so as to comport with both means and ends. This makes one thing very clear. Whatever we present must be a stimulus to inquiry, rather than just so much philosophical material to be learnt. In the limited time available let me concentrate upon this issue.

It goes without saying that, whatever material we include must contain significant social and political philosophical content. It must embody relevant ideas, raise appropriate issues, suggest significant theories, and enable students to elaborate upon these things through conceptual exploration and reasoning. Naturally, the materials must appeal to the experience and interests of the students for which the materials are designed. In designing the materials we will also need to take account of the lack of philosophical knowledge of almost all school teachers as well as of what may also be somewhat unfamiliar teaching methods. Therefore we will need to supply teachers with lesson plans and activities that systematically reconstruct the subject matter and that set it up for collaborative philosophical inquiry.

In order to stimulate philosophical inquiry, textual and activity-based materials should have the following features. They should:

1.  arouse intellectual curiosity and moral or social concern
2.  encourage students to raise open questions or issues
3.  express or invite the expression of different possibilities and points of view
4.  treat the subject matter as contestable and open to genuine deliberation.

Let me end with illustrations of these points. Something as simple as photograph might be used as a trigger for discussion. The image below of a woman holding a placard at a civil rights march in the American south in the 1960s is the kind of thing that is likely to provoke moral and social concern in secondary students, and could be used as a trigger for an initial philosophical exploration of the topics of racism, discrimination, and civil rights, when supported by an appropriate discussion plan. Photographs and articles from magazines or newspapers, advertisements, cartoons, political posters, and web-based material (if that is feasible) could provide a wealth of material to help stimulate discussion when appropriately framed by other support material. Illustrated story material might also be used, especially with the younger age group.

We cannot treat students as inquirers unless we engage them in questioning. Whatever material we give them must therefore be designed to raise issues and questions. Following a great deal of existing work in philosophy in schools, I suggest that students' questions should be integral to the inquiries in which they engage. Below is a set of questions that a group of 12-year-old students asked in response to

a story of mine, called 'Bizzy Road', which echo the themes of growing up, change, and age and respect that were embedded in the story.

1. How does change occur? (Angela)
2. Do you suddenly grow up or does it happen in stages? (Annie-Kate)
3. Why did the adults think that what the children had to say wasn't important? (Tim)
4. What is change? (Serena)
5. How can you change in such a short period of time? (Kris)
6. Why is noise pollution? (Melody)
7. Is anyone superior to anyone else? (Tom)
8. Does the way you see things now change when you grow up? (Carlos)
9. Is change a living thing? (Emily)
10. Why do adults respect other adults more than they do children? (Aaron)
11. Why is it that children have to respect their elders if the adults aren't known to respect the younger ones? (Sharon)

The question 'What makes an action fair?' was raised in a class of junior secondary students. After preliminary discussion, the teacher divided the class into small groups and asked them to come up with an initial answer to that question in the form of a short written statement. It was thereby virtually guaranteed that the students would come up with different ideas or suggestions, which could be used to provoke further thought and reflection. Here are some of the students' preliminary statements:

An action is fair if it treats people as they deserve to be treated. An action is fair only if it treats everyone equally. *What makes an action fair?* An action is fair enough if it does no one any harm. An action is fair insofar as it takes everyone's interests into account.

These statements contain rudimentary retributive, egalitarian, utilitarian and harm-based conceptions with which philosophers are familiar. They could be a starting point for helping students to distinguish between retributive and distributive justice and the full panoply of theoretical conceptions.

On treating subject-matter as contestable and open to deliberation, I will end with a plan for discussion to accompany an eyewitness account of a stoning to death in Jeddah from the *Faber Book of Reportage*.[98]

## Discussion Plan: Justice in Jeddah

1. Were the punishments meted out in Jeddah just or unjust?
2. What would make them just or unjust?
3. If you feel repelled by the stoning in Jeddah, does this mean that it cannot really have been just?
4. If a Saudi Arabian felt vindicated by the stoning in Jeddah, does this mean that it must have been just?
5. If these punishments were just according to Saudi Arabian law and customs, does that mean they must be just?
6. Could there be such things as unjust laws, customs and practices? What about laws that historically supported slavery or racial discrimination?
7. If laws can be unjust, to what should we appeal in order to determine whether a given law is just or not?
8. Is justice relative to time and place or is it ultimately universal?

98    Macoll, R.M. 1987. Stoning to death in Jeddah, February 1958. John Carey (ed.), *The Faber Book of Reportage* London: Faber and Faber, p. 666-67.

# Education, Democracy and Philosophy

*Daniel Nesy, India*

## Introduction

The idea of democracy, originated in ancient Greece two millennia ago, became the most important event of the 20th century because of its universal commitment to cover billions of people around the world with varying cultures, histories and affluence by guaranteeing free discussion, uncensored distribution of news, fair comments and protection of liberties and freedoms. In an age dominated by science, social and economic processes and polity tending to fragment human life, issues and ways of looking at them, the idea about relationships based on equality, mutuality and respect in individual interaction between family members, between communities, between human beings and the rest of nature; between genders and peoples across the nations become intellectually and intuitively more compelling. It is this perspective of democracy which is a demanding system, rather than a mechanical condition taken in isolation, with distinct virtues and plurality of values:

- Intrinsic values including political participation and freedom in human life
- Instrumental importance of political incentives in keeping governments responsible and accountable.
- Constructive role of democracy in the formation of values, in the understanding of needs, rights and duties and public discussion and exchange of information.

The challenge is how to build democracy from the merely 'representative' political structures for unifying and homogenizing the diverse to a way of revealing and nurturing each other's democratic interventions despite differences. The role of education and philosophy become apparent at this context.

## Education for Democracy is Based on Three Assumptions:

Democracy is superior to autocracy, theocracy, aristocracy and other alternatives mainly because it better secures liberty, justice and equality than they do.

