

Moral Non-Conformity

A Phenomenological Study of Persons who Held on to Their
Moral Beliefs

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Special Thanks

I would like to extend the sincerest thanks to the following people:

My family, Henrik who was an invaluable support during the whole process, and Hera who made me understand the important things in life. My father, Thomas, for making me believe that I could achieve everything and for pushing my intellectual thought one step further. My mother. Pia, for teaching me the importance of ethics. My sister, Tova for showing me China, and my brother, Björn for teaching me how to teach.

PhD. Anna Bayard, who have been beside me during the whole process in every way, and who also lent me her expertise in form of translation and comments. Janine Sages, a dear friend and moral supporter. Li Sihong, for translation, helping me to straighten-out cultural confusion, and being a friend. Jonathan Jing, who's hospitality and help was invaluable.

Anthony Shah who acted as a translator and a guide.

I like to thank my three advisors. Prof. Roger Sages, who is a loyal friend, the most inspiring mentor, and who always encouraged me to go beyond my boundaries. PhD. Mohamed Melyani who have guided me through the French system and who gave me space and time to grow. Chen Chaufeng who provided hospitality, insights, and means for this thesis to become reality.

Last but not least I would like to thank all the respondents who chose to share a part of their life with me. Thank you!

All of you made this possible!

Summary

This thesis is an explorative investigation of moral non-conforming, and the motivation of moral non-conformers. A moral non-conformist is a person who, for moral reasons refuse to behave like the group behaves, as he/she believes the group behaves immorally. The results showed that moral non-conformity can be divided into six groups: The intervening, The activists, The Whistle-blowers, The conscientious objectors, and Duty. All these groups have their own motivation that promote their moral non-conforming behaviour. The conclusion must therefore be that there are no general motivations which promote moral non-conformity, but every moral non-conformer has their own motivation and trigger situation to permit their behaviour. These conclusions are based on open questionnaires and interviews with respondents of different ages, nationalities, and social economic status. The nationalities are Chinese, British, French and Swedish, but it is worth noticing that nothing in the analysis showed a pattern based on national culture. The analysis was made with the phenomenological method; Meaning Constitution Analysis.

Notes

- I. Gender words such as “he” and “she” or “her” and “him” will be written in an alphabetical order.

Introduction

When I was in my early twenties I started studying Military History at Stockholm University and The National Defence College in Sweden. I would have liked to say that I did this as a part of a well thought out plan, but it would be closer to the truth to call it a whim. I was never very interested in weapon systems or fortifications, I am still not, but something else sparked my interest. It was the fact that people like me and my friends, with the same type of brain, feelings and intelligence could be convinced to murder other people by the masses and to risk their life for what often has turned out to be futile or misguided causes. I was especially interested in young men who actively sought out war and the prospect of being a soldier even when they were themselves living in a peaceful country. One such phenomenon occurred during the Second World War. Young Swedish men crossed the border (mostly to Norway) in secrecy to enrol in the German SS army, even though Sweden was not involved in the war as a part on either side (this has been up for discussion, but I will stick to the official version here). They had to cross the border in secrecy was because it was illegal to enrol in foreign army (except Finland's) (Gyllenhaal & Westberg, 2008). But even so, they were willing to risk their lives for a cause they believed in. Some might have believed in national socialism, some only in the necessity of combatting communism, but whatever the reason they were willing to die for it. Today we look back at these young men with disgust. They were fighting for what turned out to be one of the cruellest and horrific regimes of all times, and I am in no way defending their choice. But I became fascinated in the reasons to why they made this choice. When I started to study the subject, I found more and more examples within military history of groups of people or certain individuals who refused to follow orders or conform to the group, because they felt morally obliged not to follow them, or conform. But I did not stop at the field of military history, I found out that the world was filled with these people. Famous people such as; Edward Snowden, Galileo Galilei, Jesus

Christ, Mahatma Gandhi, Rosa Parks, Victor Jara, etc., as well as the less famous such as the many protesters in Iran and Egypt, the families who hid their Jewish friends or fellow humans from the Nazis, the many mothers of Plaza del Mayo in Argentina etc. The list is endless. I also found out that the other list, the list of people not saying anything even if they knew it was wrong, was even longer. Not protesting, or just getting along with the group was long considered an anomaly by the science community, as well as by the media of the Western world. We believed that people usually acted in line with their convictions (attitudes, moral beliefs etc.), and an act against one's views but in line with the group norm was believed (and still is in some circles) to be a sign of a weak character, something worth investigating to find out which type of character flaw lied behind these types of actions. This has been done in psychology, philosophy, sociology and perhaps foremost the arts and literature.

In psychological science, we have a series of clever (and less clever) experiments on the subject from Richard LaPiere (1934) showing that attitude and behaviour is not always as closely linked as we would believe, to the experiments of Philip Zimbardo (2008), Stanley Milgram (1974), and Solomon Asch (1951) showing people going against their own views in a situation that has grown stronger than their own convictions. Philosophers like Hanna Arendt has tried to explain the abnormality of contra-attitude behaviour (Arendt, 1996), and psychiatrists like Robert Lifton (1986) has tried to analyse the personality of such men and women. With time it became evident that the anomaly is not the conformist, it is the non-conformist. It is the one who refuses to pull the switch (in Milgram's case) or the person who holds on to the truth (in the case of Asch) who are different. This is what I examine in this study: What constitutes a moral non-conformist? Is the type of person, situation and thought process different between cultures or is it possible to find a certain type of person or skill that predict moral non-conformism? If so, can this skill, or type of personality be nurtured and taught? I hope to find the answers in this study.

Research question

How do moral non-conformers see themselves in relation to their moral non-conforming actions? What are the possible motivators behinds such actions? Other than performing this type of action, do moral non-conformers have other things in common?

Purpose

The aim of this study is to find the underlying meaning of the moral non-conformists, their thoughts, motivators and how they constitute the world. The results might build a foundation to learn how to teach people how to become moral non-conformers, to uphold their moral in an immoral situation. The cultural aspect here is crucial. The act of moral non-conforming is perhaps different between cultures, it has a different meaning, and there might be different types of people who perform it. If we want to teach it, we might need to teach it in different ways and to different people depending on which culture they belong to.

Chapter 1

An introduction to the topic of non-conformism and its moral dimension

The objective of this chapter is to define the concept of non-conformism and morality by first looking at conformity and non-conformity, followed by morality, its definition, how it evolves and what purpose it serves. In the end of this chapter these concepts will put together to define moral non-conformism.

Conformity

Triplet's (1898) experiments on social facilitation was one of the first experiments in social psychology (Myers, Abell, Kolstad & Sani, 2010; Aronson, Wilson, & Akert, 2010). His experiments showed that the mere presence of other people can affect someone's behaviour, performing in a group makes a person perform more efficiently (in Triplet's case pedalling a bicycle) (Zajonc, 1965). As time, and social psychology, moved forward so has the research of group influence on behaviour, revealing many other behaviours which are affected by other people's presence. Indeed, everything from performance on a various of cognitive or physical tasks, to perception and arousal is affected by the presence of other people. One explanation to these socially induced changes in behaviour and cognition is conformity.

Defining conformity and non-conformity

In this thesis, the definition of conformity will stem from the following definition:

“the fact that an individual displays a particular behaviour because it is the most frequent the individual witnessed in others”

(Claidière & Whiten, 2012, p. 126)

This definition serves the purposes of this thesis as it does not include any type of verbally expressed directive (conformity after being given an order, or suggestion, will hereafter be called obedience), it does not define whether one finds the behaviour preferable to other possible behaviours, nor does it contain any judgement of value of the behaviour. It simply states that the person behaving displays this behaviour as the result of other people around her/him behaving like this. It also avoids introducing the word norm although it includes a feasible definition of it (e.g. “most frequently witnessed behaviour in others”).

However, there is one problem with the definition; it does not answer any questions about the motivation behind an act of conforming. Is it a lack of cognitive effort (“I’ll do like everyone else, I don’t have the time to think about it”), an active choice (“If everyone behaves like this it must be the right way to do it”) or as a result of a norm or group identity (“I normally agree with the behaviours of this group so I will do as they do”)? It also lacks the dimension of conforming to a *perceived* behaviour regardless if this behaviour actually occurs in others or not (“All my friends write about their yoga on their Facebook, am I the only one who does not do yoga? I better start.”). I would therefore like to extend the definition, not by adding a motivational component (the motivational part is not pertinent to the research question, as the research question concerns motivation to not conform, and in very specific situations), but by adding a component of perception. The definition I will use will be as follows: Conformity is when a person behaves in a certain way because he/she *believes* it is the most frequent behaviour of her/his peers/immediate group. In this definition, it is not the actual actions of others that are necessary but the *experience, impression or belief* of such actions, which impacts the behaviour of the individual who conform. The subject of study in psychology is the human psyche, and what the individual believes is true, make the base of their decisions to behave in one way or another, whether this belief, this personal truth, is “objectively” true or not.

Non-conformity

Now, conformity is not the primary subject of this thesis, it aims to investigate its opposite, non-conformity. The name suggests that non-conformity is not a term within its own right but rather defined by its opposite, conformity. Non-conformity would in this line of reasoning become unconfirming (i.e. lack of conforming, a non-action). This is only partly true. Not conforming is not necessarily an act of unconfirming, and it is generally not a non-action. Not to conform is often hard work, to actively defend a behaviour different from one's peers, or to resist the impulse to do like everyone else, perhaps even put oneself in harm's way while doing so. Conforming on the other hand is often a result of a non-action, it is often the easiest alternative. To take vegans as an example, it is much harder not to eat meat or animal products than doing it, as they always must make the active choice to say no to the Christmas buffet, finding recipes that suit their diet, and bring their own food to parties. To conform (in this case to eat meat like most people do) is simple, there is very little own initiative or decision-making involved, whereas not to conform, to be a vegan is more complicated and involves many active decisions.

There might be many reasons not to conform and not all of them are active decisions, you can choose not to conform as a lack of capability to conform (I might not have the money to buy the latest designer jeans that everybody in the school is wearing), as a lack of social skills (I don't understand what I am supposed to do) etc. This thesis concerns the active action of not conforming. Following this line of reasoning the definition of non-conforming would, rather than being the opposite of conforming, be: *The conscious act of a person not behaving as he/she believes her/his peers/immediate group are behaving.* Although this somewhat encircles the behaviour examined in this essay it does not fully define it. A non-conforming act could be using shorts when everyone else is wearing trousers or listening to Michael Jackson when all your friends prefer Madonna. Most of us does this

sort of conventional non-conforming occasionally, but in this investigation, there is a moral dimension added to the non-conformism. The non-conforming act should be based on more than personal gain or taste, it needs a moral dimension. I will therefore start with introducing some theories about moral and attempt to define what moral is.

Summary

Non-conformity, in this thesis, will be defined as: The conscious and active act of a person not behaving as he/she believes her/his peers/immediate group are behaving. This definition of non-conformity lacks a moral dimension, this dimension will be discussed and eventually added to the definition in this next part.

Morality

I will start with presenting some different definitions of morality from well-known dictionaries. The definitions in such dictionaries are often good bench marks to start with while defining a concept, but it is important to keep in mind that morality is much more complex, and there are more ways to look at morality than the dictionaries implies.

The word morality derives from the Latin word for “custom” (Oxford dictionaries, n.d.). It can be used as a descriptive term to refer to a code of conduct or a custom, or normatively to refer to a universal code for conduct that all rational people should adopt (Bernard, 2012; Oxford dictionaries, n.d.). Some definitions of moral consider that the moral action should be conforming to the customs of the group (Merriam-Webster dictionary, n.d.), others do not, for example Baumeister and Exline (1999) defines morality as: “... a set of rules that enables people to live in harmony.” (p. 1165). This later definition does not mention conformity, or following the group norm directly, but implicitly by mentioning the group (or “people”) as something to consider while deeming something moral or immoral.

I have chosen to use the word morality, and not ethics, this might merit an explanation as the two are sometimes used alternately to describe the same, or very similar things. There is a distinct difference, however. Ethics concern what is good and bad, what should be the norms, or the motivation behind a moral behaviour (Merriam-Webster dictionary, n.d.; Oxford Dictionary, n.d.). Morality concerns how we practice what we believe is good and bad. As this thesis aims to explain the motivation or meaning behind the moral behaviour of the respondent's morality is a better word for their action (e.g. moral non-conforming) although there might arise a need to use the term ethics when their motives or meaning is interpreted and analysed, as it is possible that their moral actions might be based on a personal, or collective ethics.

Summary

In conclusion: moral or morality is a set of rules of conduct for a group, an individual or a society. The rules can be normative, claiming that there is a universal "good" or "bad", or descriptive; only describing the code of conduct of said society, individual etc. without any inherent value.

Philosophy of moral

Moral has its own branch of philosophy, conveniently called "moral philosophy". It consists of many different parts; concerning political values, aesthetical values, meta ethics (ex. do objective values exist?) and normative ethics (which values are correct?) (Bergstöm, 1992). I will exclude aesthetic values from discussion in this thesis, because they can be considered more of an attitude rather than a value, one dislikes or likes a certain object based on personal or cultural taste. Political values might be investigated in such cases as the respondents refer to political values as a reason for their non-conformism and this, if applicable, will be done in more detail in the result section. In this section, however, the aim is to sort out what morality is and means, and if there are any universal

moral norms, or any objective moral. The focus will, for a few pages, lie on the last two parts of moral philosophy; meta ethics and normative ethics. This is done, in part, to explain the selection of participants, but foremost to define a moral non-conformist. This section is in a way, more concerned with ethics than moral (as I am trying to get a sense of what moral is or what it consists of), I will, none the less still use the term moral and morality so that the link to the behaviour, which subsequently will be examined, is not lost.

Values

Individuals have opinions about how to act and what makes something correct or good. These opinions are called values (Bergström, 1992), and morality is sometimes defined as a set of values (Oxford dictionary, n.d.). Values should not be confused with attitudes which are evaluations about certain objects or situations, essentially whether they are good or bad. Attitudes can be a consequence of values but does not have to be (Bergström, 1992). I do not like fish porridge. This is not due to a set of values, I do not think that the fish porridge is doing something wrong, or that eating it will make me morally reprehensible or bad, but because I do not like the taste nor the texture. It can therefore be classified as an attitude. I dislike cheating on taxes, this is an attitude but, in oppose to my resentment to fish porridge, my resentment of people who cheat on their taxes stems from a value; I believe it is good for people to pay their dues to society so that we can provide services to the less fortunate as well as uphold a good shared environment and infrastructure. Non-conforming in attitude (ex. all my friends like fish porridge but I prefer pizza) is therefore not necessarily the same thing as moral non-conformity (ex. I refuse to cheat on my taxes even if everyone at work does it).

The existence of an objective morality

In all issues concerning the subject of morality certain questions will arise. One such question is if there is something like an “objective morality” or rather are there things that are universally wrong or, universally right? There are different answers to this question. Some believe that there are values which are (or should be) universal, or at least values that every rational person should endorse as basic moral norms, whereas other researchers keep a relativistic attitude to morality (Bergstöm, 1992; Darley, 2004; Gert, 2012; Kurtines, & Gewirtz, 1984; Turiel, Killen, & Helwig, 1985). A relativistic attitude means that morality is depending on the person, situation, time, and culture: what is morally correct varies with these factors. These two opposing views of morality comes with different types of problems. The first type of view, that there is an objective “good” morality is compelling to most. There are things that just are “wrong” and that just are “right”. These things also have the tendency to align with what the person’s own moral beliefs. The problem is that the “rights” and “wrongs” tend to vary depending on who you ask. So, the challenge here is to determine who is right about what the moral rules should be. One way to resolve issues of this type is to investigate something scientifically to find out what is true or not, and how to do this a struggle for moral philosophy. How are we to make moral scientific, how can we derive an “ought” from an “is”? There is no good answer to this question (Flanagan, Sarkissian, & Wong, 2008; Tiberius, 2015).

Another way of looking at it, which many psychologists (especially cultural psychologists) promote is that morality is the set of rules in a society/group (Graham & Haidt, 2010; Graham, Haidt & Nosek, 2009; Graham et al. 2011; Haidt & Graham, 2007a; Haidt & Graham, 2007b; Haidt, Graham & Joseph, 2009; Haidt, Koller & Dias, 1993; White, 1994) to prevent members from acting selfishly, and to promote unselfish and pro-social behaviour, which benefits the group as a whole (Tiberius, 2015). This point of view has the advantage

that it makes it possible to describe morality and moral conduct in different contexts, without having to take a stand in the moral issues (i.e. judging “good” moral from “bad”). It is essentially a descriptive way of using the term morality (Gert, 2012). It is describing what morality *is* rather than what it *ought* to be (Tiberius 2015). Therefore, it is also possible to study scientifically.

Summary

There are two kinds of views on morality, the one which say that there is (or should be) a universal morality and one which state that it is futile to find such universal morality but instead focuses on describing the different types of morality there is. The next sequence will explore different voices and views on each side.

Normative morality

Many theorists do not explicitly support the idea of a universal morality which is better than other moralities, but it is implicitly evident that they consider some types of morality better than others. For example, Irving Markowitz (1972) argues that it is often society which controls morality by defining morally good acts as what society deem “natural” and immoral acts as “unnatural”. According to him, definition of what is moral and what is immoral is not valid. He argues that it can be morally sound and even natural to go against the morality of society in order to develop it further. This development might popularly be seen as unnatural, as it goes against “how it has always been”, but if it focuses more on the equal rights of people it is moral. Markowitz (1972) therefore, implicitly, define morally good as equal rights.

Other theorists explicitly claim that there can (and should) be a universal moral, often based on the harm reduction principle (Bergström, 1992; Harris, 2011; Markowitz, 1972). One version of the universal morality is suggested by William Kraft (1992). The

observable result of a good morality constituted by love and structured in the ego, body and self gives what Kraft calls “a morally good person” which he describes like this:

“Morally good persons foster and manifest qualities that are congruent with an orientation of love, such as hope, fidelity, peace, wisdom, understanding, compassion, patience and fortitude.” (Kraft, 1992 p. 30)

Following this quote, it seems like Kraft advocates for the universality of morality. He then adds another aspect to a morally good person, he/she does not change her/his values, which would imply that a morally good person does not change their beliefs in the face of opposition. There are some objections to this view, this” orientation of love”, what should it entail? Fidelity for instance might be considered a moral virtue in the large part of the Western world, but in many other cultures polygamous relationships are considered morally superior, and infidelity would not necessarily be considered immoral.

Relativistic morality

The other view of morality, the descriptive, is exemplified by the view of Jonathan Haidt and his colleagues (Graham & Haidt, 2010; Graham, Haidt & Nosek, 2009; Graham et al., 2011; Haidt, Graham & Joseph, 2009; Haidt, Koller & Dias, 1993). These descriptive theories could be described as relativistic as they do not claim that there is a one true moral but describes the types of moral rules which exists in different cultures/contexts. While the theory presented by them does not reject a normative morality, it claims that when investigating human behaviour, or indeed trying to influence human behaviour, it is non-productive to take a good versus bad stance on morality. To better understand the basis of moral behaviour it is better to describe it than to judge it. After this description one can form an opinion about what moral should consist of, doing so does not help with the understanding of morality itself. Haidt and his colleagues do, however, propose a kind of universality of morality, or rather the building blocks of morality. They propose a five-part model. The five

parts are: *Harm reduction*, the principle of committing actions that will cause the least harm to the least number of people (Graham, Haidt & Nosek, 2009; Graham, et al., 2011). This is the principle on which utilitarianism is founded upon (Bergström, 1992). *Fairness/Equality*, a moral principle that stipulates that people should be treated equally and just. The third principle is *In-group loyalty*, one should not act against one's in-group but remain loyal to the group and do things that benefit the group. The next principle is *Authority*; to display morality by obeying and respecting those who have a higher status or more power. The fifth and last of these principles is *Purity/Sanctity*, which incorporates respecting the laws of religion and tradition and not doing anything that "is against nature" or against the rules of the religious beliefs held by the majority of the society or the person her/himself (Haidt & Graham, 2007a; Graham, Haidt & Nosek, 2009).

Jonathan Haidt and his colleagues suggests that all people base at least part of their moral values on the first two principles (harm reduction and fairness) but that the importance of the last three differs depends on culture (Haidt & Joseph, 2006; Haidt, Koller & Dias, 1993) and in some cases even political beliefs (Graham, Haidt & Nosek, 2009). They also claim that it is more common for people across history and culture to have all five foundations built-in in the moral network of the individual and the group (Haidt & Graham, 2007b) than to only have the first two. Western- Liberals tend to form their moral beliefs mainly on the first two, and as most influential researchers within Social Science tend to belong to this group, "good" morality often derives from the principles of harm reduction and equality fairness, but if we should ask all people on earth it would probably not be the most common-held view. Harm reduction of some sort seem to be in common for most theories concerning moral, be they descriptive or normative (Bergstöm, 1992; Graham & Haidt, 2010; Graham, Haidt & Nosek, 2009; Graham et al., 2011; Haidt, Graham & Joseph, 2009; Haidt, Koller & Dias, 1993; Kraft, 1992; Miller, Hannikainen, & Cushman, 2014) and it seems like

all cultures have some version of a harm reduction moral rule (even though they normally combine them with the rest of the five principles, which sometimes overrides the harm reduction principle such as “it is wrong to hit someone” can be overridden by “it is right to punish someone who does something sacrilegious”). The principle of harm reduction in some form could be something close to a universal moral rule. There are, however, a discussion whether the “universals” of morality can merit a theory of innate morality, as there is evidence that even “universal” (such as harm reduction) moral norms are heavily altered or altogether lacking in some cultures (Prinz, 2008).

Summary

To conclude, theories of morality can be normative or descriptive. In this thesis the term morality will be used in a descriptive sense and I will try to refrain from judgements about the content of the morality. I have chosen to exclude actions that involve violence, and actions that might moral but clearly have a heavy self-serving component that might be the main motivation for the action. Arguably, by setting these criteria I have already made an evaluation of other’s people’s morality (I have for instance decided that it is more moral if one only has moral intentions and motivators, than if the intentions and motivators are mixed with personal gain). Never-the-less, I have tried my best not to make any big normative claims or judgements.

Other views of morality, moral behaviour and its functions

There are theories about moral that cannot be placed in either the normative nor the descriptive category, but they are somewhere in between, discussing both what morals is, its origins, how it is, and why one morality is better than others.

Evolution and morality

One of these, in-between normative and descriptive ways of thinking about morality is the evolutionary perspective of morality. According to this view morality only exists because it suits us as a species, because it promotes a type of pro-social behaviour that have proven beneficial for the survival of our species. In this case, there would not be any “good” or “bad” moral because of affective or normative reasons, but only morality that benefits the survival of our species and morality that does not. Moral rules are just rules that keep us safe from each other and that make us help each other for the benefit of the group, these rules, as they are beneficial to us, would have been invented regardless if we would have called them “moral” or not (Tiberius, 2015).

It is often thought that moral rules that occur in all societies or most cultures are innate, these normally include reciprocity and harm reduction (Sripada, 2008). One example is the theory we, as a species has benefited from a pro-social behaviour that makes us share with others, reciprocate favours and refrain from stealing, killing and general misbehaviour toward others. Therefore, all known cultures have rules regulating these sorts of behaviours. These pro-social behavioural rules have become internalized as a motivational system which we call “moral” (Flanagan, Sarkissian, & Wong, 2008). The practical manifestation of these innate rules might look very different from culture to culture and it has therefore been suggested that morality is like language, we are born with the possibility to speak any language, we are prepared to learn language and there are some linguistic rules that all languages follow, but, as we all know, languages can differ a lot. Morality might work similarly (Sripada, 2008).

Even if there are universal rules of morality, it does not necessarily mean that they must be innate, it is possible that they are a good way for solving practical problems in a social setting (Prinz, 2008). Another argument against innateness is that people behave badly,

which they should not do if moral is innate, although this is a rather thin argument as there are plenty of things that are innate (such as language) that, none-the-less, takes some practice and skill to master perfectly (Dwyer, 2008).

Morality and personality

Another approach to morality that goes beyond the question of a good moral (many of the theorists in this area make claims about what constitutes a “good moral” even if this is not their main goal) is the personality approach. This approach emphasizes the importance of personality traits and the development of such for the ability to make moral decisions. From this perspective, there is a view that morality is a trait or a factor of personality, although there are different ways to approach morality, traits or personality types.

Is there a moral personality? Are some people good and others bad? Definitions of morality (as opposed to definitions of ethics) often include some aspect of behaviour (Oxford Dictionary, n.d.; Merriam-Webster Dictionary, n.d.; Gert, 2012), which indicates that morality is more about what is done than what is. However, there is a problem in separating the actions from the person as every action needs an agent, and that action might say something about the nature of the agent.

In ancient theories of morality (i.e. Plato and Aristotle), morality was something that constituted a person, a way of being which involved certain virtues such as wisdom, courage, justice and moderation. If one has a personality containing these (and other) virtues one is a moral person (Aristotle, 349 B. C./1967; Parry, 2014). These theories concern more what is rather than what is done (Parry, 2014). Virtues are traits that other people desire in a person. A virtue can be described as an internalization of a moral rule, and often involves some sort of self-restraint or self-control, to favour the group over one’s self-interest. This is also perhaps why we often see that people link morality to religion, as religion also often requires a certain amount of self-control, to sacrifice something for the good of the God

(Baumeister & Exline, 1999). Furthermore, a virtue is a lasting character trait which allows the person to be a moral person who commits moral acts throughout her/his life (Tiberius, 2015).

Models of moral development

Morality, how it forms our behaviour and how it develops in the child has been a topic of psychology at least since Freud presented his psychodynamic theory. Freud himself thought that morality developed in the child during the process of socialization (forming parts of the superego etc.), the infant is amoral (Freud, 1932/2000). In that sense, Freud had an empiricist's view of morality, morality as a product of socialization and learned in childhood. But it is not all that believe that we are born amoral, the naturalists believe that we have a natural predisposition to certain types of morality and that children will find/create/develop a morality of their own even if not taught by adults, Jonathan Haidt's five factor theory of morality is one such theory which claims that the foundations of forming a morality is inherent in all humans, and although the type of morality which is formed varies somewhat between their environments all moralities consists of a combination of some, if not all, of the five-factors presented in their model (Haidt & Joseph, 2004; Sripada, 2008).

Then there is a third type of theories involving moral development, the stage-models, that maintain that morality develops in the same way in all people by going through several hierarchical steps. These stage-models can be seen as representatives of the normative moral philosophy as it is hard to interpret the higher moral reasoning as something else than a "better" morality than the lower levels of the scale (Schweder, Mahapatra, & Miller, 1985). The problem with this is that there is rarely any reasoning why these "higher" moral skills should be "better" (in the sense that they are more effective or has an objectively higher moral value) than the "lower". There is also a concern about the manifested behaviour and how that relates to the moral stages as, in some cases, doing the morally sound might not always be a

priority, although the child understands and agrees with the morality of the stage he/she is in something else than morality motivates her/his behaviour (Haidt & Graham, 2007a). There are examples of people reasoning at two different steps in different situations or contexts, which would indicate that moral development is less linear than the stage-models suggests (Prinz, 2008). Further criticism against the stage-models of development concerns their focus on the intra-individual factors in development and ignoring the social factors (Bandura & McDonald, 1963), which is manifested by the most famous stage-model, developed by Lawrence Kohlberg, showing signs of being culturally insensitive, as some of the stages do not manifest themselves in certain cultures (Prinz, 2008; Triandis, 1995).

Another criticism of the stage models is that many of the questions used to determine the grade of morality are based on the equality principle (and perhaps also harm reduction), two moral principles that are considered universal as basis for moral norms and rules. The problem is that there are other principles that are applicable, especially in non-western cultures and for people with conservative values. These principles (purity/sanctity, in-group loyalty and respect for authority) might sometimes override the moral principles of harm reduction and equality, but the basis is no less moral, just founded on another type of morality (Haidt & Graham, 2007a). One could then, of course, decide that this basis for morality is wrong and in fact immoral (seeing morality as something outside the social context) but it seems to me like this belongs to a normative discussion about morality, preferably held by philosophers rather than psychologists.

Personality theories of morality

Another possible way of viewing a morality is to see it as a set of rules, or a framework, from which one sees and judges the world. This moral orientation differs from person to person, and these differences can depend on other factors such as gender. It has, however, been hard to find any significant difference in moral orientations between the sexes

in reasoning about hypothetical moral dilemmas, although a difference in the type of examples real-life moral dilemmas that respondents reported to have encountered has been shown. Women raised more family or relational issues whereas men tended to raise work related issues when asked to give an example of a real-life moral dilemma they had been in (Walker, de Vries & Trevethan, 1987), this indicates that the difference in morality, at least in terms of gender, lies in its practice or function rather than in its intrapersonal structure. It is also worth noting that the differences might be due to the difference life-contexts of men and women.

Apart from gender, other factors have been shown to influence morality. The ability and motivation to internalize norms are dimensions of a personality which seem to influence morality, at least morally motivated actions (Campbell, 1964). Those who have internalized a norm is less likely to violate that norm. Internalization of norms can be defined as norms/roles that has been incorporated into one's own personality, and if one does not act accordingly one will suffer guilt. Guilt can affect morality and moral actions, but there are other emotions that are also thought to play a role in moral actions (Rozin, Lowery, Imada, & Haidt, 1999), disgust, for example, is an emotion that can make moral judgments more severe and unforgiving (Haidt, Koller & Dias, 1993; Schnall, Haidt, Clore & Jordan, 2008) but how much disgust we feel differs between persons. So, emotions might influence moral behaviour and judgement, but how much or which emotion the person experiences is, partly, a consequence of her/his personality.