There can be no democracy without democrats. Democratic ways of living are not given but are created and much of these creative works is undertaken by citizens.

Citizens are not natural. They are not born with the principles of democracy such as toleration, impartial justice, the separation between the church and the state, etc. These are moral, social and intellectual attainments that are hard won. This is the challenge of educating the democrats.

## Aims and Objectives of Education

Discussions about the aims and objectives of education are very old. Traditionally education is treated as the process of human enlightenment and empowerment for the attainment of a better and higher quality of life involving the three major elements of acquisition of knowledge, training for a livelihood and disciplining the mind. It assumed new dimensions due to the historical turn of events and the evolution of the mechanical-scientific world views. The result is the multiplication of disciplines and compartmentalization of knowledge contributing to the extension of the frontiers of knowledge and activity to meet the pressures and demands of the industrial and consumer society. With the booming number of professionals we have achieved progress accompanied by an increase in wealth and standard of living. But experience has shown us that we have failed to create a decent society and there is crisis of character and confidence everywhere. Organized crime, financial frauds and terrorist violence are being perpetrated by some of the best minds with total disregard to professional obligations and social

responsibilities. Our generation is passing through a state of convulsion and we are witnessing apathy amongst the educated intelligentia.

The multidimensional education is focused on the four pillars of education: learning to know, learning to do, learning to live together and learning to be. The complete fulfillment of man in all richness of his personality, complexity of forms of expression and his various commitments as individual, as member of family and community, as citizen and producer, as inventor of techniques and creative dreamer, are implied in its connotation. The principle of democracy which underlines each person's right to realize his or her potentials and to share in the building of his or her future is also emphasized. This ideal is expressed in many ways as education for the whole child, holistic education, education of the complete person or integral education. The question is what do we mean by wholeness in respect of both a person and the process of education?

We are very conscious of how to raise physically healthy and strong children; also we have a pretty good idea about how to train their minds choosing for them schools that will ensure their intellectual development. We hope they will grow up learning how to be independent and earn a livelihood. We conveniently forget questions such as: Is this all we want for our children? Is that all they deserve to learn? Is making a living enough? Is it not important to have a life? If education is a systematic attempt towards human learning rather than mere literacy and information, then it starts with the human individual – the individual capabilities and potentialities. Unfortunately there is little confidence on the part of the individual about his own powers to make a difference. We are not trained to be proactive thinkers and reflective decision makers. Modern life moves at such a pace that we seldom take time to think or examine ourselves. We become strangers to our own selves and follow the dictates of others blindly. Why should any debate be left to experts only? Why is not critical thinking part of our every day life? We must be able to sift and control information and creative in our mental processes.

Democracy requires us to be vital and efficient, reflective citizens. It requires a structured approach shaped and established by thinking human beings and not just learned human beings. We cannot preserve democracy with uncritical, unreflective and prejudiced people. As the English expression: You can be a learned ignoramus. One can be learned, have a lot of knowledge but still be foolish, impulsive or gullible because you do not think, and because you are not reflective. 'Know thyself' is what each of us needs to do. Students need to think or better teach them to think and make them think. Children are not so innocent as usually conceived; they are aware of problems requiring reflection and debate like financial and family problems. They know how to respond warmly and cordially in open discussions on problems that they face; feel excited on their opinions sought and their views listened. Above all when students begin to think for themselves they begin to listen to others, to their peers, to their classmates; like to discover what others in their class are thinking, they feel warmly about each other. They learn to respect one another, to understand one another and to form a kind of community - a community of enquiry. It forms a kind of self-correcting process. Gradually as they grow up, this is internalized that enables them to be more reflective, to think before they speak and act. Now the question is how do you do it? What do you do to stimulate them in to thinking? The answer is in a very old discipline - it may be archaic and obsolete – the discipline of philosophy because philosophy is the discipline that prepares people to think in their disciplines.

## Relevance of Philosophy

The purpose of doing philosophy in the context of democracy is very important. It can contribute to the practice of democracy in many ways:

a) Asking questions: The way to raise the right type of question is important in the democratic context.

b) Criticizing: Philosophy is a way of critically looking at problems. The ability to criticize is something to be developed.

c) Analysing the problem: Usually problems are very complex and difficult to deal with. A philosophical analysis often helps.

d). Evaluating: Evaluation is important when different options are available.

e). Deliberating and dialoguing on the implications and consequences of the issue at hand.

The above standpoints can be summarized as: familiarizing the basic issues in democracy, presenting alternative views on the issues and inviting involvement in the evaluation of the solutions offered. In short, the practice of democracy can be made meaningful with philosophical interventions.

## Conclusion

Democracy is a comprehensive term the dimensions of which can be understood as:

- Economic democracy or empowerment of the 'very last person', 'Unto this last'.
- Ecological democracy or regeneration of the environment and people's access over natural resources.
- Social democracy or ensuring human dignity.
- Cultural democracy or strengthening the plural co-existence of peoples, religions and ideologies.
- Political democracy or deepening the democratic structures and institutions.
- Gender democracy or evolving gender relations based on mutuality, equality and respect.

# Status of Philosophy Education in Thailand

*Plubplung Kongchana, Thailand*

## Introduction

In the nineteenth century Thailand saw a great amount of modernization by imitating Western ways. One consequence of this was a reform of the education system in shifting the course of education in Thailand to schools rather than in temples and using professional teachers rather than monks. With this a systematic curricula was introduced with standardized textbooks. Education in Thailand has been developing ever since, with many universities being established. Chulalongkorn University was the first Thai university established in 1917. The university is composed of various faculties. However it was in 1971 that the first courses of philosophy were provided by the Faculty of Arts. In contrast to the historical background of Thai education, philosophy is a rather new subject in Thai universities compared with those in Europe.