Another trait that might influence moral behaviour is self-awareness. Of course, one must have moral standards, but also a capacity to behave according to those standards, and an ability to monitor one's behaviour to see that it is up to the standards. A certain amount of self-awareness is therefore required for moral behaviour (Baumeister & Exiles. 1999).

Emotions and morality

As already mentioned, emotions might serve as a motivator for moral behaviour both as a cause; we might act morally to rid ourselves from an uncomfortable emotion (e.g. guilt), or to get a rewarding emotion (e.g. pride). They might also affect moral behaviour as a result of their implication on moral judgement. Emotions gives us quick information about the world and how we are supposed to react to it, they give us a clue as to which situations are to be judged morally or that involves moral behaviour. The experienced emotion in itself can be both a reaction to and a cause of moral behaviour, we might act to avoid feeling guilt, and if we see someone behave immorally we might become angry. It is, in fact, hard to imagine morality without emotion, as we would not value anything and, thus not care about morality nor immorality (Tiberius, 2015).

There is a possibility that morality, especially morality which is resting upon the principle of harm reduction, is a consequence of empathic emotions. Although it seems that the principle of harm reduction, is not primarily influenced by emotions of empathy or “feeling with the victim”, but is an intellectual point of view and the moral condemnation of harmful acts is mostly influenced by this intellectual and moral standpoint, not by feelings (Miller, Hannikainen, & Cushman, 2014), a point further emphasized as people who suffer from antisocial personality disorders more often than others base their moral decisions on the principle of utilitarianism (greater benefit for the many) (Tiberius, 2015). This could help to explain why many people are capable of hurting other people when they believe themselves morally correct. It can also be a question of which emotion that a certain type of moral violation elicits, Paul Rozin and colleagues (1999) showed that different types of moral violations leads to different types of emotions, and whereas some moral transgressions might merit a feeling of disgust (such as when breaking the purity/sanctity rules), others might elicit anger (such as breaking the harm reduction or fairness rule) (Rozin et al., 1999). So, in the

case that people hurt other people for breaking moral rules it might be due to this action eliciting anger in the observer.

There are theorists which use emotions to define morality, as it is possible to see morality as norms which are connected to emotions. According to this view, emotions decide whether a behaviour is morally good or morally bad and therefore guides the disapproval or approval of behaviours. Non-moral norms (such as fashion trends in what to wear) are typically not accompanied by an emotional approval if followed, or emotional disapproval if broken whereas moral norms are (we feel outraged, disgusted or proud, moved etc.). The theory of an emotional aspect of morality is supported by experiments where manipulations of emotions effect moral judgment. People who suffer from antisocial personality disorder have trouble understanding both the concept of emotions such as guilt and shame and moral rules. They might intellectually know the moral rules, but they do not “feel” them, and therefore have less difficulty breaking them (Prinz, 2008).

Moral behaviour

A moral action is not easily defined. We might all agree on that pure altruism, acts in a way that benefits others to some cost for herself/himself (giving without expecting something back) is a moral action. But even such unselfish actions might not be *good*, one might, for instance, perceive it as more morally sound *not to help*, so that the person in need for help learns to take care of herself/himself. We might, then, define a moral action as something that produces good consequences, but by this definition a purely selfish action could be considered moral, if it only had good consequences, something many people might not agree with. Following this, a moral action may be defined something that produces a good consequence for someone else, regardless whether it produces a good consequence for the actor or not. It is also important to notice that for something to be a moral act, it must be done by choice and

not forced on you. For an act to be motivated morally and to be moral it must be a product of free will (Tiberius, 2015).

Another way of defining moral action is to look at the motives for said action. “It’s the thought that counts” or at least define if your action is moral or not. But how do we know if our motives were moral or not? We sometimes put a moral label on our behaviour post-hoc (Haidt & Joseph, 2004; Tiberius, 2015), we do something intuitively and then we give it a moral motivation in hindsight. Here is an illustration: in an interview in Swedish Radio (Sundahl Djerf, 2 July 2015) Ibrahim Elghoul, who saved many people’s lives in the terror attacks in Sousse, Tunisia the 26th of June 2015 by shielding them with his own body, is asked why he did this. He answers, “I don’t know”. Then after a while, and questions from the journalist, he starts reflecting on his own behaviour. It is very possible that he did not and do not exactly know why he did this heroic but very dangerous thing, but when forced to reflect upon his actions he “invents” a reason. Does his possible lack of moral motivation make his actions less heroic or less moral? It is possible, but as it is very hard to figure out the exact motivation of someone, especially if they are themselves unaware of it, it might make matters very complicated if we involve a motivational component into our definition of a moral action.

Moral action as opposed to moral values or morality produces a different set of problems. For example; just because we know how we should (or ought) act according to moral norms, it is not always certain that we have the ability to do so. Are we then morally obliged to try (and fail), or are we still morally accountable for our inaction? Many philosophers believe that you are not accountable (Tiberius, 2015). According to this view you are only morally obliged to do something that you are able to do, for instance, if you are not able to swim you are not morally obliged to jump into the water to save a drowning man (provided that you need to know how to swim to succeed in this endeavour).

Summary

One possible definition of a moral action, and the one which will be used in this thesis, is an action taken by free will, that produces positive consequences for someone other than the actor. I have chosen to exclude any motivational aspect in the definition, although I leave the possibility open to discuss this in the results should it reveal itself to be important for the respondents.

Moral non-conforming

The subject of this thesis is the one of moral non-conforming. Non-conforming will be defined, as stated earlier, as: The conscious and active act of a person not behaving as he/she believes her/his peers/immediate group are behaving. I will now add a moral part. Morality is an elusive subject, of which there are many opinions, but I have chosen, for the purpose of this thesis, to define moral non-conformer as: *The conscious and active act of a person not behaving as he/she believes her/his peers/immediate group is behaving. This act is motivated by a sentiment and/or belief that what the peers/immediate group is doing is morally wrong, and/or that the act of non-conforming is morally right.*

I have left the definition of morality to the acting person, in this I, in a way, join the ranks of a relativistic view of morality, what is morally right or wrong will be decided by my respondents. Although, my beliefs are influential in where I look for these moral non-conformers.

Moral non-conforming and civil courage

The similarities between moral non-conforming and civil courage are many. Civil courage involves saving someone in a distress situation under the risk of personal harm and so might moral non-conforming. The two are very close to each other but with some differences. Civil courage is mostly used as a term when people do the right thing in the spur

of the moment in an immediate emergency but, and here is where it differs from helping, with a potential risk for the person performing the act of civil courage (Greitemeyer, Fischer, Kastenmille, & Frey, 2006). Some acts of civil courage will fall under the definition of the moral non-conformism as well, but there are two differences: civil courage is not always morally motivated, and moral nonconformity might be a long-term act and not a response to an immediate emergency.

Moral non-conforming and altruism

Similar behaviours to those which in this thesis are called moral non-conforming have previously been called altruism, by for example Oliner and Oliner (1988). The Oliner study investigated the motives and social circumstances in which people in Europe helped Jews during the Second World War, and they have chosen to call that behaviour altruistic. Altruism is a difficult term, and it has been the cause of a long and vivid debate in both psychology and in philosophic circles. I will not enter this debate of whether true altruism exists or what its definition should entail, but I want to explain why I have not chosen altruism as the term in this thesis. Altruism have many definitions, but they usually involve that a) that there is a cost for the performer of the altruistic act, and b) that the act is purely selfless (see examples of definitions in Aronson, Wilson, & Akert, 2007; Myers et al. 2010). These statements do not cover everything that moral non-conforming entails, and it also cover behaviours that are not moral non-conforming. They are also problematic to specify, what should be counted as a cost? For example, should dedicating time to something be counted as a cost? If so, holding up the door and waiting for the person behind you in the subway could be defined as an act of altruism. The same can be discussed for statement number two, if I feel happy because I have helped, is it not altruism as I have then been rewarded? It is partly to avoid this discussion that I have chosen to use another term, but not only. Altruism does not cover all that moral non-conforming covers. For example, moral non-conforming often comes

with a cost for the behaving person, but not necessarily. Moral non-conforming does not have to be purely selfless, but the motivation must be moral. This means that, as long as the motivation is primarily moral it can entail benefit for the self, perhaps a better self-image. Altruism also covers behaviours that moral non-conformity does not, namely selfless acts with a cost to oneself, for example to give to charity. Giving to charity, however, is rarely something that we view as breaking the norm (perhaps depending on the charity of choice).

Different types of moral non-conforming

I have identified four types of moral non-conforming, consisting of a combination of two dimensions: 1) The moral non-conformer is one person alone going against her/his group, or of a small group going against the bigger group. 2) Whether the non-conformist could expect negative consequences/retribution or not (see figure 1).

	Single person	Small group
Risking Retribution	<i>Category 1</i> A single person going against the bigger group with risk of retribution. Ex. Whistle-blower	<i>Category 2</i> A member of a small group going against the bigger group with risk of retribution. Ex. members of civil-disobedience groups
No risk of Retribution	<i>Category 3</i> A single person going against the bigger group without risk retribution. Ex. Vegan	<i>Category 4</i> A member of a small group going against the bigger group without risk of retribution. Ex. network helping illegal immigrants in Sweden.

Figure 1. Types of moral non-conformity.

Chapter 2

Culture

This chapter will summarize some aspects of culture. Culture is always fundamentally important when doing any sort of research. Nothing exists in a vacuum, and what is more, nothing is meaningful without a context. The meaning of bread is vastly different depending on if the perceiver of the bread is hungry, full, gluten intolerant, etc. If we are interested in understanding something, we must relate this something to its context. It is therefore imperative to have thought about the approach one should have concerning culture. This chapter will explore, not so much different aspects of culture, as the research is exploratory and the important aspects of culture in this context must evolve from the studied life-worlds, but the methodological implications and approaches important to culture. The chapter starts with a discussion about the definition of culture and from there it will move on to the different approaches to culture in psychological research. Lastly there will be a discussion about the more practical aspects of methodology in cultural research. In Chapter 3 these insights will form a background for the understanding of morality in the different cultures.

Culture as the essence of humanness

There is an ever-ongoing discussion concerning what separates humans from other animals, what the essential “humanness” consists of. One suggestion has been that it is our moral ability which separates us from other animals, but the research of Frans de Waal (2014) shows that there are rules of conduct, very similar to our moral rules, within other species, such as apes. Thus, moral might not be the defining characteristic that makes us human and differentiates us from other species. Another suggestion as to what makes humans human has been our ability to form culture (Heine, 2008). This, too, have shown not to be a trait unique for humans (depending on definition) as we can see culture-like behaviours in

other species such as birds (van Leeuwen, Kendal, Tennie, & Haun, 2015), apes, and elephants (Heine, 2008). There are, however, qualitative differences between the cultures of humans and the cultures of other species. All human groups display culture, our cultural habits and norms can vary in a vast number of ways, and we apply culture to all sorts of behaviour, from the way we conduct our food intake to the way we think about mathematics. Cultural behaviours in animals are not as complex and does not affect as many behaviours as cultural behaviour in humans.

Another difference between humans and other species is that we are selective in who we imitate and take information from, making culture more subgroup-specific than for other animals. Culture spreads faster and lasts longer in human groups than in other habit-forming species. A human's development is co-constructed between the social environment and personal traits, we learn how to "be", and what it is to be human, through the social interactions with our group (Heine, 2008; Valsiner, 2000), but at the same time we have the ability to add our own, personal, touch to being human. Furthermore, human culture is cumulative, it builds on already existing culture and develops it in different directions for different purposes (Heine, 2008). There is, in a sense, an evolution of culture within the human species. It is therefore impossible to study any type of human behaviour without relating to culture. Culture is deeply imbedded in our "humanness" and, consequently, in everything we do, say, think, or believe (Valsiner, 2000), even if it is an involuntary biological reaction, such as a bowel movement, or the last breath of a dying person, it contains cultural connotations. As all researchers are (presumably) humans there can be no science of any sort without a culturally motivated perspective.

Defining Culture

There is no universally accepted definition of culture within the field of social studies (Matsumoto & Hee Yoo, 2006). Never-the-less, it is important to discuss the term and its definition. Steven Heine (2008) uses the term culture to refer to information passed, through social learning, between individuals. We are “learning” culture by obtaining relevant information. This information is shared by a certain number of individuals, and these, together with their knowledge can be referred to as “a culture” (Heine. 2008). Gert Hofstede and colleagues (2010) use a metaphor to define culture, the “software of the mind”, which is to be interpreted as a kind of framework of thinking, the parameters that we think, feel, and act within. It decides in which ways we are able to interpret and anticipate the events of our surroundings, and which actions we believe are available for us. What constitutes this mental software is, for the larger part, implicit. It is shared by many, but hard to see. “It is how it is” and we take it for granted, providing that we stay in our own, implicit culture. It is not until we compare to another culture that we are able to see that “what is” is not the same for all, and that much that we take for granted is not natural law, but rather culturally shared conceptions (Hofstede et al., 2010).

There are several definitions of culture based on geographical area and language (Triandis, 1995). If a group of people live close together they do not share the same culture if they cannot communicate with each other. From this it would be possible to define culture as a style of communicating, although this might be to oversimplify the concept, as the definition also implies that sharing a language is not enough if one does not share a common geographical area. Other definitions of culture have focused on values (Bond et al., 2004). In the core of a cultural group, there are the cultural values (Hofstede et al., 2010). Cultural values indicate what people of a certain group see as preferable over other things. This might be “group rights” over “individual rights” for example. Culture implies that a certain group

have certain customs, norms, role and values. Individuals within the group might differ slightly from this, but too much and they are no longer part of the cultural group (Triandis, 1994). Values affects how we act (although not always directly), and our cultural values affects how we act even if these values are implicit to us, we do what we “feel” is right, often not able to express why (Hofstede et al. 2010). One such culturally (and personally) directed value is who we let into our in-group, and which groups that our values, and moral codes are applicable on. For some it is the family, for some the nation, for some all human beings, and for some all living creatures etc. As we belong to different groups we can belong to several cultures and moral codes. It is important to remember that having the same nationality, does not necessarily equal having the same culture (Heine. 2008; Hofstede et al. 2010).

Culture has also been described as categorizations, attitudes, norms, beliefs, values, traditions that are shared by a group of people (Li, Triandis & Yu, 2006) or as shared knowledge and meaning (Greenfield, 2000). Much of this is implicit and is only evident (if ever evident) when we look at a culture from the outside or compare our own culture with another culture. The problem is that we are all cultural all the time, and that the very meaning of implicit is that we are not aware of it. This is an obstacle when we try to investigate the phenomena, we are trapped in a Catch 22 of sorts. It might be argued that culture cannot be understood from the outside as so much of it is implicit, to try to study a culture outside one’s own would then always lead to misunderstandings and misconceptions, but the fact that much of culture is implicit also means that there might be a need for several and different cultural perspectives to detect the cultural meaning patterns (Greenfield, 2000). The dilemma of the researcher is to weigh between these parts: to not truly understand versus to not truly see the cultural aspects. Therefore, there can never be a perfectly “objective” or “complete” study of culture. We will have to assemble the perspectives part by part. We need both perspectives, both the insiders and the outsiders to fully understand culture (as far as this is possible at all).

Discussions about method in culture

There is no studying of humans without the implicit studying of culture. This is true both for the researched and the researcher, all cultures involved on all sides will influence research. Therefore, all psychology is cultural psychology by its very nature. This has not, however, always been recognized, and the specific problems associated with culture are often not noticed in mainstream psychology. The branch of psychology that specifically deals with culture has long known about these difficulties, and there are three major ways to approach them. Three approaches to cultural research are: Indigenous, Cultural, and Cross-cultural. I will present them here as different methods, but it is very possible to combine them in different ways.

Cross-cultural Psychology

Cross-cultural psychology uses the prevalent positivistic research paradigm in psychology and transfers it to culture. Culture is treated as a variable among others and is often examined with the help of dimensional theories (Greenfield, 2000; Hofstede et al., 2010; Triandis, 2000). Cross-cultural psychologists compare cultures by using the same measurement in two settings. If the researcher is interested in self-efficacy for instance, she will use a questionnaire or an experiment that she distributes /perform in two different cultures. The difference in self-efficacy is then attributed to culture. Cross-cultural psychology uses the same terminology (although, when needed, translated to local languages, which raises questions about the possibility to transfer meaning by simply translating words) for all cultures. The variables are constructed the same way, trying to keep everything except the culture constant in order to isolate the variables of interest. The goal is to find what is universal and what is culturally specific, and to generalize. The assumption is that the meaning of a construct remains the same (e.g. self-efficacy means the same no matter which culture) between cultures (Triandis, 2000). The assumptions underlying cross-cultural

psychology can be questioned. It is bold to assume that complex constructs have the same meaning when taken away from their contexts, when relatively simple objects, like bread, do not (for a more elaborate discussion on the contextuality of bread see Chapter 5).

Indigenous Psychology

This branch of psychology assumes that there are no universals. It is founded upon the belief that there are no general constructs, or at least that it is not wise to assume that there are. Indigenous psychologists believe that each culture needs to find its own definitions and construct their own, indigenous, terms and scales, assuring that the concepts investigated are relevant to the culture at hand. For an indigenous psychologist psychology originates from specific cultures and can only be understood within that culture's specific framework. All concepts used in psychology should derive from the culture where they are studied, and a concept developed in one culture is not applicable in another. Indigenous psychology therefore becomes sensitive and responsive to the cultural specifics (Triandis, 2000).

Although, indigenous psychology focuses on studying the culturally specific, and the core of the approach is to develop both terms and methods within the culture to be researched (Greenfield, 2000), in practice the methods used are very close to the cross-cultural ones, they are, for the most part, positivistic using quantitative surveys and experiments and looking for variables (Triandis, 2000). It is, thus, only the concepts researched that gets adapted to the culture, not the methods.

Cultural Psychology

Cultural psychology is even more context-dependent than the indigenous psychology as it assumes that culture is an inseparable part of the person and will affect everything that this person construct, perceives, thinks, behaves etc. It mainly focuses on meaning and how culture is a part of the meaning-making within and between people (Greenfield, 2000; Triandis, 2000; Valsiner, 2000; Valsiner, 2014). This branch is more

focused on what a culture is and means, than comparing variables, believing that culture is not a variable that it is possible to isolate. Instead of trying to conduct the research the same ways with the same concept over cultures, we should aim to find ways which are possibly not the same, but that means the same thing. The procedure and method, as well as the subject might therefore need to vary between cultures. Cultural psychology emphasizes on the construction of meaning (Greenfield, 2000; Valsiner, 2014). The problem with this approach is also its strength, it is hard to compare and generalize the results from cultural psychology in the positivistic way that we are normally used to in research (Triandis, 2000).

Conclusion

After comparing these three approaches it should be evident that the cultural psychology is the most appropriate approach (and perhaps the only possible approach) to combine with a phenomenological standpoint, as the other two approaches are closely tied to the idea of measuring variables instead of understanding meaning.

The nature of culture

It is hard to distinguish where a culture ends, and another begins, cultures are not mutually exclusive. In the discourse following growing xenophobic and ethnophobic tendencies in Sweden, a comedian, Soran Ismail, (Lennartsson, 2013) said:

“But if I am half Swedish, then I am only half as much Swedish as you. This is why I have arrived at the conclusion that I am double, not half. I am a hundred percent Swede and a hundred percent Kurd”

(Soran Ismail as referred to in Västgötabladet 2013-05-08, my translation).

This example shows that one person can incorporate more than one full culture at the same time. This means that there are no real limits, or borders, between cultures. Cultures are not only hard to separate, they are also constantly changing. A culture in a nation, a company,

or a family etc. might change over time (Heine, 2008). This means that cultural information might grow obsolete (Heine, 2008; Bond & Smith, 1996), so that studying culture is never done.

Cultural dimensions

Much research concerning culture tries to classify culture and cultural traits using different dimensions. There are many such dimensions and many suggestions how to use and interpret them. The dimensional thinking is problematic, from more than one perspective. First, measuring cultural dimensions might create an illusion that culture is a matter of different values on variables. It is not. Culture is not possible to divide and put together like Lego. It is, however, possible to see similarities and differences between cultures. It is also possible to categorize these differences, but it is perilous to do so with the help of already defined dimensions. I believe the problem with these types of analysis is the goal to find general dimensions. This implies that there are general and stable dimensions that have a value for understanding culture. In Swedish there is a saying: “You will get the answer like you ask”, and I believe a part of the reason why Hofstede and others have found these dimensions is because this is what they wanted to find. This does not mean that the dimensions do not exist, but it does have an impact in weighing their importance.

This leads us to the next problem, that we might attribute differences to culture, instead of other feasible causes (such as methodology, GNP, student-samples etc.). The risk for confirmation bias is high here as well. When we are studying culture, it is tempting to ascribe all our findings to culture. There is thus, a risk of seeing things that are not there and a risk of not seeing things that are there, which brings the third problem. By looking at the already existing dimensions we might miss other, better fitting dimensions or other things that define culture but that lies outside the scope of the dimensions we are using. This threat is especially large when a culture has specific traits unique to that culture. Fourth, much of the

research in culture does not consider the changes in culture over time and context and the ability of incorporating many cultural identities within the same person or, as is often the case, nationality. Lastly, the categories are often problematic, if they become too narrow, few cultures will fit into them, if they become too broad, most cultures will fit in every category one way or another. I believe that this is an issue with the most used scales such as individualism/collectivism, they have become so broad that they could incorporate any cultural aspects. This is a serious threat to validity as it is nearly impossible to disprove the existence of these dimensions, they are so big and filled with so much different information that it is easy to argue for them in any situation. This does not mean, however, that the theories are wrong. Just that they are impossible to disprove, and therefore do not fit into the positivistic frame of science, and, even presuming that the positivists are wrong, the least one can expect is that their theories fit their own scientific criterion.

Culture and personality

Cross-cultural psychology has been comparing cultures to each other for a long time when issues have been found one has typically attributed the cause of these differences to the cultural aspect (Matsumoto & Hee Yoo, 2006; Allik & McCrae, 2004). To belong to different cultures or the same culture has often been defined as not sharing or sharing nationality (Allik & McCrae, 2004). The problem with this viewpoint is that there are many other aspects than nationality which forms culture. Such things could be social class, which part of the nation one comes from, level of education, profession etc. The typical cross-cultural research has (like in other fields of psychology) students as their primary respondents. Differences or similarities between countries could therefore be due to differences, not in culture, but the type of person who studies at university. Similarities could be due to the same thing and have nothing to do with the countries' culture but rather student culture.

Methodological equivalence between cultures

It is perhaps exaggerating to say that the most common way of measuring psychological issues in research today is the quantitative questionnaire, but if it is it is not far from the truth. This type of research is not unproblematic. Even though the knowledge about language differences and translation problems has been known for a long time few researchers make a manse to correct for these problems. Even fewer correct for the problem of measurement equivalence (Masumoto & Hee Yoo, 2006). Does the same question (even though perfectly equivalent language wise) measure the same thing in different cultures? Sometimes a culture lacks a concept that the researcher's culture takes for granted. Many researchers take questionnaires as face value; they look the same and the two groups completed the survey in the same type of environment. What they fail to see is that that environment can have very different meanings to the people of the different cultures although it has the same value for the researcher and her associates. A simple example is the example of age. In Europe we mostly count our age from the day we are born and then in years. In the Chinese tradition (this has now become westernized) a child's age is counted in how many Spring Festivals he or she has lived, a baby born just before the spring festival becomes one on the new year and so does the baby who was born a day after the last one, whereas in Western culture you count your age from the day you were born. The results are thus not comparable in the qualitative positivistic sense, and this is only for such a relatively simple construct as age! Imagine the problems with other, more complicated constructs such as gender, education, health, emotion etc. The same problems with meaning of construct, is of course present in interviews as well, although it is easier to spot when conducting an interview as the respondent have the opportunity to signal or question if something feels uncomfortable or if he or she does not understand. This makes the interview more adaptable

to cultural differences (although not perfect and still with the bias of non-equivalence) than the quantitative survey or experiment situation.

The open interview and/or the qualitative questionnaire is often a more culturally-adaptable way of research. An open question in an interview or in a questionnaire is free to be understood as the respondent intends it, not as the researcher intends. The possibilities to answer in a way adapted to and meaningful for, the respondents' own contexts and life world is larger when the questions are open-ended. But there might still be equivalence problems. The Methodological equivalence is when the same method is understood in the same manner across cultures (Heine, 2008). To get the same quality of data is not to examine everyone in the same manner. Some people might be more comfortable with a written answer, others in open-interviews. The open-interview might not need to look the same in different contexts in order to be methodically equivalent, in some contexts there is a need for more direct questions, or perhaps a group interview, to get the same quality of answers as a classic open-ended interview would get in another context (Gustafsson Jertfelt, Blanchin, & Li, 2016).

Chapter 3

Culture and morality

This study focuses on a specific moral behaviour (with behaviour I am referring to the act of non-conforming) in different contexts. It is thus important to discuss the moral contexts of the respondents. To understand the complexity and contextuality of morality it is essential to discuss different moral traditions in the different parts of the world where the respondents originate. Like defining culture and morality this is a vast task, and therefore I present a summary of the history of moral philosophy in the Western world and in China. As in all summaries, it is important to know that this is not the whole picture. I have tried to select from the criteria of relevance to this study, but the notion of relevance is highly subjective, and I am sure that many other aspects of moral, moral philosophy, and moral history might be considered relevant. It is impossible, however, to paint a full picture within the frame of this thesis. All history, all philosophical thoughts, traditions, and schools, are in a way intertwined, and to give a full contextuality therefore implies painting the full world history of moral philosophy and tradition.

History of Morality

Moral is closely tied to culture. Like culture, we take moral and moral rules for granted. Just as cultural frameworks of interpretation moral rules are often perceived as “just the way it is”. This implicit frame of mind can remain implicit as it works fast and well, and because we normally engage in environments where everyone else takes the same frames for granted, usually without us having to reflect further upon their content. It is part of the implicit cultural and normative framework that forms culture. It is known as “common sense” (Cosmides & Tooby, 2008). When we want to compare people with different frameworks, or when people with different frameworks come together, it is important to uncover these implicit assumptions to avoid some of the more obvious misunderstandings

(misunderstandings can never be wholly avoided, nor should they be, but every misunderstanding has its time and place).

A phenomenological study is always searching for the meaning of something, and it is therefore imperative to have an understanding of the contexts involved. In this case, to understand some of the different meanings of morality. One way to start is by having a brief look at how the concept of morality within the different cultural contexts have been formed through history. As I have stated before I am not a moral philosopher, nor am I a historian, but I will attempt to make a short summary of the Western and Chinese history of moral philosophy. The purpose is to provide a basis to understand the basic moral contexts in Europe and China. I am aware that I leave very important moral and philosophical influences out, such as the impact of the Islamic scholar tradition in the preserving and development of the philosophical heritage of ancient Greece, as well as the Jewish cultural influence, the neo-protestant movements of Scandinavia, and much of the Maoist movement etc. I am not unaware, nor unappreciative of these influences, the aim is not to make a full summary of all moral philosophy but to provide a context to a reader.

The Origins of Western Moral Philosophy

Pre-Christian Morality

I will start, as I believe is custom, with the Greek philosophers. Socrates (approx..469 – 399 BC) was one of the first philosophers who separated ethics and morals from his discussions about nature. Before him, ethics and morals had mostly been discussed as a part of nature, obeying under natural laws. He made happiness the starting point of moral reflections and claimed that there is a link between happiness and virtue. Socrates (as well as Aristotle who followed him) believed that happiness is the only thing we pursue for its own sake (Yu, 2005), and you cannot be truly happy unless you are also virtuous (Aristotle, 349 B.C./1967 A.D.; Cooper, 2005). Plato (427 – 347 BC) and Socrates believed in a virtue-based

morality and saw morality as a learnable trait (Schofield, 2005). To be virtuous incorporates more than the moral duty to *be* good, to be good you must *do* good, and, on the other end of the scale, by doing bad you are unvirtuous or bad. Socrates himself seems to have lived as he learned, he died as the result of standing up for his thoughts and principles. Socrates' disciple, Plato, later wrote that a person who is worth anything acts, as he believes is good or right without consideration of his own life. He also claimed that the views of the group are not necessarily right or good (Cooper, 2005).