Thai philosophers have coined a Thai word *prajñā* for philosophy by concatenating two Sanskrit words *pra* or *para* meaning ultimate or supreme and *jñā* meaning knowledge. This suggests that philosophy in the Thai connotation represents excellent knowledge which is beyond reproach. The etymological analysis of the Thai word for philosophy clearly yields a different meaning from that of English word philosophy which means love of wisdom and connotes that the concerned knowledge is subject to suspicion. Despite the difference in etymology of the Thai word and the English word for philosophy, they do share something similar which is that the knowledge comes to light by employing wisdom. As a result the subjects of philosophy are being taught in the universities with this connotation in mind.

The purpose of this paper is to report the current situation of philosophy education in the universities in Thailand in a view to share information and ideas with other academia so as to come up with solutions to the problems in the current philosophy education in Thailand. The contents are divided into brief sections, namely the universities that provide courses of philosophy, levels of philosophy education in university, curricula of philosophy in university, qualifications of the philosophy faculties in university, and finally the problems of philosophy education in Thailand.

## The Universities that Provide Courses in Philosophy

There are 112 universities, public and private, in Thailand. They may be classified as in table 1:

**Table 1: Nature of Thai Universities**

| No. | Categories of University | Numbers of universities |
|-----|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 | State-owned public universities | 74 |
| 2 | Non-state-owned public universities | 4 |
| 3 | State-owned open universities | 2 |
| 4 | Private universities | 32 |
|   | Total | 112 |

Source: The Ministry of University Affairs

These universities are located in Bangkok as well as other parts of the country. Among these universities in 2006 there were 38 universities that provide courses of philosophy and religion, as in the following table:

**Table 2: Categories of Thai universities providing courses of philosophy and religion**

| No. | Categories of University | Numbers of university |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | State-owned public universities | 31 |
| 2 | Non-state-owned public universities | - |
| 3 | State-owned open universities | 1 |
| 4 | Private universities | 6 |
| | Total | 38 |

Source: The Philosophy and Religion Network: http://www.arts.chula.ac.th/~philoso/crn/teaching1.htm

Thai universities usually provide philosophy and religion courses alongside each other in the same faculty, and this represents 34% of all the universities in Thailand. Most of the state-owned universities that provide courses in philosophy and religion are old universities. Some of these universities were originally colleges that already had courses of philosophy and religion being provided. After they were upgraded to universities, philosophy and religion subjects were still provided but at the university level. There are universities that provide emphatic education especially in philosophy and religion. These are universities for monks such as Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalaya University and Mahamakut Buddhist University. As for the public universities that are not state-owned, these are mainly technological universities and thus courses of philosophy and religion are not provided. There are six out of 32 private universities that provide courses of philosophy and religion. Most are religiously connected universities such as Assumption and Saint John University. Other than these, there are universities that provide philosophy-related subjects of law, such as Bangkok University, Dhurakij Pundit University, or universities where the administrators are interested in philosophy such as the Rungsit and Huachiew Chalermprakiat Universities.

## Levels of Philosophy Education in University

The levels of philosophy education in university are classified as six offering up to Ph.D., 9 up to Masters degree only, and 15 only up to Bachelor's degree. Among the six universities that provide courses of philosophy and religion at the level of Ph.D., these are Chulalongkorn University, Assumption University, Kasetsart University, Chiangmai University, Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalaya University, and Saint John University. It is observed that some of the universities that provide philosophy courses of Ph.D. level are religiously associated, such as Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalaya University and Mahamakut Buddhist University, both universities for Buddhist monks, as well as Assumption University and Saint John University which have connection with Roman Catholicism.

The universities provide courses of philosophy in different fashions. Some provide them as faculty courses in the faculty of philosophy and religion like Assumption University, whilst others provide them as department courses in the faculty of arts or human sciences. Apart from providing philosophy courses as major, some faculties and departments also provide philosophy courses as minor at the bachelor degree level, to which there are eight universities of this type. In addition, there are 27 universities which provide philosophy courses as required courses, 17 universities which provide them as elective courses, and 29 universities which provide them as general courses for other departments and faculties.

It may be concluded that Thai universities provide philosophy courses at the levels of PhD, Master degree and Bachelor degree, but that these comprise only a small fraction compared with the number of the universities within the country. Nevertheless, university students in Thailand have chances to study philosophy as required, minor, elective or general courses only in university.

## Curricula of Philosophy Education in University

In this section I present the contents of philosophy courses generally provided in Thailand at the levels of Ph.D., Masters degree and Bachelors degree. The courses for Ph.D. and Masters degree are drawn from Assumption University while those for Bachelor degree are from Chulalongkorn University. The reason we have the above two universities as example is that the philosophy and religion curricula in both universities are not much different.

## Doctor of Philosophy in Philosophy (from Assumption University)

Assumption University provides doctoral programs in both philosophy and religion. The university uses the semester system and English is the formal instruction medium. For Ph.D. programs in philosophy the admission requirements are that the eligible students must have completed a BA in philosophy or an MA in philosophy or another field, with an English proficiency of 550 on the TOEFL score as a minimum.

From the BA curriculum of the Chulalongkorn University, it may be concluded that the curriculum purports to teach students majoring in both philosophy as well as other subjects to learn how to rationalize and to be familiar with general philosophical issues and problems.

## Qualifications of the Philosophy Faculties in University

The philosophy faculties are an important factor in philosophy education. We can examine data about the faculties in Thai universities, taking into consideration the levels of education and professional training, numbers of professors, and academic positions they hold which reflect their efforts in research works.

From the data it is found that there are 192 philosophy teachers in the above 38 universities. Sixty-eight percent of them are lecturers, 25% are assistant professors, 5% are associate professors and 2% are professors. These philosophy teachers hold 189 higher education degrees. Three percent are Bachelor degrees and 75% are Master degrees and 23% are PhDs. The reason for 192 teachers holding only 189 degrees is that some monks who are teaching philosophy in Buddhist universities, like Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalaya University and Mahamakut Buddhist University, hold Buddhist educational degrees rather than conventional degrees. Nevertheless, it is seen that very few teachers hold academic positions higher than assistant professor reflecting poor output of research works and books.