Socrates and Plato were followed by another philosopher in the field of moral, Aristotle (384 – 322 BC) who, like them, believed that happiness is what we all pursue and that pursuing true happiness is morally good, as a good person becomes happy for the right, virtuous reasons. He believed that morality could be personified by a person who possesses the right virtues (Aristotle, 349 B.C./1967 A.D). Aristotle saw morality as a duty to be as good as one could be, a common view in early European philosophy (Haidt & Joseph, 2006; Tiberius, 2015). Although Aristotle wrote about universal virtues, he believed the rules of morality could be adapted to the situation (Aristotle, 349 B.C./1967 A.D; Carr, 2007). A morality based on virtues (a.k.a. moral traits), and not absolute codes of conduct, makes it easier to act morally in different contexts. The virtuous know the right code of conduct in all situations, whereas situational specific rules might fail if we encounter situations which are new to us, where the good cause of action not previously defined (Tiberius, 2015). One of the most important virtues, according to Aristotle as well as Plato and Socrates, is wisdom, with wisdom you will be able to act morally, without it you cannot. To be moral is also to be wise (Cooper, 20005; Shofield, 2005; Tiberius, 2015). This view of morality requires that the agent has a free will, if the agent should act on instinct, or out of fate, the action loses its morality, as it then would be done independently of wisdom (Irwin, 2005). Aristotle believed that all are striving to be good and to act good, he, in a sense believed that all are motivated to do

good (“all” in this case excludes women and slaves). Virtues, such as wisdom and courage, helps us to act good, and the actions of virtuous people lead to happiness and a flourishing society (Aristotle, 349 B.C./1967 A.D). Morally good actions are, according to Aristotle, actions that promote good for others, not just for oneself (Irwin, 2005).

Introducing Christian Morality

The virtue-theories that followed the introduction of Christianity in Europe were a mix between the early pre-Christian works of Plato and Aristotle, and the new Christian moral philosophy, where the will of God is the motivation of actions. These new Christian virtues can be exemplified by 13th Century philosopher, Thomas Aquinas’ “Cardinal Virtues”. These are: Prudence, the goodness of acting wisely and cautiously without succumbing to fickle, and probably ill-founded, impulses; Justice, doing what one ought to do, exhibiting self-control enough to do what is right; Temperance, to restrain one’s passions and avoid doing anything excessively, and lastly; Fortitude, to be firm and resolute in the face of strong emotions or desires (Baumeister & Exline, 1999; Kretzmann & Stump, 2005).

With the introduction of Christianity, the focus of morality shifted. It was still positive to be virtuous, but it is perhaps even more important not to “sin”, not to be immoral as this might lead to eternal damnation. The opposites of the Christian virtues can be exemplified by the “Cardinal sins”, or the “seven sins” as we often know them. They were, however, originally eight and can be traced back to the Christian monk Evagrius of Pontus (345 – 379) who identified eight thoughts that a monk should be wary of as they might lead him to sin (Sinkewicz, 2003). These are (in Evagrius’ version): gluttony, fornication (or lust), avarice (or greed), pride, sadness (because of frustration), anger (unless the anger is directed against demons), vainglory (or boasting), and acedia (or sloth). The monk must fight these sins and sinful thoughts, if he fails in this, he will be abandoned by God. Aristotle (349 B.C./1967 A.D) also discussed the lack of virtue, although he did not call it sins (as he was

pre-Christian). He mentioned similar markings of a non-virtuous person, he advocated self-restraint and condemns gluttony, boasting, pride, and sexual promiscuity. In all, the virtues are quite similar, but the motivation to be virtuous changes. Aristotle (349 B.C./1967 A.D) advocated a virtuous life as this will lead to happiness, while the Christian moral philosophy instead motivated a virtuous life with the favour (or threat of disfavour) of God (Baumeister & Exline, 1999; Sinkewicz, 2003). Furthermore, the Christian virtues and sins are not just about how one acts, they also concern thinking. Immorality, according to this view, entailed immoral thoughts, not only immoral actions.

In the 16th century, the Catholic Church was challenged by the new teachings of the Reformation. The ideas of the Reformation affected the view of morality in Europe, perhaps most in the Northern-Western part of Europe. The Reformation introduced new moral duties, such as the duty to work hard. Hard work and fulfilment of one's obligations became not just a mundane duty, but a moral duty, and the hard work and the asceticism that had been the ideal for the monasteries became the ideal for the ordinary parishioner as well. Another thing added by the Reformation was the personal responsibility for one's actions. In the Catholic church, priests can grant you absolution and forgiveness for any immoral acts you might have committed. This possibility disappeared with the Reformation where one became personally responsible for one's action and no absolution could be given except from God (Weber, 1930). The Christian view of morality has had a profound impact on the Western European morality (Haiming, & Akina, 2012), even in secular countries such as Sweden. Just as the antique Greek philosophers' virtues were transformed into Christian virtues, Christian morality continues up to this day to form the hegemony, although rewritten in secular terms.

Moral Philosophy of the Enlightenment

Following a long period of time where the Church was viewed as the only legitimate source of moral guidance, a new era, the Enlightenment, dawned in the late 17th

century, to blossom in the 18th century. The Church's monopoly on moral doctrine was broken, and secular philosophers started to make an impact on the view of morality.

John Locke (1632 - 1704) thought that by finding the building blocks of morality, we can build ideas and make a set of moral systems to avoid conflict based on logic (Leary, 1980). Locke advocated for religious tolerance (although himself a devoted Christian), as he believed that the state should not impose a specific faith onto its people. He also believed that citizens have the moral right to revolt if the ruler puts his own interests ahead of the people's. Morality, according to Locke, has three areas, a divine law, a civil law, and a social law. The divine law points out what is wrong or right in terms of sin or moral duties, the civil law points out what is wrong or right from the legislative perspective (e.g. what should and what should not be a crime), and the social law, or the law of reputation, tells us what is socially acceptable or unacceptable. These three aspects of morality are, according to Locke, all needed to decide what is good moral conduct. As morality, according to this view, stems from reason, it follows that any person capable of reason can act morally (Ayers, 2005). Locke's ideas open for a more varied view of what moral behaviour entails, as he believed that it consists of several areas, which can vary between contexts. Locke was less of a universalist than his predecessors who promoted Christian morality.

Another influential philosopher of this new era was David Hume (1711 – 1776). He continued the antique theme of viewing morality, or a moral person, as (having) a set of virtues (Curry, 2008). Like Aristotle (349 B.C./1967 A.D), Hume (1777/1912) placed justice among the moral virtues and went one step further to say that justice, in its true sense, is everything man needs. If everyone had this virtue, no laws would be needed. According to Hume (1777/1912), morality is closely knit to emotions and empathy. Without them there cannot be any moral sentiment, everything would seem equally good (or bad). Bad is what makes people feel bad, and good is what makes people feel good (not necessarily in a

hedonistic sense, but in the long run, and for all, ideally). What is morally good is therefore what makes people feel better, and we need emotion, social interaction, and rational intellect to determine what that is. Thus, Hume took God out of the equation. Virtue becomes a personal responsibility, as free will and the sanctity of the free will become more important than following a doctrine (Flanagan, Sarkissian & Wong, 2008). Hume also separated moral from reason and claimed that there cannot be an objectively true moral, as morality is not the product of observation but by emotion and affects. Although reason plays a part in determining what is morally good, emotion and affect are needed, and there can be no “objective” study of morality (Garrett, 2005).

Other philosophers of the Enlightenment wanted a moral free from the church and free from old customs. A new moral philosophy by the principle of utilitarianism was created, first by Jeremy Bentham (1781), and then later developed by John Stewart Mill (1863). According to utilitarianism, whatever produces the greatest benefit for the greatest number of people is the morally better choice (Singer, 1996; Tiberius, 2015), just as Aristotle thought, utilitarianists believe that happiness is the ultimate goal for humans (Skorupski, 2005). The motives of the actor are not important, so if the person who commits the action does so motivated by purely selfish purposes, this does not affect the morality of the action (other than possibly make the action more moral as the person acting also benefits from it) (Tiberius, 2015). Since its founding, Utilitarianism has had a profound impact on Western philosophy of moral and it continues to be a major field in moral philosophy with modern followers such as Peter Singer (1996) who further developed its thoughts. The principles of utilitarianism also bear a close resemblance to the principle of harm reduction and fairness which Jonathan Haidt developed to classify moral values in different cultures (Haidt & Joseph 2004).

Another philosopher, some say the most influential of his time, in the European era of Enlightenment was Immanuel Kant (1724 – 1804). Kant claimed, in oppose to the utilitarianists and naturalists such as Bentham and Hume, that the existence of God is fundamental to morality. Without God, he claimed, there can be no morally right or wrong, and for this purpose we need God, whether he physically exists or not (Guyer, 2005). At the same time, he advocated for the study of ethics from a purely philosophical standpoint, without attention to common practices nor the scientific thought. He wanted the philosophers to find a pure morality, a philosophical morality, which was transcendental in its nature (Flanagan, et al. 2008; Guyer, 2005; O’Neill, 2005). Kant turned against the utilitarian notion that the consequences should be the only measure of the morality of an action; he reintroduced motives into the moral discourse. He claimed that if the motives were good, but the consequences end up being bad, then the action is morally sound (although perhaps poorly executed or planned). He believed, in short, the thought is what counts (Tiberius, 2015). Kant believed that morality cannot be based on self-interest but must be based on duty to others (Ansell-Pearson, 1991), and moral rules must be based on universal principles to be justifiable. There cannot be one moral for me and another for you. If it is wrong to break a promise, this is wrong no matter who the agent is (O’Neill, 2005). To Kant, moral is a duty, and we are obliged to act morally (Tiberius, 2015). This might be seen as a top-down view of morality, where morality is something that is imposed on us, rather than derived from the individual (Carr, 2007), although the duties that Kant identified included duties to oneself. Kant found four types of moral duties: to avoid certain acts against oneself (such as self-harming), to avoid doing certain acts against others (such as deception of a friend), to do certain things to oneself (such as cultivating one’s own potential), and, lastly, to do certain things to others (such as showing kindness). To fail to do one of the first two duties is blameworthy and to act in the last two ways are praiseworthy. The first two duties can be

implemented toward all always as they entail a non-action (ex. to refrain from violence), while the second two are impossible to implement toward all (ex. it is impossible to help all people) (Guyer, 2005). As other philosophers in the era of Enlightenment Kant also underscored the sanctity of free will, justice and equality for all human beings. This is rather logical if one follows his universalistic principle of morality. If it is wrong for you to restrict my freedom, it should be wrong for me to restrict yours (Guyers, 2005, O'Neill, 2005).

Moral Philosophy in the Modern Era

Moving into the moral philosophy of the modern era, we are increasingly moving toward a more secular and individualistic view of moral and moral obligations. Beginning in the 19th century John Stuart Mill, and other liberalists turned against the old tradition, which started with Aristotle, that the community should foster a good ethical or moral sense into its citizens. Mill and other liberal philosophers refuted the idea that the state should impose a “personal” moral onto its citizens (Mill, 1859; Simmonds, 2005). This does not, however, mean that people should act as they please, but that there needs to be a discussion about moral in society, instead of having a subjective, state-sponsored morality imposed on its citizens. The respect of the free will and the possibility to choose one’s own ideology should be the priority (Simmonds, 2005).

This trend in a strengthening the individualistic aspects of morality grew stronger with people such as Friedrich Nietzsche (1844 - 1900), who rejected a general moral code altogether, based on all humans being unique and therefore should have a unique set of morals. Any moral that is imposed on a person from outside is, according to Nietzsche, a “slave-morality”. Nietzsche did not reject moral rules altogether but the morality he saw in society. He believed this to be a moral built to uphold a power position for the upper classes, and perhaps especially the priests but keeping people in a constant state of guilt or fear of guilt (Clark, 2005). However, Nietzsche believed in a noble, personal moral, integrated

within the person, morality is also bound to the actions of the person, not the will. Nietzsche did not believe in separating the deed from the doer in the aspect of morality. This means that nobody is good or evil before they act. This freedom of personal morality comes with responsibility. You are alone responsible for your actions, no matter what your intentions were (Ansell-Pearson, 1991).

Sigmund Freud followed the thoughts of Nietzsche, in a way, when he placed the origin of morality outside ourselves, saying that morality is something that is imposed on us by society and our social experiences. Unlike Nietzsche, Freud did not believe that this makes morality less “moral”. He did not believe that we would be better without it. On the contrary, he believed that morality is necessary to form a healthy human being and a healthy society. According to him, morality is a consequence of society and a necessity for supplying the dynamic conflict that works as fuel in our development. However, it is also a source of repression and neurosis when the moral demands of society become too strict, so the people living therein has no natural outlets for their impulses (Carr, 2007; Freud, 1930). The consequences of morality are, according to him, both positive and negative, but its existence is necessary for upholding a functional and healthy society (Freud, 1930). Freud opposed religion, which he believed is an unwillingness to grow up to a responsible adult. To believe in God and church becomes a replacement for a parent who tells you what is right or wrong and punish you or reward you accordingly. Religious morality therefore prevents a healthy and independent moral self and makes for adults who still morally act like children (Freud, 1932/2000). Freud even speculated about if having religious or spiritual sentiments is a symptom of an ego that has failed to separate itself properly from the outside world (Freud, 1930). Consequently, Freud believed in the need for morality and moral norms in society, but this morality should not rest upon religion (Freud, 1932/2000).

In the mid 1900's Elizabeth Anscombe criticized the paradigm in the moral philosophy of the time, of what she called the consequentialism (McNaughton, 2005; Solomon, 2008). Consequentialism holds that an action that produces the greatest good is the best action, no matter how gruesome the action itself (it is closely associated with utilitarianism). According to consequentialism, it could be right to torture a baby if it saves the lives of ten other people. Anscombe turned against this notion, and by doing so followed Kant, and the ethical deontologists, who say that the right is independent of the good. Intention, and the act itself counts, not just the result (McNaughton, 2005). Anscombe advocated in favour of a moral philosophy where the ends do not necessarily justify the means and where intents, desires pleasures, and will has to be considered. She also thought that there should be no "oughts" in morality, as these might be founded upon previous moral standards, which does not necessarily have to be valid anymore. She believed that we should use reason instead of ought, although reason should involve some principles such as the sanctity of life (she was anti-abortion) and the preservation of traditional marriage. It should also be based on faith in God as he is the reason why we uphold these necessary principles (Solomon, 2008).

To conclude; there is, seemingly, a separation between facts and morality in the Western world (Haiming, & Akina, 2012), but this is only surface deep, the science of man has its fundamentals in morality, because we, as human beings, are moral and value our behaviours constantly. Many philosophers have claimed that God gives us a reason to act morally (Baumeister, & Exline, 1999; Flanagan, Sarkissian, & Wong, 2008; Guyer, 2005). This is a reoccurring dilemma in Western moral philosophy, where we want moral to be "rational" in a logic sense, but we still want to keep the pieces based on our traditions and faiths. Consequently, the Western view of morality tends to become a mix of Christian ideas, and the logical, rational traditions of the scientific principles.

Western morality in the era of globalization

Roy Baumeister and Julie Exline (1999) suggests that modern morals are redefined by three trends. First, the stability of our social relationships has reduced, according to the authors, the modern person does not have the same stable relationships during her/his lifetime as he/she used to have. In the globalized world, people often live in big cities where many of our daily interactions are with people that we will never see again, as opposed to the small villages or communities where we lived before urbanization. In such a society, we know that we will meet every person we interact with again. The relative anonymity of the larger city makes it easier to break certain moral codes (such as fidelity to your spouse or helping an older adult with their groceries), but it also diminishes the impact moral has in harmonizing a society. The second trend is, according to Baumeister and Exline (1999), the economic changes, which has weakened the traditional basis of morality. One of the ideas behind our current system of capitalism is that self-interest equates with the interest of society (if everyone does what is beneficial for them, this will also benefit the society). Self-interest then becomes morally sound even for the larger group, not just for the benefit of the individual (Baumeister & Exline 1999). Another way of viewing the impact of capitalism on morality is that everything will sort itself out morally in a free market economy where the individuals are free. They will choose from their own intellect and interests, but to maximize profit for themselves, they need to act morally in some ways. This is because moral actions benefit the group and free individuals realise that they cannot live without society (Ansell-Pearson, 1991). The third trend that Baumeister and Exline (1999) sees is the trend of increased individualism; we are taught to put our own goals in front of the goals of society, and to follow our own taste and thinking. I do not, however, believe that this trend is new to the Western society (see the brief history of Western moral philosophy above), but there is a strong possibility that it has become more accentuated in the last decades.

In the globalized era, many no longer have God or religion as their ultimate judge of what is morally right or wrong. This raises the issue of a common morality. A common conception of morality might be needed to give a foundation of cohesion, and this might be especially true in post-religious societies, as the only shared moral norm becomes the social norm. In other words, we need to replace the religious faith with some other kind of moral code of conduct (Carr, 2007). Some recent trends, such as fighting for environmental causes, and the almost obsessive focus on a healthy lifestyle, not eating sugar, exercising etc. might be examples of this kind of post-religious rules of morality.

Summary

Western morality has its foundation in the thoughts of ancient Greek philosophers. Much of their thoughts about morality has, in one form or another, survived up to this day. The focus on the individual and her/his traits is still central in the moral discourse and the virtues have remained more or less the same (courage, wisdom, benevolence etc.). Parallel to this trait-based view of morality there has been a discussion about the necessity of God in the moral discourse. The Western view of morality seems to be torn between the will to make moral rational and scientific, and the inability to find a truly rational moral. One might say that Western morality is plagued by two conflicts: the conflict between individualism, the freedom of the individual, and the good of society. We seem to believe them equally worthy of protection, and we have a hard time deciding which should be more important when the two principles conflict. Different eras have had different solutions to this, but the conflict is never truly solved. The second conflict stands between religion or emotion, against the rationality of science and the scientific principle.

The Origins of Chinese moral philosophy

I will try to explain some of the core structures of Chinese philosophy asking the reader the purpose of this is only to provide a basic context to the moral climate and tradition in China, it does not aim to be an in-depth investigation or interpretation of Chinese philosophy and culture, which, given its four-thousand years, one billion citizens, and close to ten million square kilometers would be a life's work at the least.

Chinese society is on the one hand very diverse, with differences in climate, traditions, religions, cultural background, etc., but in the other hand, China has been one united country for thousands of years, and the main Chinese cultural ethnicity is Han, constituting 92 percent of China's population (Lilly, 2009), is present in all parts of China. One, a perhaps paradoxical reason for this relative cultural homogeneity, might be the Han culture's tolerance of differences. The Chinese traditional philosophy concerns the structure of the society and does not condemn or promote any specific religion or deny people their old traditions, it just smoothly adds the dimension of the Chinese way of creating a stable society to the already existing paradigm. Chinese philosophy promotes adapting to the circumstances and this renders a pragmatic outlook on life. It is a philosophy that teaches perseverance, it is believed that staying and enduring hardship while waiting for better times makes you stronger. Chinese philosophy, especially the school of Yin-Yang, teaches a balance in the universe. Therefore, there is a belief in China, that after bad times must come good. In the same notion they believe that after good times must come bad, this teaches us to be cautious in good times and hopeful in bad. After rain must come shine, but after sunshine, it will surely rain a lot (Lindqvist, 1989; Yu-Lan, 1948).

Much of Chinese philosophy concludes that people should try to be the best they can, but they should not go against their place or nature (Yu-Lan, 1948). So, if nature gives you lemons, you should not only make lemonade, but the best darn lemonade there can be.

You should not make any other type of beverage though, if given lemons, lemonade is what you should do. The highest achievement is being the best in what one does (lemonade) or what we are (lemonade makers). We are all humans, ergo, we should strive to be the best humans we can possibly be. The best of us will become sages; a sage is a morally perfect person. Chinese philosophers tend, in contrast to their European counterparts, to consider more practical and useful things rather than metaphysical discussions about the true nature of existence (even though metaphysical discussions do occur in the Chinese philosophy, but they have a less salient position), the emphasis is usually on the practical side (Hall & Ames, 2005a; Yu-Lan, 1948). Chinese philosophy is often concerned with society and how to live in harmony with others, conflicts, even intellectual ones, are often viewed as harmful to society. Harmony is more important than being “objectively right” (Hall & Ames, 2005a).

Until the 16th century China had been relatively isolated from Western influence, which means that up until this point the two cultural traditions had very little to do with each other and very little knowledge of each other (Hall & Ames, 2005a). The Chinese have not divided the world into races as the Europeans did. They divided it in to “civilized”, and “barbaric” people, which translates to “Chinese”, and “not-yet-Chinese”. By adopting the Chinese culture, the barbarian can become civilized. In this way, foreign people who have come to China, as well as minorities and invading forces have become Chinese as soon as they have adapted to the Chinese culture (Yu-Lan, 1948). Thus, Chinese culture is both excluding as it believes itself to be the only civilized culture, but it also includes as it invites anyone who wants to join.

The three systems

The traditional Chinese philosophy or culture contains three systems; Confucianism and Daoism which both have their origins in China, and Buddhism which originates from India, these three systems have sometimes been conflicting, but today they are

mostly integrated. All three viewpoints have the benefit of being flexible and inclusive, not advocating one absolute truth (such as the monotheistic statement of the “One God”), but permits more than one worldview, to which their philosophy can adapt and become an integrated part (Guan, 2013; Yu-Lan, 1948). There have been intellectual schisms between the three streams, and the three streams entail a myriad of different varieties, sometimes borrowing from each other, sometimes rejecting each other’s thoughts. These schisms have sometimes been accentuated by politics, as there have been many attempts of a “state philosophy” in China during the centuries (Yu-Lan, 1948). But for the most part the differences in philosophy and ideas have been tolerated and borrowing ideas between the three main schools of thinking have been common, and not seen as a problem. In this, these three streams of thinking resemble the Chinese signs, which can be used to write many languages, the same line of thinking can be used in different schools.

In opposition to the Christian theology where the earth is the property of man, the Chinese viewpoint has been that man is part of nature, just like all other things are. We are part of the ever-changing nature. The Change is slow but inevitable, things disappear but reappear in another form. The only constant is this slow change. Everything in nature has its opposite, every yin has its yang, and it is these opposites that makes the world go around, their opposing forces are the fuel that feeds the change, just like the different magnetic poles can create electricity in a generator. Without change, we will die, just as we would die if our blood stopped moving in our veins. A good person should not work against, nor should he/she speed up or change the direction of this slow change. He/she should see her-/himself as the small piece of the total creation he/she is. A moral person must, therefore, be humble, faithful, conscientious, calm, and benevolent. We are but small pieces of the puzzle, but we should aim to become as good as we can be within our boundaries. The perfect state of the world is when all opposing powers are present but have reached a place of balance, of harmony (Lindqvist,

1989). It is no accident that the fast speed train between Beijing and the ancient city Xian is called “Harmony”.

Many steps are taken to preserve and promote harmony, and the tolerance between different philosophical thoughts have helped in keeping a harmonious society. All three streams have a built-in tolerance for each other as they admit other possible ways to view the world, different to their own. Confucianism and Daoism emphasize harmony, and Buddhism acknowledges “all wisdom” as the “word of Buddha”, wisdom does not need to be spoken by a Buddhist to be wise. The coexistence of these three lines of philosophy is therefore made quite easy by their very own nature. There is a saying from the Song (960 -1279 A.D.) dynasty, which gives an example of how the three systems can be combined (Guang, 2013):

“Buddhism is for cultivation of the mind.

Daoism is for the cultivation of the physical body.

Confucianism is for the governing of the state.”

(Xi Guang, 2013 p.307)

Confucianism

The most influential philosopher in the Chinese context (and perhaps the most influential philosopher in the world, if looking at the number of people his teachings, directly or indirectly have affected), is Confucius (551-479 BC). His character is seen as an example of morality and proper conduct even today, and it has continuously been seen as such in China since his earthly life (Lau & Ames, 2005). For many years, all Chinese children who went to school started to read the “Four Books”. These are very important books on Confucian philosophy, even though none of them was written by Confucius himself. China has never had a unifying religion, but instead philosophy has played a similar role as the religion in other cultures, and so reading of the “Four Books” and “Five Classics” have taken the role that

religious texts often have played in Western societies. This means that there have been no powerful “church” or “priesthood” influencing Chinese thought and politics. The ethical conduct, and the later traditions, has been of greater importance in China. Everyone should study philosophy (Yu-Lan, 1948), just as everyone in the protestant Sweden of old should learn the catechesis and go to church.

Confucius’ school introduced the six arts, or the Six Classics (liu yi, 六藝). These are six classic books (of which one is lost, and so they are sometimes called the Five Classics) and are still studied to understand the philosophy of Confucius. Confucius wanted his students to be useful members of society and to serve the state. He held tight to the traditional values and ideas that came before him, even if he might have interpreted and added new meaning to the old traditions. He believed that problems in society would disappear if institutions and people who hold positions behaved in accordance with their purpose. Thus, the ruler shall be the ruler, the subject the subject and they should act according to their position. A ruler who does not act like a just and benevolent ruler is not a true ruler (Yu-Lan, 1948).

Apart from the “Four Books” and “Five Classics”, which are considered Neo-Confucian, many Chinese children have been taught to read with the help of “Three Characters Classic” where each sentence consists of only three characters, producing a sort of verse. The first sentence in this book states that the nature of man is good, a statement originating from the second most influential Confucian thinker, Mencius (or Mengzi, ca 372-289 B.C.) (Yu-Lan, 1948). Mencius, like Confucius, claims that a ruler, in order to be a true ruler, must act morally (Kim, 2014). According to Confucianism the father should be to the son what the emperor is to his subjects, there is a moral obligation to obey father and king, but there is also the obligation of the king and father to care for the son and the subjects. Rulers are seen as having an inherently high moral standard, they, like parents, know best. Moral and politics are then, traditionally, fused in China (Ping, Minghua, Bin & Hongjuan, 2004). To be

moral is to obey the moral ruler, obedience is, thus, seen as a moral virtue. However, according to the view of Mencius, it could be morally sound to disobey an immoral ruler, even though it goes against one's role as a subject. It is not immoral not to act as a true subject when the ruler himself is not true (Kim, 2014; Yu-Lan, 1948), and a true ruler is wise and good. A king is not a king just by assuming the role; he must also act according to the virtues of compassion, respect and sense of honour. In this code of conduct, Mencius further included: not taking bribes and to cultivate wisdom (this is the obligation of the whole ruling class). Obeying one's father, older brother or husband is very important to all people, no matter position and loyalty to the family is according to Mencius more important than the law (Kim, 2014). It is moral to uphold the structure of the society, and its members should perform their duties according to this structure (Ping et al, 2004; Yu-Lan, 1948). The hierarchical order of a good society should mimic the order in heaven (Yu, 2005). Contrary to the European thought about the King (ruling by the grace of God) the Confucian ruler should put the people first as the people are the most important element of the state. Mencius said that the ruler is the third in importance after the people and the spirits. The ideal ruler is a Sage, who rules with ren, yi, and li (see below). The opposite of a Sage ruler is a war leader who rules with force instead of virtue (Yu-Lan, 1948).

Confucian virtues

According to Confucius, there are several virtues that a man should strive to uphold; the first is yi, righteousness (義), to do what is correct and right in the situation, to do what one ought to do. The content of yi changes from person to person and the person's position in society. Different people have different moral duties, but always a duty to uphold them. Actions are only yi if the reason for them is moral, if one performs a moral action, for other reasons it is no longer yi (Yu-Lan, 1948) (in this respect it is comparable to Kant and

Anscombe who both believed that intentions should be considered when judging an action moral or not, see above).

The next virtue to consider is the one of ren, benevolence or human-heartedness (仁), which is to love others and to include all humans in one's love (it can be interpreted a little differently depending on the school and philosopher) (Cua, 2005; Haiming, & Akina, 2012; Yu, 2005; Yu-Lan, 1948), it is, according to many Confucian thinkers, the most important virtue. The actions following the virtue of ren are similar to the golden rule in Christianity; it is: "Do not do to others what you do not wish yourself" (Yu-Lan, 1948 p. 43). However, there is a positive aspect, which the golden rule lacks. Ren says: "Do to others what you wish yourself" (Yu-Lan, 1948 p.43), it is not only about avoiding bad actions but to promote good. The virtue of ren involves both action and non-action. Confucianism puts this into a hierarchical perspective, saying that one should treat one's superiors as one wants to be treated by your inferiors etc.

The third Confucian virtue is li (禮), rituals or proper conduct. A virtuous person knows how to act and acts appropriately. He/she performs the rites to honour the ancestors, he/she keeps up the traditions and he/she follows norms and conduct in society. The rule about the rites is puzzling as Confucians do not believe in any God. It has been suggested that this focus on li has a more symbolic purpose than a religious purpose. It is important to uphold certain traditions to form a sense of community and to foster stability in a society. Morality is a part of li, as they are rules of conduct. and we need moral rules to avoid disaster, but also to provide satisfaction (Yu-Lan, 1948). Individuals within the community should be aware of their responsibilities toward the community and their in-groups, and rebellious behaviours is only permitted when prevented to perform these duties (Haiming & Akina, 2012). The moral obligation equals one's obligation to the community, and the performance of rites (Guang, 2013; Haiming & Akina, 2012). To perform rites is seen to

bring harmony to the world and uphold the balance between this world and heaven, as well as in this world alone (Guang, 2013). A virtuous person, a gentleman, should not be for or against something, he will side with what is appropriate (Yu, 2005). To live according to li is to live according to tradition and ethics, not blindly, but guided by yi (Cua, 2005). To follow li is to become satisfied (Yu-Lan, 1948).

The fourth virtue is, according to Confucian thinkers, Zhi (智). It entails the ability to know what is right and fair, good or wrong (Yu-Lan, 1948). In a sense, it is the ability to understand how to perform yi, ren, and li, and might be compared to the Aristotelean virtue of wisdom.

Mencius and the virtues

Mencius developed Confucius' ideas further, and sometimes in a different direction. Confucius' teachings tell us to act according to our "ought", and that it is important to show ren. But he failed to explain why this is important. Mencius gave a reason: we do this because it is in our human nature to be good. There are, obviously, parts of us that can become evil, parts that are neither good, nor evil to begin with. But these parts represent our "animal" side and are not exclusively human. To be human, according to Mencius, one must have empathy, shame, modesty, and a sense of right and wrong. These are exclusive human attributes, and these are good. These attributes make the embryos for the four virtues that Mencius identifies: empathy leads to ren, shame leads to yi, modesty to propriety to li, and sense of right and wrong leads to Zhi. All these virtues are, thus, born from our human nature, form the exclusive attributes of humans. Ren in this case is not the same as loving all as we love our family members. Mencius still divides humans into different spheres. We should have ren to all, but the love and affection that we have for our family should be exclusive to them. Even if we do not feel the same love toward people from other families, ren commands us to act, and treat them, with the same respect and treatment as we would our own family, so that love for

our own family develops into ren for all people. In the same way as the embryos of our virtues lies in our human nature, the embryo of ren lies in our love for our family (Yu-Lan, 1948). Confucius tied the concept of ren to certain traits that makes a man “junzi” (noble, gentleman exemplary man) and the quality of being junzi is more important than one’s life, so therefore one’s sense of junzi is worth dying for according to Confucius (Yu, 2005).

Mencius thought that humankind is good by nature, but not all Confucian thinkers agrees, Hsun Tzu, for instance, thought that the nature of people is inherently evil, and goodness comes from society and culture. Goodness is something we need to strive and work for, but it is also attainable for everyone. Anyone can become a sage with hard work, according to Hsun Tzu. We need to help and support each other in culture and society to aspire to goodness and greatness. If left without a cultural order, we will soon revert to war over resources, we need li and yi to bring order to mankind, and to avoid slipping into a world of war and chaos (Yu-Lan, 1948).

Daoism (Taoism)

Dao (or Tao, 道) can roughly be translated as “the way”. To follow Dao is to follow nature, and to follow nature is to be good (Haiming, & Akina, 2012; Yu, 2005). It is important to distinguish the philosophical Dao from the religious Dao. The philosophical Dao puts great emphasis on following nature, for example, to accept death as a natural consequence of life, while the religious Daoism tries to work against nature, by finding ways to live forever and thus bend nature to one’s own will (Yu-Lan, 1948).

The Dao never changes as it is everything. It is timeless and eternal and everywhere all the time. According to Daoism, the true meaning of Dao can never be defined by words, it can only be suggested by words. Dao is much bigger than our possibility to explain it. A Daoist strives to get as close to the Dao as possible, and this might entail not

doing anything, as you follow the change of things, but remain still, just as the Dao (Yu-Lan, 1948) or as the bamboo, bowing in the wind (Lindqvist, 1989). If we do not interfere, things will become as they are intended. A Daoist wants to achieve harmony. This means that everything fits, in time, place and type with each other. Daoism emphasizes that man should do what is natural to him, so whereas Confucianism aims to uphold the structure of society and uphold the importance to live according to these rules, Daoism tries to promote the spontaneous and intuitive nature in man. The idea of being “just right” is important in Daoism. When people follow their nature and act “just right” in accordance with their nature, they act morally, because morality is the nature of man. We, if we are not hindered, cannot help but acting moral, just as we need food and drink, we need morality and virtue to stay alive. People, therefore, tend to act morally without even thinking about it, but it is also possible to actively cultivate virtues and morality (Yu-Lan, 1948).

We need to follow Dao to live because it is in our nature. Some are better in following the Dao than others, but even someone who is ignorant of the Dao must follow it to some extent, because otherwise he/she would not be human. Dao lies in all the things we need to do as human beings, and to understand and honour the significance of the mundane chores of daily life is important to understand Dao (Yu-Lan, 1948). Dao is not a pre-existing set of rules, but rather a way of reacting and relating to the world as it is here and now. People who have become experts in living according to Dao, do so easily, it has become natural for them, and it includes no sacrifice. To achieve this “natural Dao” one needs to cultivate oneself by engaging in specific tasks that include creativity and aesthetics. Virtue is often described, not by listing traits, but by describing sages or persons who have shown good examples of living virtuous lives (Hall & Ames, 2005b). Many sages in Daoism decided to live by themselves outside of society in nature to get closer to the Dao, the Confucian school questioned the morality of this as they saw serving society as one’s duty and to obscure oneself from it would

therefore be unvirtuous (Yu-Lan, 1948). According to the teachings of Dao the world should strive to follow the example of heaven, and to organize itself according to the structure in heaven, the will of heaven can be known through extensive observation and understanding (Yu, 2005), which is very close to the principles of modern science.

Different interpretations of Daoism

Some forms of Daoism (which grew from the philosophy of Yang Chu, ca. 400 B.C.) suggests quite radical ideas, especially compared to those of the other influential philosophies in China. Yang Chu's philosophy puts the self before all else. Other things, things outside the self, are just distractions from finding out what is important. This goes equally for other people and objects. The only thing that is important is life, and your own life especially. Life is the only thing that you cannot regain when lost, therefore your life should be the most valuable to yourself. To protect the own life, it is wise to always go the middle way; you should neither be good nor bad, just do what you must, survive and go unnoticed. There is the tale about the old oak which illustrates this point. The oak was not in the way, but its wood was useless. Because of this, no one cut it down. It had therefore become very old by being useless, being useless have been of the greatest use for it (Yu-Lan, 1948).

A less radical interpretation of the middle way of Daoism, are the thoughts of Lao Tzu, he said that the middle way was not going to extremes. Virtue becomes vice if done in excess. To nurture a talent too much might lead to arrogance and pride, and this is something we should avoid. One way to cultivate talents without going to extremes is to admit that everything holds its opposite, to learn one must admit that one does not know, to become strong requires admitting weaknesses etc. Humility is therefore virtuous, as it can help us acquire other virtues without letting them lead us to extremes (Yu-Lan, 1948). This discussion can be paralleled to Aristotle who praises the virtue of courage but warns that too much of it becomes a vice: recklessness (Aristotle, 349 BC/1967 AD). Overdoing is,

according to Daoism, worse than doing nothing at all, as doing something has made something stray farther from its natural state. A good ruler is therefore someone who rules as little as possible, only handling acute problems. Too much ruling will result in more problems (Yu-Lan, 1948). This line of thought is very close to the Western liberal thought of a night-watchman state. Lao Tzu's emphasis on our natural abilities, and development of what we naturally should be, was further developed in the thoughts of Chuang Tzu (361 – 286 B.C.). He believed that we should all strive for happiness (just like Aristotle thought), but that we all have different, individual pathways to happiness. We are happy when we are true to our nature, and when we get to use our natural abilities (Yu-Lan, 1948), much like the concept of self-actualization found in the theories of Carl Rogers and other humanists (Holt et al., 2015). We should therefore be free to develop in the way that fit us best, if we do that we will become happy and good. Following nature is the source of goodness, but following what men impose is the source of evil, according to Chuang Tzu. The laws, norms, and institutions of a society are suppressing this free cultivation of nature, in favour of conformity. This line of Daoism also rejects the idea of the golden rule. Instead of treating others as you like to be treated, you should treat others according to their needs, situation, and wishes, not yours (Yu-Lan, 1948).

Buddhism

Buddhism was introduced in China from India around 50 A.D. It has a much shorter history in China than the other two main philosophical directions (Daoism and Confucianism). Chinese Buddhism, therefore, has many features stemming from these two earlier schools of thoughts. Chinese Buddhism originates from the Mahayana-branch of Buddhism, and with its introduction to Chinese society came the concept of Karma to the Chinese (Yu-Lan, 1948). Buddhism combined with the belief of the ancestors' spirits gives the belief that Karma can be inherited so that the Karma of the ancestors can affect your own

life (Guang, 2013; Kim, 2014). The idea of Karma is easily combined with the ideas of Yin-Yang where one's actions are tied to nature so that bad actions might lead to an upset balance in nature (Yu-Lan, 1948). In Chinese moral philosophy there is no conflict between the will of the heaven and the benefit of the world, to gain heavens approval (and avoid things like natural disasters which are caused by immoral behaviour upsetting the harmony visive the heavens) you must cultivate your virtues (Lu, 2006), and avoid bad Karma. According to Buddhism life equals suffering, and the only way to end this circle of suffering is enlightening and finally to find Nirvana (Yu-Lan, 1948). Much of this is done by the cultivation of the mind through meditation. In one aspect Buddhism is hierarchal, people have different ranks in society and the respect for those above one's station is a strong moral virtue (Guang, 2013; Kim, 2014), but Buddhism also has a horizontal-side, everyone can be a Buddha if one acquires wisdom. (Guang, 2013).

Yin – Yang

Yin-Yang is more of a belief about the world than a philosophy; one might say that it, like Buddhism, is something in between religion and philosophy. Originally Yin – Yang comes from a school of fortune-telling and cosmology. It traces its roots back to around 400 B.C. and holds implications for traditional Chinese medicine. It states that there are two main opposing forces in nature, Yin and Yang. Yin signifies shade, wetness, stillness and the femininity, Yang symbolizes light, fire, action, and masculinity. When we act we must consider these two opposing forces in order not to upset their balance. If you behave against the will of nature, then nature will punish you. Therefore, a bad ruler will be haunted by natural disasters, because nature and man influence each other. So, if everything is in peace, the world is in harmony, and we know that we are behaving right (Yu-Lan, 1948).

Mohism

Mohism was founded by Mozi (479-381 B.C.) (Fraser, 2015; Yu – Lan, 1948) and it is possible that he had been a student of Confucius, but he grew to become one of the first critics of Confucius and Confucianism (Ivanhoe; 2005; Yu-Lan, 1948). The Mohists have several similarities to Western philosophers such as Socrates. They tried to reason with the help of logic and reason and they actively tried to criticize and discuss the different type of worldviews to uncover flaws in their reasoning (Ivanhoe, 2005; Fraser, 2015). Mozi advocated against the traditional political system, with its focus on family, that Confucius embraced. Instead he advocated for three “goods”: Wealth, order, and the population of the state. Mohists replaced the virtue of ren with “jian’ai” (兼愛, all-embracing love or impartial care) (Ivanhoe, 2005; Yu-Lan, 1948). The interpretation of jian’ai varies. Yu-Lan (1948) translated it to “all embracing love”. He believed that jian’ai means that all should love everyone equally without discrimination (as opposed to Confucian thought that thought that ren is to care for everyone appropriately depending on their place in society). Whereas Ivanhoe (2005) in “Routledge’s shorter encyclopedia of philosophy” translated jian’ai as “impartial care”. Impartial care takes away the emotional aspect of the “all-embracing love” but focus on the behavioural aspects. One should care for all without discrimination, no matter one’s emotions. Mohists also accused Confucianism of putting too much emphasis on rites (Ivanhoe, 2005; Yu-Lan, 1948) as this results in that no-one can become a virtuous person as the required ceremonial duties take too much resources, time and effort for any human being to be able to perform them (Yu-Lan, 1948).

The Mohist school is one of the earliest examples of philosophy containing consequentialism and/or utilitarianism. (Fraser, 2015; Yu-Lan, 1948). Like Confucianism, Mohism advocates for a strong, absolute leader given his power based on merit (Fraser, 2015). This leader needs to put the people first, and Mohism firmly opposes military

aggression and frivolous luxury. In addition, the ruler, and everyone else should act to avoid harm and to benefit the many. An absolute leader and a hierarchical society (where everyone's place is decided by merit) is central in the Mohist ideology, but the leader and the state should be working for the people, not the other way around (Fraser, 2015; Yu-Lan, 1948). Acts of altruism is, according to Mohists, not only good, but required. To be a good person is to do what benefits the good of the many even if that means disadvantages or harm to the self. This is combined with a belief that good things come to good people (the Mohist-school was developed before Buddhism's arrival in China, so it is not a matter of Karma). The Mohists school gives a higher reason for acting morally, namely the will the heavens who loves mankind and wants them to love each other. Everyone in society should follow the same standard, and no personal standards should be tolerated because this would lead to chaos (Yu-Lan, 1948).

Summary

There are three major schools of philosophy in China: Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism. The three of them complete each other and, even though there have been conflicts between them, they can, for the most part be combined. There are a couple of other influential trails of thought such as Yin - Yang and Mohism. The focus in Chinese philosophy is on balance and harmony, with nature, society, or Dao. A person is moral if he or she acts the best he or she can in the environment, situation, and role he or she is in. Inaction is more important than action as actions might disturb harmony.

Comparing Western morality to Eastern morality

Both Chinese and Western moral philosophy list virtues that are good to have. These do, however, look different even if they to some extent overlap each other. Yi, li, ren and Zhi are virtues which are comparable to the virtues of Western philosophers such as Aristotle, perhaps with the exception of li. Yi might be viewed as a mix of justice and

courage, ren, with benevolence, harm reduction and empathic love, Zhi with wisdom. Li, on the other hand, might be seen as a Chinese virtue. They are also easily comparable to the moral dimensions described Jonathan Haidt, Ren is comparable to harm reduction, yi to fairness, justice, and li to authority, sanctity.

In Chinese moral discourse is, contrary to the Western, there is a relative absence of Gods. The reason to behave morally lies not primarily in the loyalty to one God, but because it is beneficial both to society and the happiness for the individual. Moral actions, such as the rites performed to the ancestors, might be done to promote order and sense of community, even if one does not believe in the existence of spirits. So even if it is relatively free from Gods it is not free from sanctity, only it is justified by harmony more than a divine command.

In addition, Chinese philosophy seems to be relatively free of the Western conflict between individualistic freedom and the good for society. For most Chinese philosophers, there seems to be no conflict at all. Either they believe that people, when they are free to behave as they were meant to, behave in a way that benefits society, or they believe that a good society (or culture) makes people behave morally and this is for the benefit both to the person and society. In Western philosophy, on the other hand, it seems to be taken for granted that the individual's wishes are in conflict with the good of the many.

Both Western philosophy and Chinese philosophy links morality and virtues to the acts of self-restraint or self-control, although perhaps in different directions. In the Western way of thinking it is required a certain amount of self-control not to conform, to be brave, to stand out, but in the Chinese tradition one believes the opposite, that showing self-control is to harmonize with the group and assume one's appropriate role and performing one's duties with excellence. Seen like that it could perhaps show that the Chinese are more

inherently rebellious and Western more conformists, why else would we see their opposites to be a sign of strong self-control?

Western philosophy, derived from Socrates and his followers is often referred to as “rational”, while Chinese/oriental philosophy has been described as a religion/philosophy (Yu, 2005). This is an unfair statement on both accounts. In Western philosophy, even Socrates has a relation to God and to spirituality, and Chinese philosophy does not include God, or, in the case of certain branches of Confucianism, no belief in spirits or higher powers at all. It is also highly rational, founding the scientific principle much earlier than in the West, albeit not with the same impact, perhaps because of the Chinese philosophy’s ability to hold more than one thought at a time. Chinese philosophy has not, however, shown the same interest in logic (Yu-Lan, 1948).

The Confucian philosophy acknowledges authority, and it is a virtue to uphold the hierarchical structure of society following the example of heaven (Yu, 2005). A Confucian saying is that “Let the ruler be a ruler, the subject a subject the father a father the son a son”. Christians favours Jesus over Confucius. Jesus is, however, a rebel who denounces the authority of the prevalent religious structure in his time, although we should note that this is a purely spiritual matter for him, he does not advocate any revolt against the political power (the Romans), instead he, when baited to say something rebellious, says: “Then render to Caesar the things that are Caesar’s; and to God the things that are God’s” (Matthew 22:21), and if we look outside the religious sphere we there are many Western philosophers who advocate in favour of obedience to authority.

Jesus and Confucius also have in common their shared emphasis on love as a requirement to be moral, Confucius stated that you have to love your fellow men to become ren (Yu, 2005), much like Jesus stated the two most powerful commandments in Mark 12:30-31: “Love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your mind

and with all your strength. The second: ‘Love your neighbour as yourself.’ There is no commandment greater than these.”

There is a difference between the origins of Confucian morality and the ancient Greek morality upon which many of the Western ideas are formed. Confucius emphasized the role of tradition and order, whereas Socrates, for instance, saw a need to “stir the pot” from time to time and question the old ways. Socrates did not think that morality was deeply intertwined with tradition, but Confucius did, making it a moral obligation to follow tradition rather than examine a person’s morality and beliefs. Both strived to find wisdom and saw wisdom as a moral virtue, but they disagreed on where it is to be found, Socrates emphasized on wisdom as an intellectual process whereas Confucius founds wisdom in the tradition. They also differed in their view of virtue and politics, as Confucius saw virtue as an inseparable part of politics and the political system Socrates did not; instead he pointed out that virtue and politics are hard to combine (Yu, 2005).

The philosophical school of Mohism is interesting from a comparative perspective as its ideas about utilitarianism, respect for god and the requirement of altruism is, in many ways, appealing to the Western tradition. Their focus on logic and debate resembles the Western method of philosophy, their thoughts about the absolute ruler but who has gotten his title, not by connections, but by merit, and who rules for the benefit of the people and not himself has its parallel to the European idea of the “enlightened monarch”.

Summary

There are three significant differences between Chinese and Western moral philosophy. Chinese philosophy lacks the conflict between individual and society, and reasons that the individual and her/his society is the same, or at least has intertwined goals and needs. What is good for one is good for the other and the aim to be good benefits both. In Western philosophy man is seen as someone who must be controlled to do what is good for the society,

it is not something that comes naturally. The other big difference is the uninterest that the Chinese philosophers have in the rational/scientific versus religious perspective on morality. Chinese philosophers do not seem to have the need to prove everything's rationality, neither to prove its divinity. It is what it is. Western moral philosophers, on the other hand, seem very preoccupied with these issues. Paradoxically perhaps because of the profound influence of religion in Western moral philosophy, and not just any religion, but a monotheistic which teaches that there can only be "one truth". Western philosophers therefore might feel that they need to choose between the scientific approach and the spiritualistic or religious approach, whereas the Chinese do not believe that one excludes the other. Finally, the Chinese moral philosophy often focusses on the virtue to repress the individual's need or impulses in favour of the group, emphasizing flexibility, whereas Western moral philosophers often highlight the virtue in standing one's ground.

Chapter 4

Previous research on Moral-Nonconforming

As seen in previous chapters, there is a large amount of research concerning conformism, and morality. Research on the two together, morality and conformism (or in this case non-conformism), is, on the other hand, scarce. The literature concerning moral non-conforming behaviour concerns almost exclusively moral non-conformism during the Nazi regime in Europe.

Moral Non-Conformism During the Nazi Era.

After the Second World war there have been many attempts to explain the atrocities committed during this era, often focusing on the Nazis and the German people. Only a few have tried to look at the people who resisted the totalitarian regime. Three main works which systematically investigate people who resisted will be presented here; “When Light Pierced the Darkness: Christian Rescue of Jews in Nazi-Occupied Poland” by Nechama Tec (1986), “The Altruistic Personality: Rescuers of Jews in Nazi Europe. – What Led Ordinary Men and Women to Risk Their Lives on Behalf of Others?” by Samuel Oliner and Pearl Oliner (1988), and “Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed. The Story of the Village of Le Chambon and How Goodness Happened There” by Philip Hallie (1979). These studies use different methods and different types of material. Hallie’s (1979) work is a case study concerning one village in France. Tec (1986) based her work on open interviews, foremost in Poland. She has also included survivors as well as people who helped for monetary gain as a comparative sample. Oliner and Oliner (1988) have used semi-structural interviews, and their sample include people of many different nationalities. These works give a decent overview of the motivations and personal factors behind rescuers in Europe in this particular time. However, it is important to remember that the representativeness of this sample is limited as these rescuers operated in Europe, within a certain period of time, within a very specific moral context and

political situation. None of them are covering the whole spectrum of moral non-conformity (nor do they claim to do so).

“When Light Pierced the Darkness”

“When Light Pierced the Darkness” (1986) is written by sociologist and holocaust survivor Nechama Tec. The book is the result of a study where she tries to investigate the motivation of Poles who assisted, and in many cases manage to save, Jews during the German occupation of Poland in the Second World War era. She interviews rescuers, survivors, and those who helped for monetary gain. From these interviews, she tries to understand the act of helping. She calls the rescuers’ behaviour “autonomous altruism”. The purpose of Tec’s (1986) study is to understand the motivation behind the acts of the “righteous gentiles” in Poland.

Respondents and method

To qualify as an autonomous rescuer in Tec’s (1986) study, the person had to have helped voluntarily and without monetary gain. The study also includes rescuers who took money from the people they rescued, and if this was their only motivation to help, they formed a reference group for comparison. Many of the respondents in Tec’s study have received the Yad Vashem medal (Tec, 1986). To receive such a medal a rescuer had to help without getting any reward, and the act of rescuing had to endanger the rescuers own life (Yad Vashem, 2017). The study includes 34 Jewish survivors and 31 Polish respondents, of the Polish respondents some were paid rescuers, and others were rescuers who did not receive any monetary compensation for the risks they were taking. Tec (1986) wanted to know as much of her respondents’ background information as possible, factors such as: class, previous antisemitism, education, religion, etc. was registered. The open-ended interviews lasted from two to eight hours.

Results

Values and helping

Tec (1986) found that values which facilitated help could come from various sources; religious conviction, political ideology, or philosophical ethos, but the origins of the values were not as important as the values being internalized into the person. With the help of internalization these norms became a substantial part of how the person viewed her-/himself. Many of the rescuers had a long history of giving aid to the needy without worrying about if they were Jews, Russians, partisans, or whomever. In Tec's study many of her quotes from rescuers mention the rescued, not as Jews, but as humans, and this view, to see people as primarily human and not as representatives for a group might be significant for the decision to help (Tec, 1986).

Relationships and helping

Most of the respondents in Tec's study helped strangers. To previously have been friends with Jews were a facilitating condition, but most had no prior relations with the Jews they hid, or any other Jews for that matter. Politically, more of the rescuers were on the left than right, but this was a facilitating factor, not a necessary condition as some rescuers were even overt anti-Semites (even if anti-Semitism lowered the chance of being a helper dramatically) (Tec, 1986). Many of the anti-Semitic, prejudiced helpers also stated that they were not against discriminating, making fun of, or even deporting Jews but that they became outraged when they learned about the killing of Jews. Some of them also felt personally responsible because of their anti-Semitic political views (Tec, 1985).

Contact with the group

Contact between the group that needs help and the main group is something that both Oliner and Oliner (1988) and Tec (1986) mention as a facilitating condition for helping. Lack of contact, on the other hand, seems to prevent helping behaviour, or at least reduces the

chances thereof. Most peasants in Poland did not have much contact with Jews before or during the war, and this might have been a contributing factor to the relatively little help that Polish Jews received during the occupation. Lack of contact reduces opportunities for helping, especially as helping often seems to have happened in the spur of the moment (Tec, 1985) or with the help of a catalyst (often in the form of witnessing abuse or being asked to help, see below) (Oliner & Oliner, 1988). On the other hand, contact alone does not seem to be an antidote against committing crimes against a group, or passivity when crimes are committed by others. There are many examples of people who were good friends with Jews who refused to help them in the face of their prosecution (Tec, 1986). To give a well-known example; Adolf Eichmann, who, reportedly, had many Jewish friends of whom he thought very well (Arendt, 1964).

Although contact was a facilitating condition, only half of the rescuers in Tec's study (1986) reported having Jewish friends before the war. This should be put in relation to the paid rescuers, however, of which none had a Jewish friend before the war. Many of the rescuers with previous friendships with Jews report this being a motivator for their help. Most of them helped strangers, or both strangers and friends. Thus, being friends with the actual person one helped was not necessary. It was not the relationship with the friend who determined the rescuing but the contact and knowledge of the group, only a small minority exclusively helped friends (Tec, 1986). Having Jewish friends, or helping a friend, might therefore be a motivator and/or a catalyst for the rescuer (Oliner & Oliner, 1988; Tec, 1986).

Rescuing planning and consequences

Helping was not the result of a well-supported, or gradual choice, becoming a helper was more often based on an impulse. The respondents often did not want to admit to any extraordinary courage or heroism; they felt that they "had to do it". This might be because they did not believe they did anything extraordinary, or because the act of helping came

naturally to them. Tec (1986) suggests that to be able to keep doing what they did, without getting too afraid, they had to play down the risks involved. Very few of the people who rescued/helped Jews have reported any regrets, even when they had to endure hardship because of it. The ones who felt regret did it mostly on behalf of their families whom they felt suffered on their account.

Monetary gain

Some of the respondents in Tec's (1986) study helped for money, other people took money without it motivating their helping, the money rather helped them to help more effectively, and Tec distinguishes between these types of helpers. The helpers primarily motivated by money are defined as non-helpers constituting their own group in her study. Many helpers were offered money but did not take it. Some of the reasons they presented for not taking the money were; that they could not bear to profit from someone's misfortune, that they could not put a price on human life and that the poor deserved help as well as the rich. Tec (1986) speculates if this behaviour can be a consequence of a personality with much integrity. Poles who helped motivated by money were more likely to betray the rescued, or withdraw their help, sometimes resorting to blackmail, and/or raising the price for help all the time. The Jews helped by such people were often mistreated during the rescuing process. Many of the paid helpers were poorly educated peasants (a more substantial proportion than in the "real helpers" category). It was very important for the helpers that did not financially gain from their actions to separate themselves from the people who did.

Religion and helping

Religion had an impact on some profoundly religious people, but religious people were not more likely than non-religious people to help Jews. Tec's (1986) study was made in Poland where the main religion is Catholicism. Oliner and Oliner's (1988) study was mainly made in Germany and the Netherlands where the majority are Protestants, and they

saw a higher religious motivation in helping. The difference in their results might be due to Protestants being more likely to help because of their religiosity, while religion is not as important for helping for Catholics. This is somewhat supported in the anecdotal evidence from Hallie's (1979) case study of the village Le Chambon, and similar findings have been reported from the Netherlands where Protestants reported more pro-social behaviours than Catholics (van Elk, Rutjens, & van Harrevald, 2017). Another reason for this might be that parts of the Catholic Church itself acted anti-Semitic at the time (Tec, 1986; Arendt, 1948/2004), although other parts of the Catholic Church, in the Vichy region of France for example, denounced the persecution of Jews (Arendt, 1948/2004). Yet, other parts of the Catholic Church were directly involved in rescuing Jews (Tec, 1986), like the villagers of Le Chambon they often concentrated on the Jewish children. Often, contrary to the villagers of Le Chambon (Hallie, 1979), the Catholic church tried to convert the children they rescued. The rescuers themselves say that this was because it was easier for a child who had been taught Catholicism and baptized, to pass as a Pole. Many anti-Semitic helpers were devoted Catholics and highly nationalistic, they helped Jewish children as a part of being Catholics, and possibly to spite the German invaders. Many of these Catholic anti-Semites stated that it was only because of their Christian faith that they helped, their religious duties trumped their anti-Semitism. In conclusion: It seems that religiosity does not make a person more likely to become a rescuer (a smaller proportion of the rescuers were openly religious than in the society as a whole), but for the religious rescuer faith plays a big part of their decision to help (Tec, 1985). It is important to note that Tec (1986), and Hallie (1979) studied helpers in dominantly Catholic countries (Poland and France). The reason why they have found that Protestants were more likely to help than Catholics might have something to do with these Protestants being in minority in their societies, rather than their religion providing a base for

helping Jews. Germany was mainly a Protestant country, and there were no greater numbers of helpers there than in the Catholic countries.

Class and helping

Tec (1986) wanted to see if some social classes were more inclined to help Jews than others. This is not a farfetched theory. Many researchers believe that better education makes people less likely to be prejudiced (Hello, Scheepers, & Gijsberts, 2002), and according to this the educated classes should be more inclined to help (if less prejudice indeed is an indicator of helping). In Tec's (1986) study she did not find any clear relationship between social class and rescuing. Rescuers came from all classes. Previous research has not shown a stronger tendency to help following education, the level of prejudice might not be the best indicator of subsequent helping behaviour (Myers, Abell, & Sani, 2014).

Situation and helping

Situations affect an individual's willingness to help. According to Tec (1986) the decision to help was often made in the spur of the moment and did not involve any careful planning or preparation. It was simply a response to a person in need. This is consistent with the findings of Oliner and Oliner (1988), and further enhances the significance of the situation for people to become moral non-conformists. We have already seen from Tec's (1986) study that willingness to help was promoted by contact with Jewish people, but it is also important to weigh in the broader context. During this time Europe was at war, and, according to some to the respondents in Tec's (1986) study, during war people stop thinking about differences in race or religion instead more basic things are considered. "One tends to see a person as a human being" (Tec, 1986, p. 105). The war also meant that everyone's life was in danger all the time, adding one more danger in the form of helping Jews was perhaps not that difficult. The situational factor of war itself could be an enhancing factor for some people to become moral non-conformists.

General Conclusions

At the end of her book, Tec (1986) concludes that none of the factors she looked at (class, politics, the degree of anti-Semitism, religion and monetary gain) is in themselves enough to predict rescuing, nor is it the sum of them. These factors seem to be related to rescuing, but only in the same way that a person has different parts of their personality, but every one of these parts is not necessarily the cause of one specific behaviour that the person displays. It is also, according to Tec (1986), impossible to compare the “real life” situation of prolonged helping under extreme danger and stress, to experimental conditions of many social psychology experiments on altruism. Knowledge about these types of behaviour must, therefore, have their basis in naturally occurring behaviours, not induced in a laboratory, in order to reach ecological validity.