## Problems of Philosophy Education in Thailand

Five different problems of philosophy education in Thailand will be presented, namely low prevalence of philosophy in Thai academic sphere and in general society, problems in philosophy curricula, problems in philosophy faculties, problems in practicing philosophy education in Thailand and problems in language and philosophy textbooks in studying philosophy. At the end of each type of issue, the writer also provides some suggestion in solving the problems.

## Too Few Universities Providing Philosophy Education

From Table 2 there are only 38 out of 112 universities that provide courses in philosophy. From the 38 universities only six provide philosophy education to the level of Ph.D. Therefore, the current philosophy education offerings in Thailand are not very popular. This is particularly so at higher level education as there are only six universities providing Ph.D. courses in philosophy, which are mostly located in Bangkok. Only one, Chiangmai University, which also provides Ph.D. courses in philosophy, is outside

of Bangkok. Most of the universities and institutes of technology do not provide courses in the subject of philosophy. Once a student has chosen to pursue a path of technological training, he or she will have virtually no chance to access philosophy. In other words, the problem is that Thailand's philosophy education is not popular and is highly localized in Bangkok.

This situation suggests that upcountry people will have a lower chance in receiving philosophy education, and even fewer the opportunity to receive Ph.D.s in philosophy. On the other hand, most do not have much opportunity to receive philosophy education, since courses are only provided in some small number of universities.

One way to increase access to philosophy education among most Thais would be to encourage more upcountry universities to join with universities that already have courses in philosophy to open schools of philosophy in their own universities. Though the quality may be compromised, it is a good start to introduce more educational opportunities in philosophy, at relatively low cost, by utilizing the limited existing human resource in philosophy education at a higher level.

## Problems in Curriculum

It is seen from the course curricula in the three sample universities that Western contents dominate, Eastern are few and local indigenous are mostly absent. Although it is admitted that Western philosophy is more developed and more systematized, Eastern philosophy and local indigenous philosophy should not be neglected for that reason or simply that the most philosophy teachers have been trained with Western philosophy and read Western texts. Instead more effort should be put into seeking and reviving local philosophy, or local wisdom, since through doing so we may be able to understand our culture more, and more sense of belonging may be developed, and also that contents of philosophy will thus be more diversified and tangible. The writer suggests that more local myths should be contained as a formal course in philosophy curriculum; since by formalizing the local myths, people would treat them more seriously and academically; more research works may be induced; a balance in ideology and ideation may be achieved.

## Faculties of Philosophy

Apart from often being regarded as reserved for the intellectual, philosophy is generally regarded as impractical as a degree in terms of its poor career prospects post graduation. Therefore it is not popular among today's secular, economically orientated students and their parents. In fact, secularism and economic concern is the common mentality of people in current Thai society. This orientation is reflected in the lack of human resource in philosophy faculties both in quality and quantity compared with other secular faculties like those of natural sciences, technology and commerce and economics. Due to attitudes of the general public regarding philosophy as realm of high knowledge and also due to impractical nature of the subject, most secular, non-spiritual people prefer to choose other courses which offer better career prospects. Furthermore, most of society is overly occupied with progressing their lives that they have less time to pursue pure knowledge or spirituality for the sake of better being. Philosophy faculties therefore are usually small compared with other practical faculties.

Weak philosophy faculties in Thai universities are partly a consequence of Thai attitudes towards philosophy. On the other hand, faculty members are also weak in academics, as can be seen in few academic positions being held by them (see Table 3). Most philosophy faculty are lecturers, 68%; a modest number of them are assistant professors, 25%; very few are associate professors and professors, 5% and 2% respectively. This, in the writer's view, is finance-based problem. Therefore one would suggest that more government funds, international funds, or private funds be channelled into promoting philosophy research and education. Like grants should be given to philosophers in translating or authoring contemporary philosophical works. Easy-to-digest philosophy materials, such as philosophy comic books, can encourage more people to read philosophy thus inducing interest in pursuing a higher philosophy education. With higher demand, the invisible hand of economy will then bolster the quality of philosophy faculties.

**Table 3: Philosophy Teaching Staff in Thai universities**

| Universities | Lecturer | Asst. Prof. | Associate Prof. | Prof. | Degrees | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | Bachelor | MA | PhD |
| Assumption University | 6 | 1 | | | | 1 | 6 |
| Chulalongkorn University | 3 | 5 | 4 | 1 | | 6 | 7 |
| Kasetsart University | 3 | 4 | 2 | | | 4 | 5 |
| Chiangmai University | 11 | 1 | | 1 | | 8 | 5 |
| Tharmasart University | 2 | 3 | | | | 4 | 1 |
| Srinakharinwirot University | 7 | 1 | 2 | | | 9 | 1 |
| Khonkaen University | 3 | 3 | 1 | | | 6 | 1 |
| Silapakorn University | 2 | 3 | | | | 4 | 1 |
| Songkhranakharint University (Pattani campus) | 5 | 2 | | | 1 | 4 | 2 |
| Saengtham College | 7 | | 1 | | | 5 | 3 |
| Burapa University | 3 | | | | | 1 | 2 |
| Durakit Pundit University | 4 | 1 | | | 2 | 3 | |
| Ratchpat Lampang University | 2 | | | | | 2 | |
| Ratchpat Utaradit University | - | 2 | | | | 2 | |
| Ratchpat Nakhornsawan University | 2 | 1 | | | | 3 | |
| Ratchpat Petchaboon University | 2 | 1 | | | | 3 | |
| Ratchpat Sakonnakorn University | 3 | 3 | | | | 6 | |
| Ratchpat Nakhornratchasima University | 6 | 1 | | | | 7 | |
| Ratchpat Buriram University | 3 | 1 | | | | 4 | |
| Ratchpat Thepsatree University | 2 | | | | | 2 | |
| Ratchpat Ramphaiphanee University | 2 | | | | | 2 | |
| Ratchpat Nakhornprathom University | 4 | | | | | 4 | |
| Ratchpat Petchaburi University | 3 | 1 | | | | 4 | |
| Ratchpat Chombung Village University | - | 2 | | | | 2 | |
| Ratchpat Nakhornsithammaratch University | 2 | 1 | | | | 3 | |
| Ratchpat Phuket University | 2 | | | | | 2 | |
| Ratchpat Suratchthanee University | 2 | 1 | | | | 3 | |
| Ratchpat Baan Somdetchaophraya University | 3 | 3 | | | | 6 | |
| Ratchpat Suansunantha University | 1 | 2 | | | | 2 | 1 |
| Ratchpat Srisaket University | 2 | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| Ratchamongkhon Institute of Technology (Bangphra campus) | 1 | | | | | 1 | |
| Mahachulalongkorn-rajavidyalaya University | 12 | | | | | 6 | 3 |
| Mahamakut Buddhist University | 3 | | | | 2 | 1 | |
| Rungsit University | 3 | 3 | | | | 5 | 1 |
| Huachiew Chelermphrakiat University | 3 | | | | | 3 | |
| Bangkok University | 1 | 2 | | | | 3 | |
| Phayap University | 5 | | | | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| Saint John University | 5 | | | 2 | | | 7 |
| Total | 130 | 48 | 10 | 4 | 6 | 135 | 48 |
| % of Totals | 68% | 25% | 5% | 2% | 3% | 71% | 25% |