Types of altruism

Tec (1986) perceives rescuing as something that is outside the normal definition of altruism, as altruism has a sort of self-destructive part, but rescuing does not necessarily need to have that part. Altruism, she writes, is often a single act of helping whereas rescuing is an ongoing behaviour. The rescuing of Jews may very well have begun as a single altruistic impulse, but to persist in helping is something else. It must continue when this first altruistic impulse has worn off. She distinguishes between two types of altruism in her study:

Normative altruism which is helping behaviour that is reinforced, supported, and rewarded socially by society, and autonomous altruism which is not reinforced not rewarded by society.

Autonomous altruism generates a selfless help where the helper cannot expect any great external reward of any kind, and in some cases, might expect punitive responses from the society. These two types of altruism can be combined with my classification of moral non-conformers (see figure 1), the normative altruistic behaviour should be in the two lower fields

(no risk for retaliation) and the autonomous altruism in the two upper fields in the figure (risking retaliation).

Characteristics of autonomous altruists

The work of Tec (1986) ends in a cluster of shared characteristics defining the rescuers in the study: 1) Inability to blend into the environment. The rescuers seem to have been individualists and their characters emphasized the separateness between them and society. 2) A high level of independence and self-reliance. 3) A strong commitment to help the needy. This commitment typically began before the war. 4) Rescuers saw rescuing as a duty, not something to be chosen, just something you do. 5) The beginning of rescuing was often unplanned and spontaneous. 6) The helpers seemed to have disregarded all other attributes except the need of the victims.

The first characteristic is problematic in a way, as it comes as a result from a direct inquiry from Tec (1986). She writes that many of the rescued did not mention their feeling of separateness until she asked them about that sentiment. On the other hand, she did not find this trait among the people who helped for money. The second characteristic is supported by the number of rescuers in Tec's (1986) study who makes statements on the variation: "I have to do what is right to be at peace with myself". Oliner and Oliner (1988) also show similar findings. Point three and four is strengthened by several of the rescuers in Tec's (1986) study who speak of their deed as something you have to do as a human being, or how not doing it would be like becoming an animal. Many did not even reflect on the option not to help. They did not know the answer to why they helped because they could not see a scenario where they would not (Tec, 1986).

“The Altruistic Personality”

Samuel and Pearl Oliner (1988) have chosen to beforehand define rescuers behaviour as altruistic. They investigate what characterizes the rescuers, the people displaying this altruistic behaviour, from others. As they write in the foreword:

” If we are to live in a world free from threat of Holocausts, we will need to create it. If we can understand some of the attributes that distinguished rescuers from others, perhaps we can deliberately cultivate them” (Oliner & Oliner, 1988, p. xvii).

Samuel Oliner is himself a Holocaust survivor who survived the war by passing as a Polish Christian boy (Oliner, 30 mars 2012, Jewish Survivor Samuel Oliner Testimony, USC Shoah Foundation).

Participants

Samuel and Pearl Oliner (1988) included 406 rescuers, 126 non-rescuers, and 150 survivors in their study. This is, to my knowledge, the most extensive study of people who have displayed a moral non-conforming behaviour. They used semi-structured interviews and included respondents from all of Nazi-occupied Europe. It is noteworthy that they, like Tec (1986), have used Yad Vashem as a source to find these rescuers, this results in a possible overlap between the respondents in Oliner and Oliner’s (1988) and Tec’s (1986) study. In addition to Yad Vashem’s register of “righteous gentiles”, Oliner and Oliner (1988) have searched for respondents in documents and by testimony in their interviews. These rescuers, which previously have not been found by Yad Vashem, constitutes 5 % of the rescuers in Oliner and Oliner’s (1988) sample.

The respondents were divided into three groups, rescuers, non-rescuers, and bystanders. The bystander-group constitutes of people who did not help Jews and have not claimed to have done so. They also did not participate in any other activity linked to moral

non-conformism during the war. The non-rescuer-group constitutes of people who claim to have helped Jews, but lack documentation or people were active in the resistance (another type of non-conforming).

Method

The interviews in Oliner and Oliner's study were conducted by several different interviewers who had the same questionnaire and instructions (Oliner & Oliner, 1988). The interview consisted of around 450 items of which 75 % were forced choice. The rest were open-ended. The themes of the questionnaire were:

- A) Family household characteristics
- B) Parents' education, occupation values, religiosity, disciplinary techniques, etc.
- C) The respondent's childhood
- D) Marital status, occupation work etc. during the years preceding the war
- E) Attitude toward Nazis, and the respondent's living situation during wartime.
- F) The years after the war to the present ex. Relationship with children etc. This section also included a personality test on personal responsibility, locus of control, self-esteem, and empathy.

Problems

Although Oliner and Oliner's (1988) study is extensive and contributes much to the knowledge we have concerning helpers I have some concerns about their method, perhaps especially concerning the subject of moral non-conformers, as their study focuses more on altruistic and helping behaviour.

Assumptions

Oliner and Oliner (1988) start with some assumptions. The first of these assumptions is found in the title of their study "The Altruistic Personality. Rescuers of Jews in

Nazi Europe". They assume that the behaviour is altruistic, and this is not unproblematic, especially given the ongoing discussion about altruism and what it entails. Apart from the assumption of altruism, there are many other assumptions might have influenced the results, for example, that an underlining personality causes altruistic behaviour, and that rescuers did not share the common view concerning Jews. This is problematic for many reasons; there is very little research in the subject of moral non-conforming or the altruism of rescuers, and prior to their study even less. It should, therefore, have been better to use an open and explorative approach, although I can understand why this is hard to do when using such an extensive body of material.

The definition of altruism

How to define altruism is highly debated. Oliner and Oliner (1988) have used a very strict definition when choosing their participants. First, the rescuers had to had helped without any monetary reward. This is a reasonable criterion, as helping for money might not be considered helping but performing a paid service. The second criterion is that this help must have come with risking the helper's own life. This represents a very strict definition of altruism. Risking, or losing something (time, money, reputation etc.) might also be used as a defining factor, it does not necessarily have to be one's own life one risks being considered an altruist, but in the particular context surrounding Oliner and Oliner's (1988) study this strict definition might be relevant. Although it limits the ability to generalize from their findings and, applied as a definition in other studies, it might cause us to overlook other altruistic, helping, or moral non-conforming behaviours. It also raises the question if it is impossible to be altruistic if one lives in a time and/or environment where one does not need to risk one's life to help somebody. It is also possible to question if there is an altruistic *personality* at all, as it, according to these criteria, would be impossible to manifest such without the proper

situation. As a consequence, their definition of altruism then becomes especially problematic within their frame of research as they claim to be looking for an altruistic personality.

This makes the issue of a control-group relevant, as there might be a difference in personality and not in opportunity between these groups. Assuming that the control group comes from the same type of environment and situation, it might be possible to use this control to distinguish the personality which facilitates altruistic behaviour from other factors, such as opportunity. Oliner and Oliner (1988) use a control group of people who did not help but lived in the same occupied areas during the same time. This might be a valid control group, but, as Tec's (1986) study and in part Oliner and Oliner's (1988) study show many rescuers became rescuers in a moment of opportunity, "altruistic personalities" in the control group might not have found themselves in a "trigger situation". There might be a need for a certain personality paired with a certain situation. This, in turn, leads to the question if all "altruistic personalities" are of the same type or if there are many different types each demanding their own type of "trigger situation". This though is further supported by testimonies of rescuers "I did nothing unusual: anyone would have done the same thing in my place" (Oliner & Oliner, 1988, p. 113). They, themselves, do not believe that there is a specific personality, it is about being at the right place at the right time.

The conclusions in Oliner and Oliner's (1988) study

The problems with the Oliner and Oliner (1988) study do not mean that they have not found any useful results. Here follows a summary of their more interesting findings.

Nature of help

When people helped Jews most of the help was in the form of mundane tasks such as providing food and shelter. The heroic part was easily overtaken by these day-to-day tasks. These everyday tasks typically went on for a while, the majority of the rescuers began their rescue early in the war, and they kept helping for between two and five years, only a

small portion helped for a month or less. Most of them also helped many people over half helped five people or more. This shows that these rescuers were in for a long-term commitment, while their first decision to become helpers might have been a “spur of the moment” their commitment to helping was long-term (Oliner & Oliner, 1988). This might indicate that the assumption that there is a “helping” personality, or an “altruistic personality” as Oliner and Oliner (1988) describes it, is true, as a defining factor of a personality or a trait is the person’s long-term inclination to behave in a certain way.

Other non-conforming behaviours

In addition to their rescuing efforts, some of the rescuers studied by Oliner and Oliner (1988) protested openly against the way Jews were treated. This lends further support to the theory that a non-conforming behaviour based on moral principles might indicate a personality. This personality might then consist of a moral non-conformity trait which influences many aspects and many situations, although it is good to remember that, in the cases pertaining Oliner and Oliner’s (1988) study, the situation to which they choose not to conform to is similar in the two situations (rescuing and protesting). It concerns oppression of Jews, and it might therefore be different sides of the same situation, not indicating an underlining “altruistic” trait, but rather a heartfelt concern for the situation of their Jewish fellow humans.

Social characteristics

There are examples of rescuers in Oliner and Oliner’s (1988) study, who worked alone, and some who cooperated in groups to help Jews. Rescuing Jews seems to have been a social endeavour, even in the cases where the person took the rescuing responsibility alone, as the rescuer had to interact with the people whom he/she rescued. There are many accounts, both in Oliner and Oliner’s (1988) study but also in the work of Tec (1986), where rescuers have shown a bitterness, anger, disappointment, and general dislike toward the people they

have rescued. Labelling them as “ungrateful”, “unpleasant”, or “difficult”. In these cases (which seems not to have been the majority) the rescuers, if working alone, might have felt lonelier than in the cases where the cooperation with the rescued went more smoothly, when the rescuer and the rescued felt more like a group or a team, even when the rescuer was the sole rescuer.

According to Oliner and Oliner’s (1988) study rescuers had, at least while young, a greater tendency to feel similar to a wider range of people than non-rescuers had. They felt more similar to Jews than non-rescuers (more than half reporting feeling very similar to Jews compared to a fifth of the non-rescuers and bystanders). This, taken together with the finding that a larger percentage of rescuers than bystanders participated in volunteering or the like when going back to their normal lives after the war, might indicate that the rescuers felt a social obligation to a larger ingroup than non-rescuers and bystanders. It might be that this type of inclusiveness paired with a sense of social responsibility is necessary for certain types of moral non-conformism. Attachment factors might have played a role in this feeling of inclusiveness (Oliner & Oliner, 1988), rescuers tended to feel closer to their parents than bystanders. Rescuers also tended to feel more satisfied with their relationships than bystanders.

Religiosity

Supporting other research concerning helping behaviour (Tec, 1986) religiosity did not seem to have more than a weak correlation with rescuing behaviour (Oliner & Oliner, 1988). Religiosity can be a motivator to both rescuing or non-rescuing. In Oliner and Oliner’s (1988) study 15 % claimed that religious belief motivated their helping behaviour. The significant differences between rescuers and non-rescuers were that rescuers were more likely to have gone to Protestant schools than non-rescuers, and they were more likely than non-rescuers to categorize themselves as very religious (but did not vary in religiously overall,

only in the perceived intensity of this religiosity). One of the reasons that they have found any correlation at all might have been that they asked. A significant portion of their questionnaire has to do with religion and religious affiliation.

Political affiliations

According to Oliner and Oliner's (1988) study, political motivation seems to be an equally weak motivating factor as religiosity, and it has a low correlation with helping. Of those helpers who were politically affiliated most belonged to groups promoting a democratic pluralism.

Disobedience

Of the rescuers in the Oliner and Oliner (1988) study many reported being disobedient to authorities when they believed the authorities were wrong, not just in the case of helping Jews but in other aspects of life as well. In addition, they reported being careful in deciding which authorities to obey. They did not report to have learned this disobedient behaviour from their parents. The mere act of obedience or disobedience was not claimed as a motivator for rescuers. Instead many of them listed caring or equity as their main motivators. Most of the rescuers (80%) did not ask advice or permission from anyone else before deciding to rescue (Oliner & Oliner, 1988). This might be taken as an indication of an independent personality, much like the one Tec (1986) found in her respondents.

Emotions

Emotions such as empathy are often believed to facilitate helping. Sympathy for the victim, or if one finds the person likable or not might be influential, but in Oliner and Oliner's (1988) study not all rescuers reported liking the rescued, although in most cases they did. Other feelings that facilitated rescuing were feelings of despair, impotence and rage when their country was taken over by the Nazis. Oliner and Oliner (1988) found that the feeling of

despair more prevalent among French than in other nationalities, whereas the Dutch reported feeling anger and the Poles most prevalent feeling was shock when the Nazis invaded.

Empathy is typically associated with helping behaviour and this was also tested in the Oliner and Oliner (1988) study. They found no difference in generalized empathy between rescuers and bystanders, but there was a difference between rescuers and non-rescuers. Here it is important to notice that the type of moral non-conforming that Oliner and Oliner (1988) studied concerned people who suffered or was in danger to suffer. Empathy might, in this case, be more critical than in other cases of moral non-conforming, as moral non-conforming does not necessarily involve helping a suffering person. There might be cases where no person is in immediate danger, as in some instances of exposing corruption, but when the action is a moral non-conforming action none-the-less. The variation of the “empathy” scores within the rescuing group was significant, indicating that empathy might have been a facilitating, but not a necessary condition for rescuers.

Values

Many of the rescuers in Oliner and Oliner’s (1988) study reports being taught equality and human value from an early age. Rescuers’ parents communicated a view of Jews that was positive and more attentive of individual Jews, rather than a generalized and negative view. Generosity, rather than reciprocity, seems to have important to the parents of rescuers, who also taught their children that ethical values are universal and not group-dependent. Many rescuers were inclusive in their values and ethics, extending the ingroup further than non-rescuers and bystanders. Oliner and Oliner (1988) concludes that ethical equity principles are the most important facilitating rescuing, other factors such as religious belief, class, political affiliations etc. were not as important as the fundamental value of equity.

There was a difference in commitment between rescuers and bystanders.

Rescuers were more committed and more prone to fulfil a task or a promise. They were more

likely to report feeling that not living up to one's commitments were shameful or unseemly. They were therefore not only more committed but also felt more strongly about their commitments (Oliner & Oliner, 1988).

Childhood

Rescuers tended to have been raised in families where inductive reasoning was used to oversee and evaluate their behaviour instead of a punitive parenting style. In accordance with this, rescuers reported less physical punishment from their parents. Their parents were not more passive when they were disobedient, impolite, aggressive, or failed in their responsibilities than bystanders or non-rescuers, but the punishment they received were more often linked to their behaviour (to apologize and make amends, instead of receiving a spanking, the punishment is more related to the misconduct). As children, the punishment received by rescuers was delivered by words, and their parents explained the reasons why their behaviour was bad so that they knew why they were not to behave like that, rather than just forbidding them and punishing them. Punishing behaviour by explaining the error implies that the child would not have done so if he/she had known better, the child is not bad, just uninformed. This breeds self-efficacy and shows respect for the child (Oliner & Oliner, 1988).

Four main groups

Oliner and Oliner (1988) identified four main groups of rescuers depending on which values motivated their rescuing; One group of rescuers reported strong family bonds as one factor behind their decision to become rescuers. These rescuers reported feeling equally close to both their parents, these close-knit families were often religious, and both parents had an equally religious commitment. The rescuers learned how to help and developed their self-efficacy and ability to do so in this religious and loving environment. A second category of rescuers had close contact with Jews before the war and during the events leading up to the war. They often had spouses who also had close contacts with Jews. This made them very

aware, in an early stage, of the difficulties facing the Jewish people under Nazi rule. A third group had a strong social responsibility or commitment to society in general. Helping the community and society was a central part of their lives. These were more likely than others to have performed moral non-conforming before the war, such as standing up for an unpopular opinion etc. They felt strong self-reliance and claimed that their families taught them this. The fourth, and last, group of rescuers were egalitarian. They were driven by empathy and feelings of similarity to humankind.

Situation

It was not only the intrinsic motivation and personal characteristics that brought out the rescuer in a person, but the situation also played a role in people's decision to help (Oliner & Oliner, 1988). One crucial factor for many of the rescuers was the occurrence of a trigger situation, or as Oliner and Oliner (1988) calls it, a catalyst. This catalyst is a situation that challenges the rescuer's values. For many rescuers, this was needed to get them to start helping, although a certain preparedness is needed to be persuaded by this situation. The catalyst is, for some people, a necessary but not sufficient condition for their choice to become rescuers. The subjective meaning of the situation is what determines if a situation becomes a catalyst or not. Oliner and Oliner (1988) identified three different kinds of catalysts that, paired with the right type of personal preparedness, elicited rescuing behaviour: 1) Empathically oriented respondents were often triggered by an external event that aroused their empathy. In their sample 37 % of the rescuers were mainly motivated by empathic reasons, 2) Normocentrically oriented individuals often started their rescuing as a response to an external event that they believed contained a normative demand of a social group of importance to the rescuer. This norm could be of several different kinds: a belief that he/she had most people on her/his side, or a religious norm, but also as a response to a strong internalized norm. This was the most common type of motivator (52 %), 3) Principled oriented rescuers responded to an

external event which they believed went against their principles. These principles, in contrary to the norms in the point above, are based on an intellectual and moral effort and reasoning. These are not internalized as they are internal to begin with. Principled rescuers were the smallest group of the three, 11% of the rescuers in Oliner and Oliner's (1988) study belonged principally to this group. Most rescuers did not fit into just one category, but one can see that the different motivators were of different importance to the rescuers.

Circumstances facilitating rescue

In addition to the personality/catalyst interaction, Oliner and Oliner (1988) have found four circumstances that may have facilitated rescue: First, information about and comprehension of the need. This includes an emotional willingness and ability to understand the need. This might have been facilitated by proximity to the Jewish community in some way. It seems that more rescuers, than non-rescuers or bystanders, lived close to Jews before the war (Oliner & Oliner, 1988). There is a reason to raise the question if their rescuing, then, might have been a product of a better opportunity, rather than understanding, and that people who wanted to help or go against the Nazis but did not live close to any Jews chose other paths of moral non-conforming. This line of thought is partly contradicted by Oliner and Oliner's (1988) study which found that some rescuers had no previous contact with Jews before their rescuing, and most of them understood the Nazis intentions toward the Jews, contrary to the non-rescuers who were more prone to have written it off as rumours. A second circumstance is how the rescuer considered the risk of helping. There is a reason to ask if perhaps rescuers were less likely to be discovered for some reason. It turns out that rescuers lived no more isolated than non-rescuers, perhaps less so. Some rescuers (like in the village Le Chambon, see below) lived in communities where many people shared their values, which lowered the risk of discovery, as the whole community could help, and neighbours were less likely to denounce the rescuers, but this was the exception rather than the rule. The rescuers

did not differ in their family situation neither many of them had their own families, thus risking not only themselves, but loved ones as well. Something that might have influenced their perception of the risk is that that most of them had not been mistreated by the Nazis personally. A third factor to consider is material resources. Few of the rescuers were very wealthy but even fewer very poor. Their housing arrangements (apartment or house) seemed to be equal to the non-rescuers. The fourth situational factor, which has already been discussed, is the catalyst, or trigger situation. A typical situation that triggered helping was being asked to help. About a third of the rescuers started helping without being asked by anyone, but most were asked, at least the first time. Some of the rescuers (15 %) also needed to say no at least once, to rescuing requests. This was most often because of a lack of resources.

“Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed”

Philip Hallie (1979) made a case study about what happened in the small village of Le Chambon in France during the war. The people in this village cooperated and saved many Jewish children from the Holocaust.

Participants and method

Hallie (1979) interviewed people of the village and used additional documentation such as memoirs and written testimonies of the people who lived there. Hallie’s study is descriptive and does not aim to find any “general motivation” behind rescuing behaviour.

Results

Hallie’s (1979) investigation is a descriptive case study, he is a journalist, and he investigates the subject as such. His work tells a story and does not aim to generalize. What can be said is: The villagers of Le Chambon were Protestants in a Catholic society. They had

strong leaders, and Hallie's (1979) case study concentrates much on the characteristics of these leaders and their families. The leaders report feeling hatred against Germans as a "national people", but also reported high empathy with individual Germans who themselves were victims of the war. They described trigger situations in the past of the leaders, like one of the leaders witnessing the violent accident which killed his mother resulting in a non-violent ideology and practice. Religion was essential to the leading figures of the village. The two leaders were, as individuals, according to Hallie (1979) necessary for the rescuing of so many Jewish children to take place, although Hallie (1979) also acknowledges other parameters such as the characteristics of the small village. Le Chambon, its community and culture, where the people shared the same religion, values and leaders and these were not necessarily the same as those of the majority society. They managed to create their own norm, to save Jewish children, rather than becoming influenced by the larger society.

Comparisons

The work of Hallie, (1979), Tec, (1986), and Oliner and Oliner (1988) cover culturally, methodologically, and geographically, a large area concerning rescuers in the Nazi era. The problem with generalizing their findings to moral non-conformers, or indeed to rescuers, in other contexts is that they all concern a specific area, at one specific time, and one specific nonconforming act (helping Jews). As was seen in Tec's (1986) study, the war itself provided a very particular situational setting. Oliner and Oliner (1988) showed that there was a difference between rescuers and people who committed other acts of defiance against the Nazis, acts that would have made these people qualified to be classified as moral non-conformers (e.g. involved in resistance), even if the chosen act of non-conformism did not involve rescuing Jews. There is a possibility that these limitations of their research will prevent them from finding all the relevant aspects of moral non-conforming. This is not their goal either. Hallie (1979) does not aim to explain any general behaviour but only the specific

events of Le Chambon. Tec (1986) has a slightly wider approach but is still only interested in the helping behaviour during this time, and Oliner and Oliner (1988), although the title of their book “The Altruistic Personality” suggests a willingness to make some kind of generalization, it is not a generalization to all morally motivated non-conforming behaviours, but only the act of rescuing Jews during the second world war (and I mean “only” in the sense of one sole type of act, not as a diminutive).

Nevertheless, although their approaches and their methods have been different, there are several similarities in their findings. All three studies have found:

- 1) Catalyst, a situation that changes a person from a potential helper to an active helper.
- 2) Importance of internalized norms.
- 3) Importance of seeing all, independent of group belonging as individuals and humans worthy of empathy and help.

Values, religion, social status, class etc. seems to have been of secondary importance.

Other research concerning moral non-conformity

As we have seen, a moral non-conforming act can be of different types and have many different underlying motivational factors, such as religion, empathy, duty, etc. An interesting attempt to explore and classify motivational factors have been made by Krzysztof Konarzewski (1992) when he divides motivators behind what he defines as altruism, but what I would rather define as moral non-conformism (rescuers in WWII), in two categories; empathy, and protest. Being empathically motivated means acting on behalf of someone. It involves feeling that person’s pain (and thereby, by rescuing them, in a way also rescuing oneself). It requires contact with the person so that the potential rescuer’s empathy can be evoked. Konarzewski (1992) suggests that this type of empathy based “altruism” is facilitated

by learning to identify with other groups and other people as a child and taught to be “we” with everyone, not focusing on social categories. A skill he calls “inclusiveness”. The other type of motivator, protest, is acting against something, it is a disagreement with the state of things or the social order. By helping the oppressed in a system, one challenges the system. This type of behaviour does not need any direct contact with the oppressed, no empathy-inducing situation must take place. It is a matter of principle more than empathy. This protest-induced “altruism” makes people actively search for someone to help. This type of “altruism” requires independence and is, according to Konarzewski (1992), taught by teaching children to question authority, critical thinking, and to discuss and reason about choices, values etc.

It is possible to argue that, in the case of moral non-conformers who do not help the suffering (such as helping illegal immigrants, becoming vegan, etc.), but who acts on other moral issues (such as against corruption, where perhaps victims are not always as apparent), cannot be empathically triggered to do so. Konarzewski’s (1992) theory of motivators therefore becomes one-dimensional in the case of moral non-conformers who do not help a particular “victim”.

Empathy as a motivator

Oliner and Oliner (1988) and Konarzewski (1992) mention empathy as a motivator to help in a moral non-conforming way. It would therefore be appropriate to have a short discussion about empathy and its definition. In the cases of Oliner and Oliner (1988) and Konarzewski (1992), empathy is defined as the ability to put oneself in another person’s situation and, in a way, “feel” what that person feels. This is a quite common definition of empathy and one which suits this study. There have been previous discussions about the motivating factor of empathy and that empathic pain might not always be a facilitator to prosocial behaviour. To feel someone else’s pain might also cause an avoiding response, where the person who suffers the empathic response tries to distance themselves from this

pain, by distancing themselves from the person who suffers it. This might be by ignoring, refusing to see, diminishing the problem, or by physically removing them (or oneself) from the presence of the suffering person (Shaw, Batson, & Todd, 1994). The pairing of empathy with a sense of competence, a feeling that one can do something about the suffering of others, is very important in this context (Oliner & Oliner, 1988). Lack of feeling of competence might strengthen the avoidance response rather than prosocial behaviour. It is also important to mention that there are other possible definitions of empathy, for example, is it necessary to “feel” the pain of others? Perhaps empathy could be based on an understanding of the pain of others without experiencing their pain. I believe this is possible.

This “empathy-induced” sense of moral non-conformism can be seen in other research as well. In the experiments of Stanley Milgram (1974), when respondents were put in a situation where they were led to believe that they were administering electric shocks to another respondent by order of the experiment leader, a higher number of respondent refused to administer shocks the “closer” the person who received the shocks were (fewer administered shocks when in the same room as when they only heard the recipient). Milgram (1974) claims empathy to be one of the reasons for this, the closer the receiver of the shocks, the more likely to induce empathy or empathic pain in the respondent. This was just one part of his explanation. He also assumed that the distance between the person shocked and the respondent could help the respondent to ignore the victim, to “put him out of mind”, but a greater proximity makes it harder to ignore. This might perhaps also be the nature of the “catalyst”, to see someone suffer might make the problem more real. Thereby inducing actions. To translate this into moral non-conformists: A person might have the moral belief that the actions of the Nazis are wrong, but if that person does not need to witness the atrocities, it is easily ignored. Once near an act of injustice, then the potential moral non-conformists are triggered and becomes a real moral non-conformist.

Chapter 5

Method

This chapter is intended to explain the method used in this thesis. It will begin with an explanation of the foundations of phenomenological thinking and method, thereafter the specific method of Meaning Constitution Analysis (MCA) and how it was applied. There can never be a clear separation between method and results, one cannot exist without the other, to fully understand the method and its application I will refer the reader to Chapter 6 and 7 as well.

Phenomenology

In all types of research, it is necessary to explain the philosophy behind the method. This does not, however, make me a philosopher. I do not claim any deeper knowledge of phenomenological philosophy in general, this part should be taken as a background to my methodological choices and a summary of my view of phenomenology, not as a full explanation of Husserl's philosophy. In this I am following the phenomenological tradition as phenomenology was never intended to be an exclusively philosophical matter, but a methodological foundation for many different areas of science (Gee, Lowenthal, & Cayne, 2013; Husserl, 1912/1980; Karlsson, 1995) and a tool for thinking in general (Husserl, 1912/1980).

Psychology is a complicated field of research. It is not necessarily a purely social science as it involves physics (ex. electric impulses of the brain), chemistry (ex. the hormones in our body), art (ex. created by the human psyche and given its meaning from it), biology (ex. humans are animals) etc. The truth is that psychology is a discipline which needs all disciplines, from mathematics and physics, to theatre science and anthropology, and they in turn need psychology. This is both what makes psychology fascinating and what makes it difficult. In each phenomenon we want to explore there is a wide range of aspects to which

we must relate. We will therefore need methods of research which are open to many different aspects. During the last part of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century psychology has tried to model the methods of natural science. Modelling a chemist, trying to find the molecules, which in a perfect mix, will become the concoction they seek, psychologists have tried to learn the basic components of the human psyche (although I am not sure what we want to do once we achieved finding this information) (Valsiner, 2000). The issue here is that there is a difference between chemistry and psychology, and just as a saw is a fine tool when you want to cut a tree in half but not when you want to hammer in a nail, the positivistic way does not necessarily fit the task of understanding all the aspects human psyche. The human psyche is not necessarily the sum of its parts, and even if it is, the parts might be so many and different in nature that it is impossible to discover all of them (Karlsson, 1995). The human psyche involves non-physical aspects such as thoughts, feelings and intentions, which are hard, perhaps impossible, to study in a positivistic paradigm. All research begins with the “researcher’s subjective opinion in philosophical issues” (Valsiner, 2000, p. 6), and all research in psychology are deeply subjective in nature, not only from the part of the researcher, but also in the issues studied.

Phenomenology and psychology

Every science must emerge from the ontology of the mind (Husserl, 1912/1980). This makes psychology not only a concern for psychologists, but to all fields of research. Psychology is a science of facts (in Hume’s sense, that is that facts is what we learn from experience) and of realities. This implies that psychology does not (or should not) form theories or assume but let the object of research speak for itself (Gee, Lowenthal, & Cayne, 2013; Husserl, 1912/1980; 1912/1982). Rational psychology should, according to Husserl (1912/1980), be concerned with lived experience as the only valid source of knowledge. Psychology is foremost interested in the perception of the physical things, not the physical

things themselves (Husserl, 1912/1980) which makes the subject ill-fitted for the positivistic form of research, as everything about it is subjective.