## Problems in Practicing Philosophy Education in Thailand

In Thailand practicing philosophy education there are many problems. Some may look trivial but their impacts are far reaching and usually constitute in a vicious cycle throughout the entirety of the educational system in Thailand. The writer suggests that through promoting education, Thailand's overall education may benefit too.

One problem is the style of teaching and submissive nature of Thai students. Philosophy requires people to criticize and to doubt before they come to accept something as the truth. The writer thinks that the best way of teaching philosophy is to excite student's curiosity, critical mind, and suspicion. Some Thai teachers are accustomed to a lecturing style of teaching where the teacher talks and students listen respectfully, whilst submissively and passively accepting as true what the teacher is teaching and taking it for granted. This for a long time has become a tacit convention or norm in which teachers are supposed to be perfectly knowledgeable, and students are to know less and to take teacher's words as authority. Whatever the teacher says is true by the very fact of it being conveyed by the teacher. This style of teaching is quite common in Thai schools from the very low level of education to sometimes the high level of doctorate degree. This Thai lecturing style of teaching is totally antithetic to the spirit of philosophy. It kills the free mind from the very beginning and is one of the most serious problems in Thailand's philosophy education and even the entire education system. In other words, the above type of teaching style may be suitable for other subjects but may not be appropriate for teaching philosophy. In short, philosophy teaches people as the first step to be curious to know, and to be critical and suspicious in accepting what is given.

Another factor that also contributes to this one-way-authoritative-teaching style is the Thais' politeness that refrain them from triggering arguments. So Thai students tend to be silent in classes where active argumentations are in need, especially in philosophy class. Likewise, Thai students are not accustomed to reading. To resolve this problem, teachers must break this habit or this tacit norm and stop the vicious cycle by exciting students' curiosity and criticism to bring them back to the pure spirit of humanity in pursuit of the truth, the beauty and the good.

One strategy is that philosophy education should be introduced as early as possible. Since the earlier it is introduced the easier the students can accept a philosophical way of thinking. Also young minds are pure and ready to absorb everything fresh. Since philosophy is a useful subject that people can benefit from in their whole lives, everyone should receive an education in philosophy at least once in his or her life. The writer would suggest having philosophy as a compulsory subject in high schools, since high school education is within the period of 12 years free compulsory education. The introduction of philosophy into high schools will not only nurture young people to be independent learning and thinking people through philosophical training, it also will ensure that every Thai citizen will receive philosophy education and thus help increase the popularity of philosophy in Thailand.

## Philosophy Textbooks and Language in Philosophy Education

In the writer's view a good and rich resource of philosophical texts can help ease the current problem of philosophy education in Thailand. It is admitted that philosophical text is also a big problem. In Thailand there are a handful of Thai philosophical texts authored by local philosophy professors. However, due to the insufficiency of the Thai language in respects to philosophy, these Thai texts are not easily read nor readily understood. Even the Thai translations of foreign philosophy texts are not necessarily more intelligible. The problem within the Thai language is that it is poor in technical and academic terminology in sciences and philosophy. When it is needed, foreign words, such as Sanskrit words, are often resorted to. The result is that often a Thai text needs to be translated into Thai again and again in order to understand it, but more often the endeavour ends in confusion. The current situation is that almost all universities are using problematic Thai philosophy texts. Some students resort to using English texts and the burden of understanding these texts subsequently falls onto the students who have to be highly proficient in the language. The above problems of texts and language are huge obstacles in the study of philosophy in Thailand.

It is difficult for the students though. Without statistics, from the writer's impression it common that most Thai students in general do not have a high proficiency in English, and reading a philosophical text in English requires a very high mastery of the language. Translation is an important means in solving the problem, yet a comprehensive translation of philosophy is often difficult to achieve into Thai. One frequent problem is that philosophical terms are often translated with different interpretations from various translators. As a result, students or readers can often find it hard to understand even the most basic of philosophical terms or principles, and will be simply blocked from the world of philosophy.

The writer sees that the current situation is that a standard Thai system of philosophical terminology has not yet been established. One way to solve the problem is to publish a dictionary that can be a standard of Thai philosophical language, so that Thailand will have standard and systematized Thai philosophical terminology through which its readers can share their ideas and enhance their understanding. After having a standardized philosophy dictionary, Thai translation of philosophy texts can be rendered more intelligible than before. Only by doing that, Thai people will be able to philosophize in their own language.

# Reflections on the Universal Declaration
# of Human Rights

*Souria Saad-Zoy, UNESCO Rabat*

## I. 60 Years of an Evolving Discourse

2008 marks the 60th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and provides an appropriate backdrop for reflection and dialogue. This UNESCO workshop will introduce a series of Inter-regional discussions on human rights philosophy between the Arab and Asian world.

Numerous debates and discussions had begun to arise around the time of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights creation in the late 1940's. I will first talk about some of these fascinating discourses that arose at that time and then proceed with an overview of the various dialogues and questions confronting universal human rights theory in the 20th and the 21st century.

## II. Debates Surrounding the Conceptual Formulation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Given the fact that the preparation of a declaration of human rights would face fundamental problems concerning principles and interpretations, the UNESCO Committee on the Philosophic Principles of the Rights of Man undertook in 1947 an examination of the intellectual basis of a modern bill of rights. An extensive study on human rights was launched with contributions from numerous researchers, scientists, world leaders as well as artists and philosophers. On the basis of some 70 replies received from all over the world, the Committee of experts drew up several conclusions on the universal validity of a declaration of human rights. UNESCO then proposed them to the Commission on Human Rights of the Economic and Social Council for the purpose of drafting the actual Declaration of Human Rights.

French philosopher Jacques Maritain expressed his views in the introduction of the study[99]. He argued that "the chief obstacle to agreement on an international declaration of human rights is the existence of many schools of thought, each with its own particular view of, and justification for, individual rights, leaning in various degrees, towards the classical or the revolutionary interpretation". Inquiring further, he asked: "How can we imagine an agreement of minds between men […] who not only belong to different cultures and civilisations, but are of antagonist spiritual associations and schools of thought?"

Jacques Maritain subsequently dealt with human rights from the basic philosophical doctrine which posits that there are generally two antagonist groups: those who, to a greater or lesser extent, explicitly accept; and those who, to a greater or lesser extent, explicitly reject, Natural Law as the basis of those rights. In the eyes of the first, the requirements of his being endow man with certain fundamental and intrinsic rights antecedent in nature and superior to society. They are the source from which society itself originates and develops with the duties and rights. For the second school of thought, man's rights are relative to the historical developments of society and are themselves constantly variable and in a state of flux; they are a product of society itself as it advances with the forward march of history. He concluded by affirming: "If we adopt a practical viewpoint and concern ourselves no longer with seeking the basis and philosophical significance of human rights, but only their statement and enumeration, agreement on the fundamental rights of the individual is possible".

I would like to share with you some of the responses that were sent to the General Director of UNESCO, Julian S. Huxley in 1947. Some of the following abstracts are taken from the book "Can human rights be exported?[100]" by Joseph Yacoub, Professor of Political Sciences in Lyon, France.

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99    An article was also published on this subject in the *UNESCO Courier,* Vol. 1, No. 8, September 1948.

100  Yacoub, Joseph. 2005. *Les droits de l'homme sont-ils exportables? Géopolitisme d'un universalisme.* Paris, Editions ellipses.

Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, French theologist and philosopher, spoke of difference and complementarity instead of the concept of equality: "Human races are not equal but different and compliment each other like the children of the same family. It's the complexity which engenders the differences and the freedoms". However, he also insisted on the universality and the globalisation of the planet.

Quincy Wright, professor at the University of Chicago, argued that when we say human rights, we mean identical rights for all human beings. However, we, in general, recognize that human nature is the product of a particular culture where the individual develops himself. He then insists on the relativity of the rights and the graduation progression of their implementation. "Human rights have to be qualified by taking into consideration their relativity and the implementation of each right should be developed independently and gradually".

The neurophysiologist Ralph Waldo Gerard, president of the American Physiological Society from 1951 to 1952, gave the point of view of biology which inserts human beings into a group. As life evolves, rights and duties are not absolute but are relative to the place they are. Observing that values are widely dependant on the culture, he subsequently proposed their episodic revision: "A declaration of rights will become imperfect at a given time and will lose its value. It should always include clauses allowing its revision in appropriate intervals".

The philosopher F.S.C. Northrop[101] said that a real declaration of rights should guarantee the existence of a world accessible to several ideologies and not just one. The basis of a declaration should be conceived in light of political freedom as well as plurality of cultural values.

According to the politician and British economist Harold Joseph Laski, any attempt of the United Nations to draft a declaration of rights based on an individualist concept was doomed to fail and would carry little authoritative weight in political societies that prefer to organise their social and economical life.

The task of drafting the declaration was given to the Commission on Human Rights. A redaction committee composed of 8 members, from Australia, Chili, China, United States, France, Lebanon, Great Britain and the Soviet Union, was created for that purpose. The debates among the drafters were marked by philosophical, ideological and political differences on the sources of human rights, ethnic minorities, the role of the State, etc. John Humphrey, the Canadian member of the Committee, said: "The 30 articles of the Declaration were debated in detail, and some of the meetings were passionate and dramatic".

Let's see now the content of the discussions that arose after the adoption of the Declaration.

## III. Discussions on the Notion of Universality After the Adoption of the Declaration.

Alain Renaut, professor of political philosophy and ethics at la Sorbonne in Paris, points out that criticism of universality are very common throughout philosophy of the last two centuries. They were born in the 18th Century, on the occasion of the severe critics of the abstract humanism inherent to the Declaration of Human Rights. One can also mention the "historicisation" of all the schools of thought. If law is reduced to existing judicial systems and their variation, the reference to human rights is like an element of a positive juridical experience, corresponding to the classical concept of law.[102]

Even though the debate on universality and values generated by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights didn't really start in earnest until 1998, year of the Fiftieth Anniversary, the Declaration started to be criticized almost immediately after its adoption, on such specific philosophical aspects as: the excess of individualism, the absence of community, the lack of duties and spirit of responsibility and the insubstantial enthusiasm expressed for economical and social rights. It was also admitted that the thesis that won at the time of its drafting were those of Natural Law in the modern sense and the predominance of individualist liberalism.