One of the pillars of phenomenology and what essentially makes psychology a concern for, and phenomenology a method of all scientific studies, is that there can be no perception without cognition (Husserl, 1912/1980). We cannot separate mental processes from the physical world. They are a combined whole (Husserl, 1912/1982) even if the perceived is a hallucination it is still part of our physical body. In physics the object of investigation is the “appearance” of an object. In psychology there is no such appearance, as the psyche is not that type of object, the psyche is not appearance, but experience. The object of description and investigation in psychology is therefore experience. This takes us to the problem of experiencing experience and to separate the experience of investigation from the researchers own experience, or how the researcher’s preconceptions form the lived process (Husserl, 1912/1980). Psychology concerns inner perception, and we can never observe this as we are living it. Therefore, we must approach the objects of study in psychology indirectly. To perceive the object from many directions, or through many different perceivers. Only then can we come close to understand the essence of the object. We only know objects through their presentations, and presentations are subjective.

Existing as a human being is to perform mental acts, and we cannot have the one without the other (e.g. we cannot have existence without mental acts or mental act without existence). Every experience does not only have an object but also an intensity to which it is perceived, a degree of conviction (how true it is, doxa). I can only desire, think or act toward something if I have a mental representation thereof (Bentano, 1874/2005). In addition, this mental representation of the object will be ever-changing. The psyche is always developing, it is impossible to think the same way twice as merely the difference in time and the experience of this time will alter the psyche. The psyche does not transform to something completely

new, but it is never exactly the same from moment to moment neither (Husserl, 1912/1980), which makes the subject of psychology constantly changing.

Descriptive or explaining

There is a debate about whether phenomenology as a method is descriptive or explanative (Depraz, Varela, & Vermersch, 2003; Gee, Loewenthal, & Cayne, 2013; Karlsson, 1995; Langemar, 2008; Sousa, 2014). I believe this discussion to be futile because it is founded upon a positivistic view of the terms descriptive and explanatory. The distinction between the two is very important to emphasize in positivistic, statistical research where the method of finding descriptive knowledge is different from the explanative knowledge. The positivistic way of conducting research uses different methodological tools when finding out which percentage of a group eats bread regularly, then when finding out why this percentage is so or so high. In positivistic research the goal is often to find cause and effect relationships, typically by means of statistical analysis which limits the possible causes and effects to what is measured as variables. The researcher often goes to great lengths to find a good unbiased way to measure these variables but, once you have isolated one variable to study it “unbiased” it is possible to question if that variable means the same when isolated from its context (Karlsson, 1995). To give an example: Does a loaf of bread mean the same thing to you when you are full as when you are hungry? Or when it is in your kitchen as opposed to lying on the pavement? To isolate “bread” from its immediate context changes its purpose, its meaning, its mental representation, and, hence, the object “bread” is not the same as an isolated variable as it is in its context. The same goes for social systems, every social system has co-developed with its environment so that the system is inseparable from the environment, and, therefore, the system contains the information and history of the environment, the context in which it is formed. The system cannot function without its environment, or rather it loses its meaning and intention (Valsiner, 2000).

In psychology as the subject of research is often multidimensional, less than distinct, and hard to define, it is good to ask oneself; it is fruitful to remove variables from their natural environment or does the loss of ecological validity render the results of an enquiry based on such a removal meaningless? A piece of bread in itself has no meaning, we give it a meaning, and as we have seen, this meaning is context-dependent. Phenomenology can be used as an explaining method because in describing a phenomenon in deep detail and uncovering the passive synthesis of a narrative one will also find some of the underlying motivations for the phenomenon (Husserl, 1912/1982; Sages, 2014) but without losing the ecological validity as the research is based on lived experience and not experimental or quantitative survey data.

When a phenomenologist search for motivation it is called meaning, or rather the parts that build the meaning, the constitution of the meaning. Meaning constitution is a broader concept but within it there is room for what positivist calls causality, motivation, or explanation. Although pre-defining that there will be relationships or causalities will limit the research and damage validity. Instead a phenomenologist looks for meaning which can, and often does, entail an almost causal motivational aspect. For example, if we know what bread means for a person we might predict the person's reaction to being served bread, and as we have not "isolated" any "variables" in this meaning it is easier to predict the reaction with respect to the context. The bread is not what causes the reaction, it is the bread in relation with the context (in this case perhaps being served bread which has previously been lying on the pavement as opposed to bread served fresh from the oven) that determines the reaction. Isolating the variable "a person's general relationship to bread without context" will not give us any reliable guideline to predict behaviour.

Asking about an object's meaning also constitutes more than predictions. It can, within itself, give us hints about what to do with that knowledge, and how the knowledge is

relevant. To know something's meaning and how it is constituted, to know a person's relationship to an object and what it means to them also gives you the chance to find out how to change this meaning or perhaps replace the object. For instance, if you understand what the drug means to an addict you might be able to find a way to break the habit, or if you understand what it means to be a moral non-conformist one might find out a way to teach how to make this meaning to others. This type of explanation of the present states of phenomena is done by carefully examining the history of the phenomenon and how it grew to become what it is today (Valsiner, 2000). It is not always necessary to examine the history "while it happens" in longitudinal studies (although it is a viable option) because in the present entity and the meaning of this entity it is possible to trace the meaning and the constitution of the meaning by employing the phenomenological reduction, all meaning holds the previous meanings within, as new meaning must relate to the old.

The necessity of context to understand, or find, the meaning of behaviour is evident (Asplund, 1970; Husserl, 1912/1982) but it is still not always treated as such, let me take a famous psychological experiment as an example; Solomon Asch's (1956) series of experiments on conformity and following the social norm. The experiment aims to see how group norms might change a person's behaviour. The person is put in a group situation where all her/his peers will answer a simple question wrong. The experimenter will then observe the behaviour of the person to see if he/she will conform to the group or not. In approximately 75% of the cases the respondent will give the same incorrect answer as her/his peers at least once during the experiment (Asch, 1956). The experiment is clever, and as far as I know Asch has not jumped into any far-fetched conclusions from it, but some later researchers have (see Hodges & Geyer, 2006 for a fuller discussion). The findings are generalized to other situations as well, for example decisions involving morality. This is a dangerous type of generalization because even if the behaviour of conformism is the same at face value, the

meaning of it, and the constitution of this meaning will differ across situations. In Asch's (1956) experiment the task was of a neutral character (e.g. determining which line corresponds to the template). It is hard to compare the consequences of a knowingly and confirmative incorrect answer in such a context to the possible consequences of an incorrect (e.g. contra-value) response in a moral situation (Hodges & Geyer, 2006). The meaning of the behaviour changes drastically between the two contexts; "should I speak up when everybody points out the wrong line as corresponding to the template" or, as an example, "should I speak up when my colleague is being sexually harassed".

Husserl emphasizes that we should go back and look at the things as they are in themselves (Gee et al., 2013; Husserl, 1912/1980; 1912/1982; 1910-1911/2006; Ruin, 2009; Sages, 2014; Wallenstein, 2009), which is another way of saying that science should be a bottom-up process. Although phenomenological method can be used to find explanations for behaviours it does not test hypotheses (Gee et al. 2013; Husserl, 1917/1991; Karlsson, 1995). The reason for this is simple: hypotheses frames the mind and might lead the researcher in a fixed set of directions, which might be the most significant or relevant direction. Phenomenology is a bottom-up process (Sages, 2014) and should try to avoid preconceptions whenever possible. Husserl believed that knowledge can only come from examining an object as it is (in itself) (Husserl, 1917/1991; Sages, 2014; Wallenstein, 2009). To formulate a hypothesis is to decide in advance that some possible interpretations or intentions of the object are more relevant than others, a notion which is not supported by the idea of the *epochè* (to see things as they are without any preconceptions, see below), and the hypotheses therefore turn into obstacles when trying to examine an object as it is by its own merits. It prevents the researcher from becoming surprised, as he/she already knows the outcomes, and if the researcher already knows how it is, what is then the point of the research? (Sages,

2003). Phenomenology strives to exclude all assumption from the analysis (Husserl, 1917/1991).

Conclusions

Phenomenology can be descriptive at times, but it is always basing descriptions or analyses on the emerging concepts from the lived experience, not pre-determined templates. Phenomenology is an infinite field of eidetic descriptions and analyses but not of deductions (Husserl, 1912/1980). This makes it ideal for exploratory research. Although it is important to recognize that the research itself, the subject chosen, is in fact a result of the researcher's pre-comprehension of what is important and therefore research is an assumption just by its mere existence (Valsiner, 2000). This thesis is using the phenomenological method in an exploratory way. As we have seen, the type of moral non-conformism investigated in this thesis has not been the subject of much previous research. It is therefore crucial to find out the possible components of the moral non-conforming behaviour and using phenomenology, which has the explorative open-minded approach built-in to the method is ideal to start exploring this multifaceted and complicated issue.

Reality and knowledge

Research is a troublesome task. It tries to find the truth, or the reality, or whatever it is called when something appears to us as it is, and we understand it as it is. The troublesome part is that this is an infinite task. Every piece of knowledge that we think we possess must pass through our consciousness to exist, our consciousness is built upon our perception (here to be understood as our physical senses such as smell, taste, vision etc.) and experiences and our perception and experiences only gives us an imprint of the world, not the world itself, but a picture. No matter how accurate this picture might be, it will inevitably also be filled with flaws and misconceptions (Gee, Loewenthal, & Cayne, 2013; Husserl, 1912/1980; 1912/1982; 1907/1995; 1910-1911/2006; Karlsson, 1995). Anybody who has ever

forgotten where they put their keys know how imperfect our consciousness is. Even so, it is the only tool we have to get closer to the world and the understanding of it. We need to work with the imprint that our senses and experiences gives us, but we must keep in mind that we are working with an imperfect imprint and this brings us to a problem: How can we claim to know anything? How can our consciousness be more than itself? And how can I make claims about something outside my own immanence (consciousness, conscious thought)? (Husserl, 1907/1995; 1910-1911/2006).

Husserl (1912/1982) claims that reality is always related to our pure consciousness and that the very invention of the concept reality is our consciousness trying to define and describe its surroundings. On the same notion, all our conclusions are immanent. In the sphere of transcendence (the material world, outside our immanence) there are no conclusions, there is just “being” (Husserl, 1929/1992). Everything is therefore possible to criticize and to doubt, although it is important to remember that to criticize or not being entirely sure of something is not the same thing as denying its existence, and we always implicitly take the existence of the world for granted (Husserl, 1907/1995; Karlsson, 1995). Even phenomena, or objects that we doubt are in all practical aspect real and valid if they impact us as if they were real and valid, whether they “exist” or not is not a meaningful question because the question itself takes away the meaning from the world (Husserl, 1929/1992). To get knowledge we must reflect, not only on the empirical observation, but also our own thinking because the world, without a perception, can never be more than a presumption as all knowledge must be within somebody’s (or something’s) consciousness. Knowledge is a purely immanent phenomenon and cannot exist outside consciousness. The immanent experience of the transcendent is therefore all we can use when trying to understand the world and generate knowledge about it (Husserl, 1910-1911/2006). We do this with the help of perception, which by itself does not exist. Perception needs both a perceiver

(the thought of perception without a perceiver is impossible), and a perceived object. One must perceive *something*. Every perception needs an object, even if this object happens to be immanent (Husserl, 1912/1982). We can therefore conclude that we must be conscious *of* something, and this consciousness is what forms the meaning, and thus the basis of knowledge. A knowledge *of* something.

The only aspect of the world that has no room for doubt is the reell immanence, which can be defined as our meta-consciousness, (e.g. consciousness about our own consciousness) (Husserl, 1907/1995; Karlsson, 1995) this will therefore be our tool when we are trying to understand or investigate the transcendence of the world, as this is the only truth directly accessible to us. Even if the “real” physical world contains more (or less) than our experience thereof we have no other tools than our experiences to explore and extract knowledge from (Husserl, 1912/1982). This investigation of the transcendent (material world) through the reell immanence can be performed through the phenomenological reduction (Husserl, 1912/1982; 1929/1992; 1907/1995; 1910-1911/2006). To perform the phenomenological reduction, one must exclude the transcendent (e.g. what is physically real). This might seem a bit contra-intuitive as the matter of investigation is the transcendent but as we can have no real knowledge of the transcendent (although we do not deny the existence of the transcendent, only the possibility of unbiased and objective knowledge of the nature of the transcendent), we have to start at the point where we do have knowledge, in our subjective perspective, the reell immanence. Knowledge about the transcendent is not self-evident in the same way as reell immanent knowledge. The reell immanence is the knowledge of our consciousness, our consciousness is a part of the world, part of somebody else’s transcendence and through knowledge about the reell immanence we can find the place where the reell immanence meets the transcendence. This point is called the metabasis (Husserl, 1907/1995). Therefore, every object/phenomenon that we want to examine, or study has at

least two dimensions for me, as a researcher, the immanent dimension and the dimension of transcendence and we always start in the immanent to work our way through the metabasis and from there get a glimpse of the transcendence.

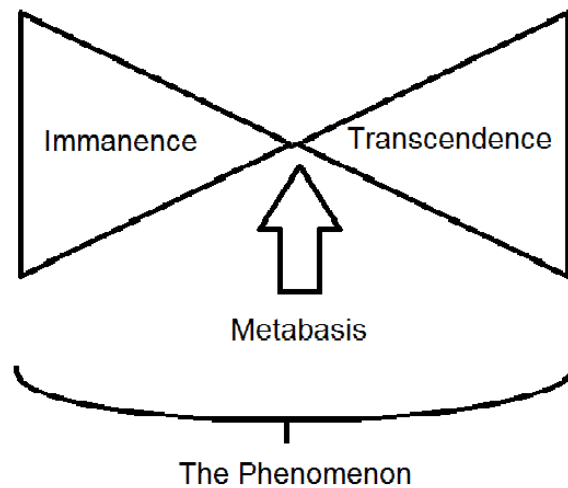


Figure 2. Illustration of the metabasis in relation to the phenomenon

The phenomenological reduction aims to remove all excess immanence and thus highlight the bridge between the immanence and the transcendence, although this removal will never succeed entirely as all perception of the transcendent is followed by apperception, interpretations and preconceptions, which most often is a result of our own boundaries of immanence. The knowledge I find will always contain a portion of my own immanence which makes my knowledge bound to myself, although valuable to others. The nature of this point differs although one of these “bridges” between the immanence and transcendence is empathy (Husserl, 1910-1911/2006).

How are we supposed to find patterns in the transcendent world, if we always need to look at a single case as a single unseparated case? For instance, how am I to understand anything about moral non-conforming if I can only look at each case as an inseparable part of its own context? To be able to distinguish one object from the context and to come as close to its eidos (true nature, or essence) as possible, does not equal trying to look

at it “objectively” as this is something that can never be done. Rather, it is to look at it subjectively but from as many different subjective angles that it is possible to muster. We will then see the object from many perspectives and from this we might find how the meaning is constituted and thus the true nature of that object, or at least come closer to its *eidos* (Husserl, 1912/1982; 1907/1995).

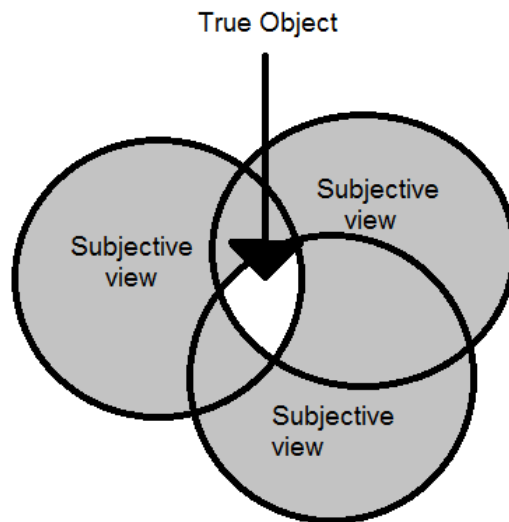


Figure 3. Illustration of how different subjective views combined forms a picture of the true object.

Phenomenology does not deny the possibility of finding rules, laws, order and patterns in the world, this is what all humans do, and this is how they form their meaning. Phenomenology doubts whether it is possible to find a general law, pattern or rule applicable to all people in all times. This makes the phenomenologists job never-ending. Everything needs to be re-examined when time and context change. To find the “general” for an object or phenomenon it is possible to search for the similarities out of different context and to see where the different meanings overlap. The more these contexts differ from each other the better for validity as this will allow us to see the phenomenon/object from yet another perspective. Looking at the same vase twice from the same direction will tell us nothing about its other side and when we subsequently describe the vase, we will only be able to describe

one of its sides no matter how many people looked at it from that particular side. To get a full description of the vase, or any other object, we need to adapt as many perspectives as possible. This shared knowledge about an object is as close to the transcendence or truth we can get (Husserl, 1912/1980; 1912/1982; 1907/1995; 1910-1911/2006). Husserl (1912/1980) defines this mutual understanding of a plurality of experiencing as objectivity. Objectivity is, then, not a perception free from preconception (as no such thing exists), but an apprehension of something, and all that belongs to it as a product of a mutual understanding, an understanding which contains all our preconceptions (Husserl, 1912/1980). If we had an infinite number of slightly different perspectives, we will find the true eidos of a phenomenon/object by finding where they overlap (see figure 3) (Husserl, 1912/1980; 1912/1982; 1907/1995; 1910-1911/2006). Once we find enough overlaps, we can also see what we can remove while the object remains as intended (Karlsson, 1995), as the variations show the common pattern (Ruin, 2009). To only study one lived process is never enough to get the picture of the pure essence of the object because we need at least two in a comparison to start to separate the eidetic content from the noetic content (Husserl, 1912/1980). Describe enough real-life round objects and you will be able to form the eidetic concept of the mathematical sphere. This does not mean that the eidos itself exists as a transcendental object, the eidos of an object is just an idea, just as the perfect circle is a mathematical idea and do not necessarily exist in the transcendent world. This is how we should also understand the eidos. Just as every circle is unique, every experience is unique, but from enough of unique circles, we will be able to describe a circle mathematically. From enough unique experiences, we will be able to uncover the eidos of the experienced object.

Knowledge is always immanent, the transcendent exists whether there is a knowledge of the existence or not. Knowledge must always be a mental process. It is therefore misguided to believe that it is possible to reach knowledge without exploring the

immanent, even when the knowledge we seek concerns the transcendent. The problem with knowledge being immanent, even if the objective of the knowledge is to know something about the transcendent, is that it becomes hard to distinguish what is transcendent or what we only believe to be transcendent. In phenomenology, and perhaps especially when using it as a method in psychology, we therefore do not require the object/phenomenon which is meaningful to a person to be “real” in the transcendent (physically existent) aspect. If an object/phenomenon holds meaning to us it is real to us and as a meaning holding object being real it will affect our understanding and behaviour (Husserl, 1912/1980; 1912/1982; 1917/1991; 1929/1992; 1907/1995). Take for instance a concept such as “God”. For a person who believes God exists he/she affect this person’s behaviour and understanding of the world whether God really does exist or not. This meaning laden object (“God”) also exists other people, some of who do not believe that God exists, but the person believing in God will act in a certain way, institutions such as the church are built, laws are created around the belief that God condemns abortion etc. Therefore, no matter if God exists in a transcendent, physical sense, God does exist as a very real object which influences, not only the people who believe in him/her, but also people who not to believe in the transcendent being of God. What we perceive as existing exists (Bentano, 1874/2005; Husserl, 1910-1911/2006) and if we experience something it (at least in a metaphysical sense) exists.

Phenomenology and solipsism

It is important to understand the difference between the phenomenological viewpoint and the solipsistic view of the world (Dastur, 2004; Husserl, 1910-1911/2006) as the two can easily get confused for someone who do not yet have a deeper knowledge of phenomenology. Phenomenologists view our perception of the transcendent with a critical eye, leaving the door open that we might have misunderstood part of the true, eidetic nature of the transcendental, but phenomenology never denies the transcendent or doubt its existence,

phenomenologists only believe that knowing about its true nature is very difficult, perhaps impossible.

Summary

Everything we believe we know is an interpretation of an object. Knowledge does not exist as an object in the transcendent, or physical world. Knowledge can be *of* objects in the physical world, but the knowledge itself is always immanent by its very nature. Everything that is immanent is bound to be interpreted by the person to which the immanence belongs, the perceiver. It is therefore impossible to know if the immanent knowledge that I possess of an object corresponds with a transcendent object. It is also not relevant, as the transcendent object can never be perceived as it is. Instead the idea of the object, the *eidos*, is interesting, because no matter whether or not this object physically exists, it will affect us if there is an idea about its existence, its *eidos*. To obtain an as accurate picture as possible of this *eidos*, this intended object, and how it is constituted we need to look at it from as many perspectives, or subjective views as possible, and by phenomenological reduction peel away the meaning that does not belong to the object studied (see picture 1.2). We are then left with the pure meaning of that object. That is, we still do not know what it is in the transcendent world, but we know what it means, in the shared immanence.

Time

Why do we not go around the vase and look at it ourselves from all possible angles? This is, in a sense, what the positivists do when dividing the vase into variables and look at them one by one to then form the whole from these parts. The problem here is, once again, the context. It is only possible to see one of the infinite possible perspectives of the vase at a time (Husserl, 1912/1982). When you go around the vase time has changed, and therefore also the context (Husserl, 1907/1995). You are not the same as when you looked at the vase from the last perspective. The vase is not the same because now it is a vase with a

researcher on its left side and not its right side. It follows that phenomenological content is linked to the experience of time (Husserl, 1917/1991). Like the metabasis is the bridge between the immanence and transcendence, the “now” is the bridge between retention and protention, our memories or conscious past and our expectations and anticipations of the future. We always live in now, because now is the only thing that exists, but at the same time “just then” and “in the next now” exists. Now in itself is a time which both is the only time that exists and the only time that does not, psychologically speaking. A tone can only exist in this “now”, but a symphony must exist in both retention and protention to be experienced as something else than a series of individual tones. So, to create a meaningful “now” we need to mix in a past and a future at the same time because a “now” without context is meaningless, just as one tone cannot make up a symphony (note that this past and/or future does not need to be “real” in the objective sense) (Husserl, 1912/1982; 1917/1991; 1907/1995; Husserl, 1918-1926/2001; 1910-1911/2006).

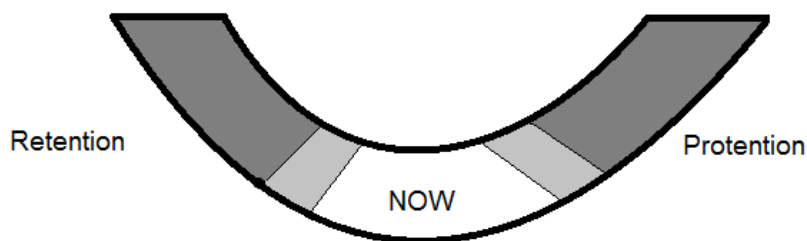


Figure 4. Model of time. The figure shows time as experience. Note that the "now" mixes with the Protention and the Retention, in the lighter grey areas.

Our perception an object in time contains all three time-dimensions when it becomes immanent. It has a retentive and a protentive aspect, as well as a now. Investigating the now in a meaningful way therefore demands this threefold of understanding. As all objects are studied in time, and by somebody, the thorough examination of objects/phenomenon

needs to consider the immanent, transcendent and the three time-aspects of the object/phenomenon. In research we are often interested only in some of these aspects, for instance, we might be interested in the transcendence and the future aspect of something, perhaps to make general predictions as is often tried in positivistic research. But we cannot single out one or two aspects of a phenomenon and solely investigate them without the others as they are intertwined beyond separation to their context, in time, in transcendence, and in immanence (Husserl, 1912/1982; 1907/1995). As we exist in the present, the past and the future at once, it is impossible to precisely duplicate any given “now”. Everything changes because the past and the future changes, even if the events of the “now” would be the same as another “now” (a past or a future), every recollection we have, every memory we recall would be different (Husserl, 1910-1911/2006). Therefore, everything is in a permanent state of change (Valsiner, 2000). It is possible to add the transcendent and immanent dimension to time itself, as time can be transcendent (as the time measured by a clock), but as everybody who has waited for a train twenty minutes as compared to having a three-hour dinner with a very good friend knows, the immanent experience of time has very little to do with the time our clocks measure (Husserl, 1917/1991). Time is inseparably interwoven with experience (Valsiner, 2000).

Summary

Time is one of the dimensions we might use to look at objects from different perspectives. Whether something has happened, is happening, or is expected to happen affects the meaning the object holds for us. All meanings are filled with the meaning of the past, the meaning of the present, and the meaning of the future, and we therefore need to understand all meanings within the context of time. It is therefore impossible to take an experience out of context and examine it, because taking it out of context is taking it out of time, and time is essential for the constituted meaning of an object.

Perception/Cognition and the constitution of meaning

Psychology often distinguishes between perception (the sensory intake of information) and cognition (the processing of the perceived). In phenomenology no such distinction is made. To perceive is to process and interpret the information, and this happens immediately. It is therefore impossible to merely perceive, as perception is an indivisible part of cognition and vice versa (Gee, Loewenthal, & Cayne, 2013; Husserl, 1912/1980; 1912/1982; 1907/1995; 1910-1911/2006; Karlsson, 1995). Perception is not possible without imagination and categorization. When I see bread, I see, in a sense all bread, because they are of the same category, and by defining it to this category I have said that it has something in common with all bread, hence, I have seen a part of all bread. As soon as I have categorized it, it is no longer just an object, but a representative of all bread. Therefore, we can never take any experience at face value as it is reaching us in an already processed form (Husserl, 1910-1911/2006). The interpretation we make is in the form of ascribing meaning to the objects of perception. To be conscious of something is to give that object meaning (Asplund, 1970; Gee et al., 2013; Husserl, 1907/1995; Karlsson, 1995). Phenomenology is interested in how this meaning is constituted, what it is built upon. When I see a loaf of bread I have already categorized it as bread, and within this category the object is attributed certain functions such as being edible, to smell good while baked etc. All these attributions give the piece of bread another meaning and produces another meaning for me in relation to the bread, then the meaning of my relationship with, say, a stone. The bread is in possession of different attributes than the stone, and this affects me, and my relationship with the object, it produces the meaning the object has for me. This meaning is constituted differently for me than for another person. Perhaps this person is gluten intolerant, or perhaps this person is Chinese and does not see bread as a part of her daily food intake etc. Perceiving is, thus, bound to the process of constructing meaning. This meaning is, of course, immanent as a meaning cannot

exist in the transcendence. The stone is meaningless (but probably exists) without a perceiver. To understand the meaning of things we need to go through the immanence (Husserl 1907/1995).

The meaning is to be seen, not as static, but as a dynamic process making it very hard, or perhaps even an infinite process, to find an “objective” meaning or law. Once you start to examine an object, that examination itself has changed its meaning. Objectivity, as defined in the positivistic terms, is thus something we will never truly reach. We might therefore be better off if we did not try to reach it, but to strive for knowing and unveiling our own and others’ true subjectivity instead (Husserl, 1929/1992). Through the subjectivity, and the shared intersubjectivity we can uncover the eidos of objects (Gee et al., 2013; Sages, 2014). The process of constituting meaning is defining the object, the perceiver has an idea about the object and the nature of the object, this idea is followed by meaning that, in some cases, fills the gap between the actual object and the eidetic immanent representation of the object within the observer. The object is classified by the perceiver. A circle has eidetic features, a person with an idea about what a circle constitutes can explain what a perfect circle is but he or she will never experience the perfect circle. It is, however, fully possible to experience a circle, because other rounded shapes which do not have the exactness of the perfect circle are close enough to the perfect circle to contain the same meaning as a circle. It is therefore classified a circle until, for some reason, the meaning is not applicable on that figure anymore (Karlsson, 1995). A type of non-sweet baked goods for example has (for many people) the meaning of bread even if it is brown bread, or white, or contains seeds etc. They all correspond fairly well to the meaning of bread (e.g. being edible and tasting good with cheese), but they might look very different. If bread loses its meaning, by for example becoming stale or mouldy, then it does no longer contain the same meaning as before and, hence, in a real sense, it stops being bread. It becomes garbage or bird food instead.

Just as objects are measured by their meaning, all the objects to which we ascribe the same meaning (e.g. bread) will also become examples of, and further expand or refine the immanent representation of that object, the eidos of that object. A French person coming to Sweden might for example see bread as the white baguette or similar which is the most common type of bread in France, but after examining the Swedish hard dark bread the French person might expand the categorization or change the constitution of meaning of the object bread. Similarly, a Chinese person coming to France and calling all alcoholic beverages which is not “beer” “wine” (which, in my experience, is very common in China) might after a while there refine her/his category of wine, and perhaps develop new categories such as “cognac”. Every experience generates a countless number of new possibilities that all will be part of the meaning of the meaning of the original object, even if these are just imagined, unconsciously or consciously, and will never become “real” in the sense that they will happen, they will, real or not, affect the meaning of the object in question (Husserl, 1910-1911/2006).