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101 Professor at Yale University.

102 Renaut, Alain. 2007. Les conditions d'un universalisme ouvert à la diversité. *Revue électronique internationale, Sens public,* www.sens-public.org, June 2007.

Furthermore, the question was asked on how universal human rights can exist in a culturally diverse world. Cultural relativism is the assertion that human values, vary according to different cultural perspectives. This means human rights are culturally relative rather than universal. However, one can reply that what seems essential is that human rights be approached in a way that is meaningful and relevant in diverse cultural contexts[103.]

And do all human beings have the same needs that are everywhere wrong to resist and right to satisfy? Professor Chris Brown[104] states that those who promote human rights should employ a more culturally sensitive style of discourse that does not demean or belittle those to whom it is addressed.

In November 1965, UNESCO organised a round table in Oxford on the different religious and philosophical traditions in human rights and the socio-economical conditions that facilitate their implementation. It was pointed out that the States that participated in the discussion and the vote of the declaration represented only a part of the population of the planet. For example, Africa was not represented at all.

However, following the adoption of the Declaration of Human Rights, and 20 years of rich and sometimes controversial debates, the two 1966 international covenants on political, civil, economical, social and cultural rights, introduce the rights of minorities, women, etc. insisting on family and education, as well as duties and responsibilities. Other instruments were adopted on other rights such as genocide, children, discrimination against women, cultural diversity, etc.). The Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action[105] is considered to be a bend as it states that all human rights are universal, indivisible, and interdependent and interrelated, which means that human rights are to be seen in their entirety. The universality of human rights is clearly recognized in international law and regional instruments work to complete national and regional senses of peoples particular identity.

As Professor Joseph Yacoub[106] observed, the corpus of human rights is now a collective work, where individual and the community become entangled. The recent international instruments have gone far beyond the Universal Declaration into new areas. We are now very far from the unique and abstract human of the 1948 Declaration. In this regard, some voices are rising to say that there is a need to update the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to make it synthetic, understandable, and respectful of all cultures and valid for all humans. But why should we rewrite the Declaration though other texts exist? Simply because humanity needs to indicate its solidarity and in order to achieve this, it needs a common text which restricts itself to generalities and does not enter into the details of all human rights[107.]

I would like to conclude by quoting Professor Chris Brown: "The need for a new way of talking about and promoting human dignity may itself be a feature of the politics of the next century".

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103  Shenker, Diana Ayton. 1995. *The Challenge of Human Rights and Cultural Diversity*. New York, United Nations Department of Public information DPI/1627/HR – March 1995.

104  Professor of international relations at the London School of Economics and Political Science. Contribution to Robert G. Patman (ed.), 2000. *Universal Human Rights?* New York, St. Martin's Press.

105  Adopted in June 1993 by the United Nations World Conference on Human rights in Austria.

106  Yacoub, Joseph. 2005. *Les droits de l'homme sont-ils exportables? Géopolitisme d'un universalisme*. Paris, Editions ellipses.

107  *ibid*.

# Bioethics in the Transformation of Democratic Public Policy

*Darryl Macer, Japan; UNESCO Bangkok*

The adoption of bioethics and bioethical reasoning has transformed some cultures into modern democratic culture, and arguably this is seen in greater ways in many Asian and Arab countries than it has been seen in North America or Europe. The stimulus provided by debates over new technologies, such as genetically modified food, assisted reproduction, and life sustaining treatment, has opened up the doors of government decision-making to the broader community. The results of cross-cultural studies in bioethics (Macer, 1994b) provides empirical research that democracy is possible under diverse and different cultural situations (UNESCO, 2003).

A broader globalization of democracy has accompanied the increasing debates over the use of technology and decision making. While democracy allows direct elections of appointed representatives into a country's government, participative democracy is broader than mere election of officials to a government. The process of consultations relating to setting of public policy that affects the choices of individuals on bioethics issues has involved a range of methods, such as issuing discussion papers with set periods for public comment, consensus conferences, open government through the internet, and establishment of advisory committees with broad membership, for example. Globalization and mundalization influence the state of democracies throughout the world. It has intensified international exchange and given rise to new actors in governance structures of society. It has strengthened the extent to which international factors influence democratizing movements.

Democratic systems raise various issues which are not always clear to measure but are important for human rights (SAHRDC 2006), including civil rights (People can openly question and discuss official policy without fear); Elections and Political Processes (Voters can freely choose their preferred candidates/parties without interference); Governance and Corruption (The government's decision-making is transparent); Media (The media is free and independent from government or other sources); Rule of Law (The judicial system effectively protects human rights and democratic principles); Participation and Representation (Political parties provide an effective avenue for citizens' participation in politics).

The establishment of national bioethics committees has been called for by all countries of UNESCO in the General Conferences that unanimously accepted the bioethics declarations, including the 1997 *Universal Declaration on the Human Genome and Human Rights*, and the 2005 *Universal Declaration on Bioethics and Human Rights*. These are accompanied by academic arguments for the establishment of national forums for developing bioethics policy (e.g. Hanna et al. 1993). We can see a growing number of countries in Asia that have established bioethics committees at different levels and in different ways, including for example, China, Indonesia, Japan, Pakistan and Singapore.

Let us consider Japan is one example of an Asian style democracy. Public opinion is seldom influential in determining public policy and there are few effective means used by the public to change policy. In Japan, there has been concern about bioethical issues such as environmental pollution since the 1960s, suspicion of the medical profession and its paternalism since the 1970s, and intense discussions on the question of brain death since the 1970s. Public discussion of bioethics opened up in the 1990s (Macer, 1992b; Suda et al. 2009). To take one example, the first open national forums on policy and successful attempts at open government were related to bioethical questions such as brain death, the labeling of genetically modified food, and human genetics research.

The delay in establishing such forums for debate was more related to the structure of Japanese society than to any difference between individual person's attitudes in Japan and Western countries. When individuals are asked to give their reasoning for their opinions over bioethical issues such as genetic manipulation of humans or animals, there is as much variety in opinions expressed by members of the general public in Japan as in Australia or New Zealand (Macer, 1992a, 1992b, 1994a). Many people perceive simultaneously both benefits and risks from science and technology. The diversity of reasoning

exposed in the survey was independent of education or age, and similar diversity of reasoning was found among members of the public, high school biology teachers, and scientists. The overall statistical results of many of the questions in surveys conducted in 1991 and 1993 in Japan are similar to results of surveys in Australasia, Europe, India, Russia, Thailand and the U.S.A. (Macer, 1994a). Thus even though there were different models of democracy, and different levels of public participation, people's decision making preferences at the individual level were similarly diverse.

Despite the similar diversity in views, state policies differ between country. Perhaps the most well known difference in bioethical policy between Japan and abroad is the policy regarding brain death. People are still told that Japanese people reject organ transplantation from brain dead donors. However, about half the people have been willing to donate organs since the mid-1980s (Macer, 1992b). The consent rate in some Western countries is only somewhat higher, as is the refusal rate, with the rate in practice being lower. The argument was that Japanese have special cultural barriers to such donations, which has been dismissed by Japanese sociologists and religious groups (Nudeshima, 1991). In every culture one can find people who reject removing organs from bodies, of their own or family members, and their views should be respected.

A more serious doubt in the minds of some people is whether they can trust the doctors who make the decisions about transplantation. Japanese show less trust in medical doctors than people in New Zealand, Australia or the U.K (Macer, 1994a). Even in The Prime Minister's ad hoc Committee on Brain Death and Organ Transplantation, which reported in January 1992, there were closed meetings, which were in conflict with the purpose of a forum in which public views should be heard. Only in the early 21st century did "national" committees on bioethics issues open their doors to observers.

The Prime Minister's ad hoc Committee on Brain Death and Organ Transplantation was unusual for Japanese committees because it did have a minority opinion, not being unanimous, though this is not always in itself a sign of logical discussion. A long awaited law to allow transplants was passed only in 1997. Bioethical decision-making involves recognition of the autonomy of all individuals to make free and informed decisions providing that they do not prevent others from making such decisions. This is consistent with democratic principles, and the extent to which a society has accepted this is one criteria of the success of bioethics. Actually the eventual law allows people to choose whether they wish to be recognized as dead by "heart death" or "brain death" as observations of the state of end of life.

The structured paternalism of many Asian and Arab societies is built on the idea that only the views of so-called experts should be heard. It also means that their views should not be questioned, in accordance with the traditional paternalistic Confucian, or neo-Confucian, ethos. The main theme of Confucianist ethics was the maintenance of moral discipline for the nation, society and the home; and it was to the benefit of rulers and family leaders. Therefore, it is not so surprising that many of the authorities in these societies share this ideal because it can strengthen the respect for them. Such views are often contrary to autonomy-centred bioethics. Some may promulgate the idea that their nation is different as an attempt to prolong the status quo, under the name of tradition, which in East Asia is often cited as a Confucian ethic. Professional such as medical doctors also believe that professional ethics can be determined within the profession, and there is little need for a wider forum on issues.

This guiding ethic is in conflict with the principles of civil rights that lead to bioethics debate and the establishment of some national forums in Europe and North America. The bioethics debate has been the catalyst required to transform some countries like Japan from a "paternalistic democracy" (Macer, 1994b). However, it is not always clear that establishing many committees is the most effective form of democracy. Divided power sharing of each government Ministry associated with health care or environmental issues is not always integrated well. For example, in many countries at University Hospitals both the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Health may have their own procedures and committees to approve therapy.

The development of the spirit of wide spread public discussion affects many aspects of culture in any country, including politics and the hierarchy of society. An active civil society discussion is one indicator, but not the only one. Public trust in authorities in most country is rather low, and it is not always clear that open government increases it. With scandals in food safety and environmental pollution, and corruption, trust declined over the past few decades in most countries. A growing number of persons

have little faith in any authority, and authorities that are little trusted are not likely to be willing to establish independent bodies (which are usually more trusted) if such bodies are going to have different conclusions from the government. As an example we saw the development of independent food safety authorities in some countries, recognizing the conflicts between agricultural production, environmental issues, food safety, and consumer choice. However, they were also used to booster trust in government as a response to strong public opinion which is reflected at election times also.

Some bioethical issues, such as human genome research, cloning, germ-line gene therapy, commercial surrogacy, and the organ trade, are international. Globalization may be supported in international guidelines on bioethics that can establish international policy, however, some countries do maintain distinct national policy. Although claims that there are universal bioethical principles that all people should observe can be criticized as a type of cultural imperialism, already in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, the *Universal Declaration on Bioethics and Human Rights*, and the International legal codes protecting individual rights, we can see recognition of some universal principles.

UNESCO has played a key role in the promotion of democratic values and principles. Its constitution upholds the democratic ideals of justice, liberty, equality and solidarity, and considers these principles as fundamental factors in the building of peace. Indeed, the Preamble makes a direct link between "the denial of the democratic principles of the dignity, equality and mutual respect of men" and the "great and terrible war". Interestingly, many bioethicists trace the origins of medical ethics and international codes of research ethics, such as those developed at the trials in Nuremburg, which is also a result of the atrocities of war.

As countries become more multicultural there is a need to develop rationally based bioethical solutions to the perpetual dilemmas of decision-making. In order to synthesize more cross-culturally applicable guidelines, bioethics needs to be discussed in many countries and at international forum. All people should discuss these issues, and change to the degree that is consistent with the recognition of our duties to all others on this planet and to aid the sustainability of human society and the environment in a global age. Development of bioethics and decision making has gone hand in hand with the recognition of human rights, and the development of democracy, and can be expected to continue to do so.

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