Eidos is hierarchal sorted with categories one essence possibly containing essences of objects on a lower level (Husserl, 1912/1982; Valsiner, 2000). Ex. the eidetic object “Alcoholic beverage” contain both beer and hard liquor, hard liquor contain both vodka and cognac and cognac contain both Hennessy and Napoleon etc. All knowledge about one level must have a base in previous levels (Husserl, 1912/1982). One meaning can become the base for (constitute), another meaning, a motivation to form a new meaning or to ascribe an object a certain meaning. This is how motivation is formed (Husserl, 1929/1992). It is possible for one object to have several and sometimes conflicting meanings, in which case all must be clarified to get the full picture of the object. The full picture of an object does not have to be consistent with itself. This process of clarification involves making the concept clear by fulfilling its intuition and making the intuition clear by finding all the intentions

belonging to it. If we do this systematically it is possible to achieve the clarification of perfect self-givenness (Husserl, 1912/1980).

To take something out of its context is, in the best case, to deprive it of some of its meaning, in the worst case all its meaning. It is therefore imperative to try to hold on to the original meaning of subjectiveness and keeping the objects in their context where they retain their meaning (Husserl, 1910-1911/2006; Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). Being “objective” in a positivistic sense is a product of preconception because it means that we have accepted the basic presumption that the whole is the sum of its parts and that objects do not need a context. This does not mean that we cannot form any generalisations or conclusions, it is just important that these are based on a commonality of meaning constitution with respect of their contexts (Husserl, 1912/1980; 1910-1911/2006). Knowledge as presented to us always come as singularities; I see one bread, not bread as an eidetic object or as a universality. We must, to find the universality of bread, examine these singularities to draw conclusions from them. When doing so, it is important not to start with the conclusion or the array of possible conclusions I might draw, because then I am not examining bread at all, only my present idea of bread and I do not take the bread that the future holds for me into consideration (Husserl, 1912/1982).

Summary

An object instantly changes meaning when taken out of its context, and all research takes objects out of context to some extent. The importance, to retain as much of the meaning of a studied object as possible, is to try to keep as much context as possible when studying a phenomenon. We must be aware that the act of studying an object is to change its meaning, we should therefore choose methods and approaches that are as little intrusive as possible.

Épochè

To be able to find a knowledge which is as close to the transcendent, the true nature of an object/phenomenon, there is a need to “peel away” as much of the subjective immanence as possible. As knowledge is immanent, we cannot - and should not “peel away” all immanence, or all subjective understanding, as this would render our search for knowledge useless, if such a thing is even possible. As we are interested in the transcendence (or the immanent life-world of somebody else, which is often the case in psychology, understanding somebody else’s immanence is the same thing. Exploring the transcendent to me as I am then looking at the real immanence, which means how the immanence works as an object as opposed to the reell immanence which is the content of my own consciousness) and not our own immanence we need to look at this transcendent with as little prejudice as possible. A phenomenologist therefore tries to refrain from having a hypothesis and instead lets the transcendent speak for itself, examining the world and let the transcendence tell what is there. This state, not unlike the mindful state, is called the *épochè* (Husserl, 1912/1982; Sages, 2014; Wallenstein, 2009), a Greek term meaning to refrain oneself from passing judgment (Wallenstein, 2009). It is, in its ideal form a true bottom-up process (Husserl; 1912/1980; Husserl, 1912/1982; Sages, 2014). Part of the *épochè* is to view the objects as they are intended, which means trying not to affect them (Husserl, 1912/1982). In practical terms this means that we need to examine our objects of study as part of their natural contexts and avoid dividing them into variables or making experiments. I believe that the true *épochè* is impossible to reach, as a consciousness is never a passive receiver of perception, all objects it perceives it gives intentionality although sometimes this meaning is constituted passively and remains unnoticed for the person herself (Wallenstein, 2009). Therefore, a state without prejudice is impossible for any thinking being to attain even when we believe ourselves in that state (Ruin, 2009), but the researcher should strive to come as close to it as possible in the

search of knowledge about the transcendence. The best we can aim for is what Gunnar Karlsson describes as an attitude of a “disinterested observer” (p. 50, 1995). Or, put in another way, “to do phenomenology is to practice perceiving” (Ruin, 2009, p. 31 [my translation]). The *epochè* is to make everything but the object as it appears itself doubtable, taking in every contextual consideration, including one’s own preconceptions, doubting everything but the object itself, and then let the object speak for itself, without any prejudices or theories (Husserl, 1912/1982). To use theories is the same as limiting the degrees of freedom of the data to use statistical analogy. The method used in this thesis, the MCA – Minerva, facilitates the reaching of this state (Sages, 2014), how this is facilitated will be described later in this chapter.

Summary

Épochè is a state where it is possible to look at an object without preconception, and to see the object for what it is. This state is hard, or perhaps even impossible to reach, but in phenomenology, the researcher aims to find such a state where it is possible to see the object as it is. As this is impossible, the best we can hope for is to come as close as possible.

Intentionality

All knowledge and perception have an object which it intends, and all consciousness is consciousness of something. It follows that all consciousness is characterized by intentionality (Husserl, 1912/1982; 1917/1991). We have knowledge about something (Husserl, 1912/1982; 1907/1995). Our intentions of an object or our intentional perceptions, gives all objects we see other meanings or dimensions of meanings, namely the possible meanings that objects might have in the future, or meanings it might have had in the past. An object is thus not only something physical in the “now” it has possibilities reaching in the future, in alternative “nows” and in the past, true (in the physical aspect as it did indeed happen, or it will happen, or is happening right now) or just imaginative, it does not matter.

We can, when we perceive an object, think about other possible perceptions of the same objects (Husserl, 1929/1992). Perception is intention toward what is to come (Husserl, 1917/1991). Intentions creates a myriad of possible appearances of an object. In a sense it is a way to predict the future. To discover the eidetic, universal essence of an object, we must apprehend its many intentions, this will get us closer to the nature of the object (Husserl, 1912/1980). I might stand on the Great Wall and imagine the significance it held for the person guarding it 500 years ago, I might also imagine what my mother would do if she was with me at that point, and I can imagine what my fiancé will think about it when he comes to visit me in China in a couple of weeks. All these imaginations constitute the meaning of my perception of the Great Wall, although none of them are “real” in the physical sense. They are, never the less, part of my immanent understanding of the Great Wall and therefore, in another aspect, very real (as we saw before the existence and content of our own immanence is something we cannot doubt exists). All acts contain intentionality, intentionality is immanent in its nature, but it is constructed by appearances of objects and are as such a consequence of transcendent objects (Husserl, 1917/1991). Intentionality is the basis of judgment of an object and this is what we find in the immanence, not the object itself. Intentions are not accidental but always built on eidos (Husserl, 1912/1982). This means that by examining the intentions thoroughly we can find the eidos of the intended object. It also limits the number of possible intentions without the necessity of introducing a hypothesis or preconceptions.

Predicates

Meaning is always tied to a phenomenon but not isolated to one phenomenon. The same meaning (or part of meaning) can be tied to other phenomena as well (Husserl, 1929/1992). For example: Bread has the meaning (or partial intention) that it is edible. But so have crackers. Bread and crackers share some of the same partial meanings. If you have never

seen crackers before, but you know about bread, crackers have no meaning to you to start with. But as you know of bread, bread has meaning to you, rather than examining crackers from a bottom-up perspective and invent new meanings, you can see the similarities to bread and so the meaning of crackers to you will build upon the meaning of bread. These shared meanings that will help you understand crackers based on your understanding of bread, are extremely important to us and helps us make sense of the world and new, previously un-encountered, objects/phenomena. These parts of meaning constitution are called predicates and it is through these predicates we form correlations and laws in our understanding, or meaning giving, to the world. (Husserl, 1929/1992). Every perceived object is given value-predicates and practical predicates (Husserl, 1912/1980). These shared meanings can be meanings of value, ex. “Bread is good, bread is similar to crackers – crackers are good” or practical; “I am not hungry therefore I do not need to eat bread nor crackers”.

Entity

As we do not, in practice, doubt the existence of the world (Karlsson, 1995) there is also certain objects that we believe exist (as I have previously stated these objects might, or might not, be physical in their nature). These objects we believe exists can be named entities. An entity is something that contain meaning and exist for the person (Sages, 2014). The entities we have form a pattern and this pattern is what we believe as reality (Ruin, 2009).

Noema and Noesis

Mental processes are conscious *of* something, and to make this something one specific object, and not another, this object must have certain necessary aspects. These general aspects as seen in the object, is the object as intended, as meant is in the phenomenological tradition called noema (Husserl, 1912/1982; Karlsson, 1995) whereas the conscious acts, the perception, imagination and the conscious experience is called noesis (Karlsson, 1995). It follows that noema cannot exist without noesis and the other way around.

A good description of any object requires both noesis and noema (Husserl, 1912/1982). Even though noema represents more general features of an object it is still always changing just as noesis, for every new experience the noema changes (Husserl, 1982).

Modus

Another important aspect to get to know a phenomenon is to look at the constituted meaning through how we discuss it, its modi (Husserl, 1907/1995; Sages, 2014). Modi is the different types of meaning we can give an object, of example; is this a real object or do I imagine the object? When does the object exist? Is it something that has happened or is going to happen? If it has not happened already and/or if it is a product of fantasy, which possibilities does it have? Is it positive or negative? All these different categories and many more are what constitutes the modus of meaning constitution that is the existential being of a person (Sages, 2014). Knowledge can only be reached through experience and modus tells us *how* the object is experienced (Husserl, 1910-1911/2006).

Summary

To know all the intentions of an object, its constituted meaning, is to know its eidos, the idea of the object. To help us to see the intentions we might use the predicates tied to its entity. Predicates are parts of the meaning of an entity, an object. If we find all the different predicates that are tied to an entity, we have found the eidos of that entity. To do so we must find both the general aspects of the object that is necessary for us to classify it as that object and not another, the noema, and the contextual experience of that object, the noesis.

Passive Genesis

Passive genesis is the implicit conceptions we have about an object. We take them for granted to the point that we do not see them ourselves. They give meaning to objects, and facilitates communication with other people, carrying the same passive genesis (the same

unconscious intersubjectivity). They create laws and patterns in our creation of meaning and associations of the same. Much of what we identify as “culture” is, in fact, shared passive genesis within a group of people (Husserl, 1929/1992). A consciousness is never a passive receiver of perception, all objects it perceives it gives intentionality but this process of “giving” is not always explicit, active, or conscious. This passive forming of intentionality is the object of analysis in the passive synthesis (Wallenstein, 2009). Science carries cultural values, passive genesis, and should aim for insight of these values to make the information, the knowledge, comparable and general (Husserl, 1912/1980).

Life – world

A person’s life-world is closely related to a person’s passive genesis. The life-world is always pre-given and taken for granted, much like the implicit intentions of the passive genesis. A person never questions the existence of her/his life-world, it is what we take for granted exists (Karlsson, 1995). It is possible for a person to question the existence of a reality etc. on a theoretical level, but even the most fundamentalist solipsist takes the world he/she believes her/his mind created for granted, so that if the solipsist feels thirsty he/she will not doubt the water will quench her/his thirst. Objects, which is a part of the life world, are experienced intuitively and taken for granted as they are experienced without any conscious analysis. The life-world is always constituted of lived experience (Gee et al. 2013; Karlsson, 1995), and phenomenology aim to uncover the implicit life-world, which is accessible through the unveiling of the passive genesis forming the momentary noema (Karlsson, 1995). When this unveiling is done, however, the passive synthesis is no longer passive, as it is conscious and explicit. The passive synthesis has now become active. This active synthesis can be used to form, or reform new synthesis and new action.

Summary

Much of the meaning we address to objects are implicit and unconscious. These implicit meanings are the passive genesis of an object. This is closely related to a person's life-world. A person's life-world is everything that he/she implicitly takes for granted exists and it is formed through lived experience.

Ego

The experiencing person is in focus for all phenomenological research. It is therefore important to clarify who and what an experiencing person is, by describing the properties of the ego. An experiencing person is a stream of consciousness, but it is also conscious of itself, this is the ego, this is what we perceive as our "selves". The ego sees itself as a unity, to look at oneself makes the ego an object in your own consciousness. When it becomes an object to the perceiver (in this case itself), it ceases to be an endless stream of consciousness. Some of our past "cogitos", our earlier stream of consciousness, stay with us, like decisions we have made or attitudes we have formed (for example, my past cogito decided to take a course in psychology, she does not exist anymore, but her decision greatly affects me now). Our present cogito, our self, or ego is built by its predecessors, much like new meanings of a known object is added to the old ones. It is of course possible for us to change, just as my perception or constituted meaning of bread can change. Perhaps I suddenly encounter corn bread and my previous meaning of "bread" always being made from wheat changes, but although certain aspects might change, most of my other meanings of "bread" will remain the same and so the "bread" will remain one unit of intentions and meanings. This is, according to Husserl (1929/1992), how the ego works. The ego is an object with a lot of interwoven meanings attached to it, and what the ego is in the "now" is constituted of past meanings, and of our meanings of the future. This is what gives us personalities. This means

that our personalities are in constant, although not always dramatic, change as each new experience adds to our meaning of our own ego.

Our own ego is always something immanent, we are not to ourselves objects in the world, but the stream of consciousness that we call “I” (Dastur, 2011). When we look at ourselves “from the outside” we can see ourselves as a part of the transcendent world, but our experience of the ego is still an immanent experience from which we can never detach ourselves. The “I” can never truly become an object of investigation to us, because as soon as I direct my consciousness and my cogito toward the “I”, I immediately start to perceive it as an object, which it is not. The “I” is not definable as a single entity as it is a stream of consciousness, a unity, and a process. It cannot be studied as it is, because to look at it is to interrupt it, and then what we study is no longer there. It is possible to view the “I” in terms of having certain properties such as experiences, opinions attitudes etc., but the “I” defined for ourselves (the “I” of our “I” if one will) is not defined as such, it is defined as experience, as a constant is which entails parts of “was” and the “will be”, but all the “is” (now). As such the “I” is timeless. It exists in all times at once as every moment contains the past moment, and the anticipated next moment as well as my childhood, and my expectations of growing old or even life after death. It is also important to remember that although I see myself as an experiencing subject and not a bundle of properties, I can still recognize that I am in possession of such properties and that I am the performer of certain acts, although this is not what “I” *is*, this is what I *have* and *do*. What I have and do changes, and I can look back or ahead, and see my traits and actions change but I will still be “I”. I will also know that my “I” is attached to my lived body and although my “I” is not bound by the “now” whereas my body is a thing in time (Husserl, 1910-1911/2006). What we perceive as similar over time in our immanence is what we believe is, (or perhaps is) our personality (Husserl, 1917/1991). As time change, so will the personality change, it develops into something else in a forward

moving direction (Valsiner, 2000), although it is possible to argue that the personality can seemingly take shapes belonging to the past, in for example a regression defence (Freud, 1932/2000), but even this regression is new, separated by time and context from the previous experience.

It is a bit of a paradox, because as the immanent truth (ex. I feel this right now) is the only certainties, at the same time the real nature of the “I”, our own stream of consciousness, is ungraspable for us. We do, however, understand that there is other “I” s out there and that these “I” s share something with our own “I”. This intuitive understanding of the existence and nature of the other “I” as an object can be described as empathy, and it is a necessary tool to use in all the social sciences (some argue all sciences). Each “I” knows itself as the midpoint of its universe and all our judgments hail from this centre-point. We know this to be true for us, but we also, instinctively know this for all other “I” we meet. We understand that if I was to become their “I”, their “I” would become the centre point in my world. As we recognize and understand the other “I”s through empathy we are also understanding our own “I” through them. As we are not “in their ego” but understanding them through our own ego the information we get concerns our own “I” as much as theirs (Husserl, 1910-1911/2006).

The animated organism must be apprehended as a real unity to be seen as a carrier of psyche and thus an “I”. All animated organisms have their own here and now. This is something we understand intuitively, and this form the basis of empathy. Perspectives are therefore meaningless without its subject, just as a here and now is meaningless without an “I”. Some aspects of two “I” s here and now can be shared (Husserl, 1912/1980), just as I can watch the same film as my friend. But my friend will have a slightly different view at the chair next to me in the movie theatre so, the experiences will differ slightly, although, no doubt, also have much in common. This common experience can result in that we conclude that we have seen the same thing. Our interpretations of the film and the situation as so many

common factors that we can say it was the same film. If I have the impression that I saw a cartoon for kids and my friend that it was a graphic horror movie we might start to doubt that we were in the same movie theatre, our interpretations of the object are too different. We can tolerate other differences such as that I found the plot predictable and boring and that my friend thought it was highly exiting, or that I found that the couple behind us were disturbing my experience, but my friend did not. These differences will not make us doubt that we saw the same film. This commonality, this intersubjectivity is what we search for in phenomenological research.

Summary

We are able to look at ourselves as objects, from the outside, but when we study an object, we have immediately changed its context and its meaning. This is perhaps especially true when studying our own “I”, as “I” only becomes an object when studied. Before it is studied it is only a stream of consciousness. The knowledge about our “I” makes us understand that there are other “I”s out there, and through understanding the own “I” it is possible to understand the other “I”s, this is what we call “empathy”.

The Phenomenological reduction

Phenomenology does not deny transcendence but the transcendent cannot turn into knowledge, as knowledge belongs to the immanent sphere, and thus transcendence cannot be used to understand itself (Husserl, 1907/1995; 1910-1911/2006). Knowledge can instead be obtained by investigating the meaning constitution, the intentions of the transcendent and use this, this immanent part of the object to understand its transcendent counterpart. The aim of phenomenological reduction is to get to the constitution of the pure meaning of an object/phenomenon. Meaning is bound by regularities by the perceiver, if the perceiver does not find the meaning in line with the laws which he/she has set up he/she will believe the perception or the conclusions from the perception to be false (Husserl,

1929/1992). For example, if I am to call something bread it needs to be edible. This is a requirement, a law if you will. If an object lacks the meaning “edible” then it is not bread. If somebody tells me, it is bread I will not believe this person. If it looks like bread but it is not edible, I will presume that it is my eyes that deceive me. The meaning given objects is the only way we have for understanding and obtaining knowledge about the transcendent, and it is also how we need to understand the concept of truth. Truth is when perception and the meaning ascribed to this perception are coherent with my own meaning of the object I perceive. Generalized truths (knowledge) could thus be described as perception and meaning being coherent with the intersubjective meaning of a larger group of people (perhaps all, or perhaps a subgroup such as a specific culture, people who speak a certain language etc.) By phenomenological reduction we search for the constitution of the pure meaning that makes the object categorized as it is within the context where it is. We are, by the means of the *epochè* finding the eidetic universality behind the experienced object, and we must do this by putting the cognitive aspect of experience into brackets (Gee et al. 2013; Husserl, 1912/1982) (Note: we cannot, and we do not deny its existence, nor do we remove it, if that was indeed possible, from our research. Instead we try to find a way to exclude it without removing it.) as no cognition can be eidetic as it does not only contain the true meaning of an object, but it also contains meanings from the objects surrounding the object of interest (Husserl, 1912/1982).

The method of phenomenological research is the phenomenological reduction (Karlsson, 1995; Husserl, 1910-1911/2006), it aims to structure the layers of meaning constituting an object (here it is important to keep in mind that an object in a phenomenological sense is anything that can contain meaning in itself) to find, or rather structure, the pure meaning in a comprehensible manner, thereby revealing the idea of the object. This includes the implicit meaning constitution of the object, so another metaphor for the procedure might be to unveil the meaning constitution, to uncover and make it

understandable (Sages, 2003). Meaning is also created unconsciously in passive synthesis, both by the respondent and by the researcher. Together this creates an intersubjectivity which relies partly of the passive synthesis (Sages, 2014). The most basic axioms (the smallest bit of pure meaning which are generally accepted and cannot be further reduced) makes the essences of concepts clear, therefore we need to systematically uncover these axioms to understand the concepts to which they belong and thus of the fundamentals of consciousness (Husserl, 1912/1980). The phenomenological reduction can be used on any human act, behavioural, physical, immanent etc. To live is to perceive, and part of the reduction is to look at perception as an object and examine its aspects to understand the object, or the constituted meaning of the object perceived. In this case retention should also be treated as perception because retention is a form of perception of the past (Husserl, 1910-1911/2006). Time is therefore a crucial dimension to consider when conducting phenomenological research (Sages, 2014). The study of a phenomenon through time can explain the phenomenon now (Valsiner, 2000).

Summary

The phenomenological reduction aims to “peel away” superfluous meaning from the object and be left with the object as intended, all the meaning that constitutes this object and no other meaning. Part of the reduction is also to describe and examine this meaning, what it forms and what it is formed by.

Validity

Phenomenology approaches validity from a contextual and experiential foundation. Cognition (which is interwoven with perception and thus always an object of investigation no matter which subject is studied) is ultimately judgments and interpretations of the objects we believe exist. They cannot be understood separate from their context, so, in order to achieve validity, they must be seen in relation to their context (Husserl, 1910-

1911/2006). An understanding of how an object is constructed must start from how it is perceived (Husserl, 1912/1982). Claims about the world must always start with experience, and experience should go before theorizing as a base of knowledge. We therefore need to start with describing experience before theorizing, and as experience is context-bound, all form of hypotheses which do not derive from actual experiences harms the validity of the research (Husserl, 1910-1911/2006).

The world, or the appearance of the world to us, is investigated, and the objects that appears to us are called phenomena as opposed to the true existing objects. Psychology has its basis in perception and experience (Brentano, 1874/2005), and it is therefore hard to imagine a better way to explore psychology than through efforts to understand perception and experience. We must also take the consciousness into consideration, as consciousnesses (our own and others) are parts of the given object, as well as being given objects in themselves. To enter the *epochè* is to take our intuition as it is and refrain from explanation. This does not mean that the results are purely descriptive however, only that the goal is a process of analysis as free from preconceptions as possible, forming a bottom-up process where we let the data speak before any analysis occurs (Husserl, 1912/1982).

The only way to find the *eidos* and the system of *eidos*, is through the study of real experiences and not from beforehand created “concepts” or a priori assumptions. Concepts should be found by a careful step by step investigation, they should never be assumed. They should emerge from experience through generalisation and categorisation and their usefulness must be evaluated in real life experience, not by deductive reasoning. Therefore, it is important to let the respondents speak freely, working without a hypothesis and, as far as possible, refrain from cherry-picking the parts of the data to analyse. A rational and scientific approach to data is to go back to the things themselves and listen to what they are telling us, their self-givenness (Husserl, 1912/1982; Sages, 2014). Concepts can only be

valid if they are corresponding to intuition, an essence which can be grasped through intuition, and which is expressed by concepts. The fitting general expression for an object (e.g. a concept) will then correspond to the eidetic object (Husserl, 1912/1980). It is possible to argue that there can be an infinite number of concepts and that without any preconceptions or pre-given categories there are no limitations, and thus we can only have one concept for one specific object at a time. While this certainly is a possibility (which phenomenology leaves itself open to, as opposed to all other methods of which I know), it is improbable as the world is not chaos, and thus must follow certain patterns, much in the same way as our cognition does, therefore our concepts will probably follow some sort of order as well and we will never have to tackle the problem with the infinite and chaotic categories, although we cannot and should not be certain of this (Husserl, 1912/1982).

An eidetic claim is valid only if the idea (the idea of the object, the *eidos*) is possible. A round square is not possible therefore the geometrical (geometry is eidetic to its nature) figure of a round square is not valid. This is the same with other eidetic claims in for example psychology. It is important to note that, had it been possible to imagine the figure of a round square, this idea of a round square could be valid, although there is no such corresponding round square in reality, it is still eidetically valid. Just as the idea of world peace can be valid although there has never been world peace. It is valid as long as it is a possibility (however unlikely). Phenomenology is not trying to answer the question about how the physical thing is in reality, as this, as we have seen is impossible, but rather its constituted meaning, its essence and what eidetically belongs to its concept by examining these intentions. The validity of an investigation depends on that the noema constitutes the essence (Husserl, 1912/1980). There is no absolute validity, therefore it is extremely important to describe every step of the analytic research process so that the level of validity can be judge by another person (Husserl, 1912/1980; Sages, 2014).

Summary

Validity in phenomenology is based on the research's ability to find the meaning of the investigated, as much of this meaning as possible, and as accurate as possible. What is described, the concept and objects should represent the intended meaning of the respondents. The more different perspectives on this object, the better the validity, as we are then getting a better picture of the object. It is also important to work without preconceptions, as far as this is possible.

Qualitative method in general

In a qualitative, phenomenological method, the design is emergent, the researcher looks at the data and from that data the researcher aims to discover patterns (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994), although there is a possibility that no patterns exist. The researcher tries to refrain from using templates, both in data gathering procedures and in analysis (Magnusson & Marecek, 2012). Time is seen differently in qualitative research, less as a straight line moving forward and never backwards, and more like a complex pattern moving back and forth. Therefore, cause and effect become less relevant as a research goal, instead qualitative research are focused on reasons, interpretations, and meanings, and how these are tied together to form the subject one studies (Langemar, 2008; Magnusson, & Marecek, 2012; Maykut, & Morehouse, 1994). Within this, things might cause one another, but in a more complex manner, not one variable causing variance in another variable, it is rather that some patterns have special meanings which gives reason or motivation to the person acting.

Meaning Constitution Analysis

In the next part of this chapter will explain how I have used phenomenology on a practical level, the system of analysis that comes from this. I will start with the method of

selecting respondents, and then the analytical method of Meaning Constitution Analysis (MCA), and how it is applied to my research.

Selection of respondents

The selection of participants is as important in phenomenological research as in any other research, perhaps more so, but the criteria of selection is different. In positivistic psychological research, the goal is to find people who resemble one another as much as possible, to isolate one particular variable. I have tried to do the opposite. The respondents should be as different as possible with the only commonality of the moral non-conforming act, and preferably this act should differ in nature as much as possible as well. This is to achieve the overlapping perspectives such as exemplified in figure 3. A relevant question is how we know on which variables they should differ, and how do we know we have the whole spectra of different respondents. Here, of course, the answer is that we do not know, and we will never know if we have all perspectives that could possibly help us to find the whole picture. We might even go a step further to say that the only thing we can be sure of is that we have not found all relevant perspectives. We can only do our best to cover as many perspectives as possible, and from there make an estimation.

The focus in phenomenology is the subjective experience of the respondent, this means that the manner of contact with the respondent might look different and should look different in each case. Some people are more likely to participate as a favour to a friend, others as a response to a public question (e.g. a request via a Facebook group to which they belong), a third because they know the researcher etc. As long as the researcher is interested in a phenomenon in general and not specifically “people who I never met before that are moral non-conformists” or “moral non-conformists who do not like to be approached by researchers”, all of these and more ways to find respondents are feasible. Combining different procedures for respondent selections makes for a better distribution of differences among the

respondents. It does, however, influence the way they respond. It is natural that the way the respondent communicates her/his sentiments to me depend on whether I know them beforehand, if they are doing this as a favour to a friend, or if they don't know me at all. This must, of course, be taken into consideration in the analytical process, but it does not influence or limit the manner of possible ways to find a respondent. There is greater cause for concern when only one method of finding respondents is used because that systematically excludes people who will not respond to, say, an advertisement in the newspaper.

The next important task is to further diversify the respondents, this is done better if combined with the analytical process. It is not possible to know in which aspects the respondents should differ to get a full picture of the subject studies. Is it gender, culture, economics etc.? There is a danger that we tend to believe that classification/grouping variables say something about all the people of that group (ex. all 30-year-olds) and that we ignore that there is an ingroup variation (Valsiner, 2000) and perhaps nothing other than being born the same year is what makes them a group to begin with, perhaps the grouping of "people whose favourite colour is orange" would have been better grouping variable for the purpose of variation in this particular (hypothetical) study. Culture is always important to diversify, whether this is national cultures (if such a thing exists as a homogenous entity), or culture depending on social class, profession etc. it is always important to have more than one culture represented within the sample. It is possible to choose the "usual" variables to further diversify the sample (e.g. age, gender, SES, ethnicity), but rather than presuming that these factors are important, and that they influence the subject, it is better for validity to let the factors of interest emerge from the data itself, during the process of analysis. For example: If my respondent talks about her/his age as something important to the issue it might be wise to talk with someone from a different age group. The selection of participants should therefore be made in an emergent manner, where new participants are searched for when needed until

the data has achieved saturation. The concept of saturation is of course also, like the *époque* impossible to fully achieve. Every new respondent introduced in the study will inevitably add new aspects to the phenomena. Here we, once again need to go for “good enough” which is a subjective estimation. This is often combined with time restraints and, in some cases, ability to find certain type of respondents.

Open-ended interview as a method

The finding of respondents, and perhaps even more the data gathering, is in itself a form of analysis. The people chosen to participate, the follow up questions asked in an interview are the results of an analysis, predetermined (such as when using prepared questions), or emergent (as in an open interview) (Magnusson & Marecek, 2012). I did not use any preconstructed interview guide in my interviews, I tried to stay as open as possible and go wherever the respondent led me. Sometimes I needed to exemplify what I meant. All interviews must begin with a question, and this should be as open as possible to give the respondent room to answer in their preferred manner. The first question asked in the interviews was not the same for all respondents, this was due to many factors: 1) Language: I have used several languages when interviewing respondents, and this means that the question cannot be the same, even if translated word by word, the meaning might change. This is not solely a problem across languages, but the meaning of words is always contextual, so a question can never be the same when asked to different people in different situations. There is also a difference in proficiency in the language between the respondents, and the researcher. Some respondents were interviewed in their native language by a native speaking researcher (in most of the interviews with Swedes, their first language is Swedish and my first language is Swedish), one was interviewed in his native language but by a non-native speaker (as the case with Chuck, who is from the UK, and was interviewed by me using my second language, English), others were interviewed in their second language (English) by a researcher who are

also using her second language etc. The difference in proficiency must affect the wording. Sometimes the wording needs to change so that the respondent to understand the questions or even the theme of the interview. 2) Interpreter; it is not only the language of the respondents that needs to be taken into consideration. In some of the interviews an interpreter was used. The interpreters that helped me were on different levels in their own understanding of English, and when they translate to Chinese, they might use different wordings depending on who they are, who they are talking to and so forth, as I do not know Chinese, I had to trust their translation. 3) Preconceptions within the form; there is a difference in how the open-ended interview is received in different cultures. The open-ended enquiry often feels strange to a Chinese respondent, and it might therefore be necessary to change the way the question is worded to better suit the understanding depending on where and with whom the interview is conducted (Gustafsson Jertfelt, Blanchin, & Li, 2016). 4) Preconceptions of the subject; depending on how much the person knows about the subject and the preconception about why he/she is being interviewed the question might need to be rephrased. For example, some Chinese respondents had difficulties understanding the concept of moral non-conforming. It was often needed to give an example of a moral non-conformer. This is tricky, because the example is likely to influence the respondents answer and make her/him think in certain ways. To minimize this risk, I gave the example of Mia (e.g. a policeman who reported a colleague for improper conduct see next chapter), the reason for this is that this example is understandable in a Chinese context, it is also not morally sensitive (Policemen should follow the law) and it was unlikely that any of the non-police respondents would have had experiences similar to this story. I also, in some cases, used an example of a student who stands up for another student who is bullied by their peers.

Meaning Constitution Analysis as applied to this study

Meaning Constitution Analysis (MCA) uses a phenomenological and systematic approach to uncover meaning. To help with the analysis I have used Minerva, which is a software which facilitates the MCA. MCA is done in several steps, and can be employed differently by different researchers, on different types of data, and/or for different research questions. It provides a structure for research, but within that structure there are many possibilities to find an approach that suits the topic at hand. The greatest strength of working with MCA and Minerva is transparency. All other qualitative methods that I know of will, in one way or another, encounter the problem of explaining how the steps of analysis are made. It is often easy to see what statements led up to the analysis, and how they could be interpreted the way the researcher did, but this is essentially a post-hoc assessment. It is very hard to explain why this interpretation won over all the other possible interpretations. In MCA it is possible to follow the researchers' every step in the analysis. It is also designed to facilitate the desired state of *épochè* (Sages & Lundsten, 2009).

MCA relies on the experience of consciousness which means that the data used must be data gathered from within the respondent's life-world. People are singularities and must be investigated as such, taking away the context is as we have seen, to take away the meaning. I have therefore chosen to speak with people who, by their own admission, have committed an act of moral non-conformity. I have also chosen to let them answer freely, without any pre-prepared questions from my part. I am also not using any hypothesis and have tried to stay open to every possibility. The life-worlds of moral non-conformers are partly shared as they have all performed an act of moral non-conformism. The only criteria I have had for selecting respondents in this study is that they should all, by their own admission, have committed an act of moral non-conformism. What constitutes such an action has, however, been decided beforehand, see previous chapters.

The aim of MCA is to make implicit meaning explicit, to uncover the different meanings an object has for one, or several individuals. In this case the individuals share one part of their life-world (moral non-conformism), to uncover the meanings of moral non-conformism MCA has been used to analyse their answers.

Steps in MCA

Step 1: Meaning units

After obtaining and, when needed, transcribing the data, the first step is to divide this data into meaning units. The text is separated into pieces, meaning units, the separation is done whenever the text changes meaning, so that each unit contains one meaning. This is done to facilitate the analysis and the application of the *epochè*. To analyse the narrative in small pieces makes it easier for the researcher to focus on the unit at hand, ignoring the preconceptions of what might come next, and therefore facilitating the analysing of the meaning as it is, and as it is presented rather than how it is expected. Another aspect of the dividing of the narrative is the facilitating of validation, as it is possible to derive all parts of the analysis to the exact part of narrative that forms the base for this interpretation. It is therefore better to keep the meaning units as short as possible (Sages & Lundsten 2009). Even so, it is sometimes necessary to use longer meaning units for practical reasons described in each case.

Example 1. Meaning units

The quote below comes from one of the people interviewed for this study, Dongmei. She was not classified as moral non-conformer, and I will use this sentence as an example of how it is possible to work with MCA.

“A boy fighting a girl is not fair and all the other people are just looking and so the thing is like wrong and I feel uncomfortable.”

I have divided this into four meaning units:

MU 29: A boy fighting a girl is not fair

MU 30: and all the other people are just looking

MU 31: and so, the thing is like wrong

MU 32: and I feel uncomfortable

These meaning units will then be analysed separately. They all contain roughly one piece of meaning. It is often difficult to find clear cutting points and thus some meaning units might contain more than one meaning. This has two major causes: First, it is sometimes hard to divide the sentence in such a way that only one meaning is in each piece while also retaining all meaning.

Example 2. Meaning units

This quote is also from the interview with Dongmei.

“My grandparent was the mayor of the city, and in his whole life he never did something wrong because he thinks if he did do something wrong, he will hear the ringing of the police car.”

In the first part of this quote it is easy to find a good place to divide the sentence.

MU 70: My grandparent was the mayor of the city, and

MU 71: in his whole life he never did something wrong

These are separable parts. In the first part she states that her grandparent was a mayor, that's one meaning, in the second that he never did anything wrong. That is another meaning. Next meaning unit is:

MU 72: because he thinks if he did do something wrong, he will hear the ringing of the police car.

This is a longer meaning unit and it holds more than one meaning. It holds the meaning about what the ringing of a police car means, also what her grandparent think would happen if he did something wrong, but these two meanings also relate to, and build each other. It is impossible to understand the meaning full meaning of the ringing of the police car without the first part of the sentence. I have therefore chosen to make a longer meaning unit.

The longer meaning units affects the analysis by making it harder for the researcher to reach époqueè, but as I have such a large amount of material, reaching the époqueè

by dividing the text into small pieces to dilute preconceptions has not been as important. The number of meaning units have been sufficient to do this anyway.

The second major cause for me to divide the text into larger meaning units than optimal has to do with a practical problem and has no value for the analysis. The Minerva software is aged and slows down significantly when handling large amount of data. When analysing long texts, it becomes very hard to use shorter meaning units. I have therefore used slightly longer meaning units than I would have wanted, to make it practically possible to use the software. One alternative would perhaps have been not to use the software and make the analysis by hand, I would then have had the possibility to keep the shorter meaning units, and thus protect the validity. This has other complications, however, doing the analysis by hand makes it much harder to get a good overview. In the end I felt that this was a larger threat to validity than having slightly larger meaning units.

Step 2: Modalities

Next step in the analysis process is to ascribe modalities to each meaning unit. Modalities are characteristics of each meaning unit. The modalities categorize certain aspects of a meaning unit, and helps us understand how the person experience meaning, how the conscious process, the subjectivity and the passive genesis of the respondent are constructed. Modalities indicates how the individual relates to the expressed meaning. The modalities are, in presented order: belief, function, time, subject, affect, will, and property.

Belief

The belief modality indicates how certain the person is about something. Doxa, indicates no hesitation, it is a certainty, then there are subsequent lesser degrees of certainty (Sages & Lundsten, 2009; Yang & Sages, 2016). Everything stated has a degree of belief, doxa indicates that we believe that it is definitely so, without explicitly reflecting. It just is.

There are two different forms of doxa categorized in the meaning units, the first is doxa affirmation which represent the certainty just described. Doxa affirmation is used when discussing subjects that does not need an explanation they just are. Doxa negation, on the other hand, is used when the narrator believes that what is discussed is definitely so but might warrant an explanation because it is not self-evident for some reason. In this thesis it is most often used when the respondent describes the difference between themselves and the group which they are not conforming to. This is something that warrants an explanation because it is not self-evident. The most culturally accurate or “normal” thing to do would be to do like everyone else. The certainty that they have not done this is there, but it is no longer self-evident and must be explained. Probability is the next most certain category of belief, leaving a little door open for the possibility of something else, possibility is the next step, used for hypothetical reasoning. The last category is question, used for questions directed toward the interviewer or others. Rhetorical questions do normally not fall under this category as they are most often doxa in disguise.

Example 3. Belief

Returning to Dongmei, we will look at the same meaning units as before:

MU 29: A boy fighting a girl is not fair

MU 30: and all the other people are just looking

MU 31: and so, the thing is like wrong

MU 32: and I feel uncomfortable

All Dongmei’s meaning units are doxa. Some of them are doxa-negation as MU 29, and some of them are doxa-affirmation as MU 31, but she is always very certain of what she is saying, another respondent, Meilin, also not categorized as a moral non-conformer uses the modality possibility, which indicates a lesser degree of certainty:

MU 54: Because for society maybe a student who is doing his PhD has more value than the cleaner.

Meilin is testing a thought here, she is not certain that it is like this, but it might be. This makes it a possibility.

Function

Function is how the person categorize what is said, as signitive, imaginative or perceptive (something that the person sees happening, which often makes them very clear to the respondent). Everything said has a function, a reason for why it is said and how it is known (Sages & Lundsten, 2009). For something to be classified as signitive it must be a representation of something bigger, something that changes the way one sees the object.

Example 4. Function

Returning once again to Dongmei.

MU 29: A boy fighting a girl is not fair.

This meaning unit was classified as “perceptive/signitive” which means that there is a mix of the two. Dongmei is describing an event that she witnessed, this is perceptive. At the same time, this event is an example of an occurrence which is “not fair”, it is not just this situation, but all situations involving a boy fighting a girl which is not fair. This makes the meaning unit signitive.

MU 30: and all the other people are just looking

This was classified as perceptive. She was there and witnessed all the other people just looking. It is clear and taken together with the doxa belief, to Dongmei, this is an undoubtable truth.

MU 31: and so, the thing is like wrong

This was, just at MU 29 classified as perceptive/signitive. Signitive in the way that this was wrong, but it was wrong on a basis of a general rule, and the situation is used, partly, to illustrate something she feels is wrong. The “wrongness” is therefore bigger than the situation. But at the same time, it was a concrete situation that was wrong, and she saw it and deemed it as such, making the meaning unit signitive as well.

MU 32: and I feel uncomfortable

This was classified as perceptive. She perceived feeling uncomfortable in this situation.

Imaginative is the function missing in the example of Dongmei, imaginative is often used when the person is thinking in hypothetical scenarios, thinking about what he or she would do in a certain situation. In the present study “function” was not found to add any

new understanding to the subject, and I have therefore decided not to present this modality in the analysis.

Time

According to Husserl (1918-1926/2001) we live in all times at the same time, or rather, our actions, thoughts, beliefs etc. is a product of all times at the same time. An action is produced as a result of the moment before, and all moments before that. Thus, every action, belief, thought etc. contains all past moments, but it does not only consist of past moments, it is also a product of the “now”. It is produced “now” as a result of the meaning the individual puts into the “now”, this meaning is dependent on the “past” but it is also unique and the experience “now” adds something new to the meaning, so that the meaning is not simply constituted by past meanings, but of all past meanings and the new meaning of “now”. But this is not enough to understand the meaning of the action. The action is also the result of what is perceived to be in the future, e.g. expectations, premonitions, logical reasoning etc. An action can be directed toward the future, e.g. I do this now, because I believe that will bring X tomorrow. It can be directed toward the now e.g. I tell it how it is. It can be directed toward the past e.g. I am sorry for what I did. The now is the only thing that are, that exists in a transcendental way. The “past” and “future” exists in the immanence and are relevant to the actions and the meanings of the “now”. The “now” has no meaning by itself (meaning is always immanent). It needs the before and after as a context to produce meaning. The reverse is also true, the before and after does not have any meaning without the now. It becomes irrelevant. The time modality, thus, tells us where, in time, the most meaning is made in this meaning unit.

Example 5. Time

Let us look at the time modalities for Dongmei.

MU 29: A boy fighting a girl is not fair

MU 30: and all the other people are just looking

MU 31: and so, the thing is like wrong

MU 32: and I feel uncomfortable

The options to choose from is “past”, “present”, “future”, “present → past”, “present → future”, “always-recurrent”, and “empty”.

MU 29 was classified as “always-recurrent”, as it is a general rule to be applied at all times, there is an option to choose “empty” as well, but this implies that there is no time aspect to the unit, which is not correct. A boy must fight a girl within dimension of time, therefore the rule must exist in time as well.

MU 30 was classified as “past” as the event took place in the past, even if she uses a present form.

MU 31 was classified as “always-recurrent” as it is still wrong.

MU 32 was classified as “past” as she felt uncomfortable

Adding later meaning units to the example:

MU 70: My grandparent was the mayor of the city, and

MU 71: in his whole life he never did something wrong

MU 72: because he thinks if he did do something wrong, he will hear the ringing of the police car

MU 73: he would be so nervous he does not want to be like that

MU 74: and then he just always keeps things right

MU 75: and that affected me a lot

MU 76: and I want to do like that.

MU: 70-74 were classified as “past”, although it is possible to argue that MU 71 - 74 might be classified as “always-recurrent”, although the impression is that the grandfather is dead and thus ceased his acting.

MU 75 was classified as “present → past” as she believes that the experience in the past are affecting her now.

MU 76 was classified as a “always-recurrent” as this is a permanent state of wanting to be like that.

Subject

Next modality to be classified in each meaning unit is the subject. In the first part of this chapter I discussed the importance of the subject in the context of phenomenology. It is important to know who the “I” is, is it a perceived other “I”, is it my own “I”, or is it an “extended “I” as is the case of a “we” or is it a universal “I” as the case of “one-all”. This is important on many levels, what is considered universal, for instance, has a higher chance of being passive synthesis and an implicit assumption about the “way things are”. What I believe constitutes my “I” is important, not only to my perceived “I”, but also to understand my own subjectivity. All subjectivity must derive from the “I”, from an individual, as he/she is the one who produces the meaning (Sages & Lundsten, 2009).

Example 6. Subject

Let us continue with the examples from Dongmei

MU 29: A boy fighting a girl is not fair

MU 29 has an “unspecified” subject. It is a statement about fairness, but without a particular subject. Although the sentence itself has the subject “boy” and the object “girl” it is not the same as being a subject in a phenomenological sense. The boy here is not a subject in his own right, he could be any boy, it would still not be fair. He is more of a thought example than a subject. As he is illustrating a moral rule, he does not become a subject, hence, the meaning unit has an unspecified subject.

MU 30: and all the other people are just looking

MU 30 has been classified as “all-one” as all the people are looking.

MU 31: and so, the thing is like wrong

MU 31 has been classified with an “unspecified” subject as it is the thing that is wrong.

MU 32: and I feel uncomfortable

MU 32 was classified with the subject “I” because it is Dongmei who felt uncomfortable

Affect

The affect modality indicates which affect the respondent has toward what is mentioned in the meaning unit. The affects are: “negative retrospective”, “positive retrospective”, “neutral”, “negative prospective”, and “positive prospective”. Affect is important, as it indicates an evaluation from the respondent toward the entities and predicates used in the narrative. Interesting patterns might emerge, such as claiming to like something but only mentioning this entity in association with a negative affect. There is also a time-perspective in the affect modality. Is what elicited this affect still ongoing, anticipated, or is it in the past? Prospective have been used for now, and in the future. Retrospective has been used for events that are in the past.

Example 7. Affect

To put into a context with the help of Dongmei again;

MU 29: A boy fighting a girl is not fair

This was classified as “negative prospective”. The negativity is that the “not fair”- part, and it is prospective as it is a rule that is in place now, but also will be in place in the future.

MU 30: and all the other people are just looking

This meaning unit was classified as “negative retrospective”, as the behaviour was negative, and it happened in the past, the act is no longer ongoing.

MU 31: and so, the thing is like wrong

This was also deemed as “negative retrospective” as she implies that the thing that happened then was wrong, but one could argue that it is still wrong and should therefore be deemed as a prospective, I have, in these types of cases chosen to use a retrospective affect modality.

MU 32: and I feel uncomfortable

This is also categorized as “negative retrospective” as she felt uncomfortable at the time.

Will

The will modality indicates if the respondent feels directly involved, wants to detach themselves from the narrative, or if he/she mentions an aspiration or a wish. It is also possible to choose a “none” option which indicates neither engagement nor detachment or any of the above. This modality tells us how engaged the respondent feels in the events that occurs around her/him, also indicating how “in control” he or she feels in her narrative. If the respondent is mostly unengaged it indicates that what happened is not their doing or their problem. It can also be a way to distance themselves from traumatic events or actions of which they do not agree.

Example 8. Will

Again, from Dongmei’s response:

MU 29: A boy fighting a girl is not fair

MU 29 is “unengaged”, she is not participating in the boy fights girl situation, it is a moral rule.

MU 30: and all the other people are just looking

MU 30 was classified as “engaged”, as she is involved in the situation by perceiving it and being concerned by it.

MU 31: and so, the thing is like wrong

MU 31 “unengaged” again, for the same reasons as in MU 29

MU 32: and I feel uncomfortable

MU 32 Dongmei is showing “engagement” again, she is in the situation and feels uncomfortable with it.

Property

Property is the last category of modalities. If a property is mentioned in the meaning unit it will be registered here, like “my”, “his”, “our” etc. This is often interesting in organisational psychology where the property “my work”, “his position” etc is important for

the analysis. In my current study the analysis of property will not be presented as it has not shown to add anything relevant to the research question.

Step 3: Entities, predicates and partial intentions

When every meaning unit has been assigned its modalities, it is time to find all the entities within this meaning unit, an entity is something, an object, that holds meaning for a person. That meaning is expressed by predicates, and partial intentions. All the partial intentions a person has for an object constitutes what the object is for that person. It contains all its meaning (note that it is possible and even likely that a person will not express all partial intentions they have for a complex object in one narrative). The partial intentions are expressed by predicates tied to each entity, and these are uncovered and written into the Minerva.

Example 9. Entites, Partial Intentions, and Predicates

Meaning Unit	Partial Intention	Entity	Predicate
A boy fighting a girl is not fair	boy exist	boy	who exist
	girl exist	girl	who exist
	a boy fighting a girl is not fair	boy	who is fighting a girl is not fair
	a boy fighting a girl is not fair	girl	who is not fair for a boy to fight
	a boy fighting a girl is not fair	fight	which is not fair if a boy fights a girl
	a boy fighting a girl is not fair		which it is not for a boy to fight a girl

In this meaning unit we see four different entities: boy, girl, fight and fair. These have different partial intentions and predicates, indicating which meanings Dongmei puts into these entities. For instance, a boy is someone who cannot fight a girl in a fair fight.

Emergent and explorative design

This research is explorative and uses an emergent design. The reason for this is manifold; first, there are little previous research concerning moral non-conforming in a broader sense, only aspects of moral nonconforming such as helping, rescuing etc. The

present study is, to my knowledge, the first time when more than one type of this behaviour is investigated. Second, the previous research has, in most cases, come with pre-existing hypotheses. This means that it has aimed to test certain variables, or ask certain questions, examining beforehand decided factors. This is associated with a threat to validity, as the data is not permitted to show what is important, as this has already been decided. The risk for confirmation bias is high. Thirdly, the works of Oliner and Oliner (1988) and Tec (1986) have intercultural aspects, they have compared and investigated different cultures. But as their work concerns a specific one specific type of action in a specific time, within a rather small geographical area, the intercultural aspects are small, although existing. The current study is, as far as I know, the first which combines Chinese context with European context while investigating moral non-conformism.

The explorative approach and emergent design mean that I have tried to be as open as possible in relation to the possible conclusions of this study. I have not put up any hypotheses beforehand, and I have used open-interviews and questionnaires in order not to lead the results in any direction. Even though I, in this text, present the previous research before my own results, this does not mirror the work process. I have, during my data gathering, and during my work with the analyse read the literature and research that have been necessary to deepen the understanding of my data. This includes the previous work on moral non-conforming. I have not decided to “test their hypothesis”, instead I have chosen to see if their conclusions could help me in the understanding of the data I have gathered. This is in accordance with the phenomenological approach and the approach of explorative research (Langemar, 2008).

Choosing where to start

When conducting an explorative study, it is important to let the data speak for itself. This is easier said than done as every researcher goes into an analysis with pre-comprehension

and knowledge. It can also be hard to know where to begin the analysis, especially when working with a large amount of data. When I chose where to begin, I chose certain entities, these constitutes the “doors” that I chose to “open up” the data, sometimes these doors have led me into a dead end, and sometimes these doors have led me on a journey to many adjacent rooms. When choosing the doors I have tried to be as open-minded as possible and to think in general terms of what might be important aspects of any behaviour, not just moral non-conforming. Choice was one of the first to come to mind. Does the person who perform the behaviour believe that it was done of her/his own free will? This has an implication on the moral aspect of the behaviour as we often do not recognize involuntary behaviours as moral (Tiberius, 2015). Another “door” I have chosen to use is the different groups the respondents mention. Groups forms a base for the whole definition of a moral non-conformer. If there is no group, there is nothing not to conform to. Group identity and membership therefore becomes relevant. I started to look at the entity “I” and how the person describes themselves in terms of groups. An entity I followed by “who are a mother” would for example indicate a sense of ingroup with other mothers. I followed this by looking at “we”, who is this person forming a “we” with? I mapped all the groups they felt a part of. Next, I looked at some of these specific groups that was reoccurring in many of the responses, for example “family”, I also used entities with strong ties to family such as sister, brother, mother father, spouse, husband, wife, child etc.

The groups found under “we” made for the next entity to investigate. These entities include “students”, “Chinese”, “young people”. It was also important to know if their moral non-conforming act was a one-time experience or if they could imagine themselves doing it again, or already have done again. This is to see if the personality or personal traits or something else more lasting is present in their behaviour, or if their behaviour were more due to a specific situation. I therefore decided to look at “regret” to see if there was any pattern to

be found. Very few used this entity (three, and all of them only once), however, and I did not find any pattern connected to this entity. The modalities are also a way into the narrative. I have looked at each respondent's modalities one by one, to see how they discuss their moral non-conforming.

My Pre-comprehension

Issues about morality are, by their very nature, always evoking opinions, evaluations and feelings and in any type of research it is important to discuss these as well as the cultural pre-comprehensions. I have, somewhat limited my selection of respondents according to my pre-comprehension and personal values.

Definition of moral non-conformity

When I started the research and data gathering, I had a picture in my mind of a moral non-conformer. I think this picture was quite close to the whistle blower. A lone person fighting for what is right. This picture limited me somehow, but I believe that I expanded my view after a while, as there are several problems with this preconception. First, where is the line between the querulant and the whistle-blower? How am I to distinguish one from the other? Secondly, is moral non-conforming something that you must do alone? And on this note, is it something you must do yourself or is it enough that you actively support a moral non-conformer? It also became apparent that "standing up to the system" might mean different things in different systems.

Chapter 6

Result and Analysis

A summary of each respondent's narrative and modalities

This chapter will start by presenting sampling procedures, ethical considerations, and thereafter a detailed description of relevant features of each respondent's narratives. I have divided the analysis into two chapters to facilitate the reading, and a more comparative analysis will follow in Chapter 7.

Before I begin, I would like to return to some of the principles of phenomenology, which are crucial to understand this chapter, and how it is laid out. This chapter will go into details concerning every respondent and their narratives. At times it might appear that I am repeating myself, as the details might be very similar. This is only natural and adds to the validity of the study. To return to the example with the researcher and the vase, if the researcher wants to know how the vase looks, she needs to look at it from all possible angles to see the full picture. It is still the same vase, however, so it follows that the first, second, third and hundred perspective have similarities. If she looked at a vase from one angle and then went to the other side and she saw it transformed to a chair she would probably conclude that she was mistaken to begin with, or that someone was deliberately trying to deceive her eyes. The same is true for the narratives analysed here, of course the different angles and perspectives will have similarities, that is only natural as it is the same narrative. It is, however, of utmost importance that I look at them from many angles, because I have no idea in which precise angle the vase might transform to a chair, or the vase starts to look more green than blue, or I can see that it has a handle. For a reader to understand how the analysis of the narratives has been performed I will be very detailed in my description of the analysis process. And so, the reader must forgive me if it sometimes appears as there are too many

details, or that I am repeating myself. This is done for the validity of the study and to benefit the understanding for the reader.

Participants

The moral non-conformists in this study are 19 in total with the following distribution of nationalities: Sweden (9); China (6); France (3) and United Kingdom (1). The sampling procedure was emergent. Moral non-conformers are often difficult to find, and the method must differ according to the possibilities of the context. The process of finding the respondents will therefore be presented in each case. I will also make a brief description of the non-conformist action that they performed to qualify them for this study, note that I will not describe the full actions and narratives, only parts relevant to the study. This is to protect the integrity of the respondents.

Sampling procedures

Sweden

The Swedish respondents were recruited in different ways. I contacted a representative for a group practicing non-violent civil disobedience, The Plowshare movement in Sweden. This representative sent out an email to the members with a request to participate in my study. The recipients of this request were given the choice to participate by interview, or by an open-ended written questionnaire. Three people contacted me. Two by answering my open-ended questionnaire directly and anonymously. The third wanted to participate by interview. The interview never took place because of geographical distance. Thus, in the end two people from the Plowshares movement became respondents in this study, both answered in written form. The Plowshare movement is a pacifistic organisation that targets the weapon industry. Their members break into weapon factories and armouries to disarm and/or destroy weapons (most often using a hammer). The movement has its roots in a

Catholic pacifistic ideology, but it does not require their members to be of faith (Plogbilsrörelsen, 2018). The Plowshares movement was chosen out of convenience as I had personal contacts who knew a representative there. The second group to I sought out to participate in my study was people who work with illegal migrants. I made a request to a society which works with these issues. I had received the details about this society from personal contacts. One of the volunteers met me for an interview, and another one chose to answer the written questionnaire. The third group were the whistle-blowers. All of them were contacted directly after being found through personal contacts, and they all chose to meet me for an interview. The fourth group, vegans, were contacted via a Facebook-group for vegans and vegetarians in Sweden. All of them chose to answer in written form.

The biggest difference in sampling between Sweden and the other nations was that the Swedish respondents were contacted because they were already in categories which I had chosen to label moral non-conformers. There was, thus, little opportunity to find new ways of moral non-conforming with this sampling method.

China

The sampling in China had to look different for several reasons. First, I do not have the same network of contacts in China as in Sweden, making it less likely that I had some moral non-conformers in my sphere of connections. Second, there is a difference in how people organize themselves in China and in Sweden, so there are no organizations such as the Plowshares movement to contact in China. Third, the cultural norm in China value humility, and it is therefore harder to find people who publicly are displayed or display themselves as “heroes”. Therefore, the sampling procedure had to be modified. Some respondents were chosen because they had performed a moral non-conforming act (similar to the Swedish sample). I found these through personal connections. To find more moral-nonconformers I started to interview nearly everyone who I met during my three months stay in China. I

interviewed everyone that was willing to participate. Through this system I found several more moral non-conformers, some of which did not classify themselves as such, but during the interview revealed previous behaviours that matched my definition of a moral non-conformer. All the Chinese respondents were interviewed in person.

France

The sampling procedure in France went through personal contacts, people recommended by friends and acquaintances because they had performed a moral non-conforming act. All the French participants answered via questionnaire.

UK

The sole participant from the UK was interviewed and found through personal connections. He was interviewed in person.

Determining moral non-conforming behaviour

The moral dimension of the action will be defined as the respondents define it, thus, the meaning of morality will differ between respondents when they themselves talk about morality. This means that if the respondent perceives that her/his non-conforming was morally motivated, it has been classified as such, with some exceptions; I have excluded answers that carries a high suspicion of social desirability. These exclusions have only been done in the Chinese sample and might have to do with the sampling procedure in China, and the difference in the way the Chinese respondents reacted to the interview situation (Gustafsson Jertfelt, Blanchin, & Li, 2016). The excluded narratives are of three types: 1) “I always wait for green light before crossing the street”, this has not been categorized as moral non-conformism as society wants you to conform to this norm. It is uncertain if it is a moral non-conformism or just an act of following the law (also, from observing the traffic situation in China and comparing to the frequency of this response, it is likely that it is a manifestation

of social desirability). 2) “When it comes to studying, I am more disciplined than my classmates”, this is the same type of rule following as the first example and it has been excluded as it is uncertain whether it is a non-conforming behaviour or not, as well as if it is a moral behaviour or not. 3) “There was this time in school when a boy was bullied, and defended him”, this type of statement came up several times during my interviews in China. It is problematic for several reasons, first, the statements have not been much more detailed than the example above, which makes me suspect that it is not, perhaps, in accordance with what they really believed happened, and if it is, they report it like it was a one-time thing. It has therefore not been classified as a non-conforming behaviour as it was a brief disagreement with the group. This alone might not have been enough to exclude these respondents, but there is a second problematic aspect with this statement, and it lies in the preconceptions of the respondents. The type of behaviour researched was hard to grasp for many of the Chinese respondents, being a moral non-conformist is conceptually difficult to understand, this might be due to cultural factors, but also language differences. Moral non-conformers exist but are not conceptualized as such. In the European setting the respondents were often proud of what they had done, and in the Western narrative this sort of morally uncorrupted “hero” is often praised in fiction as well as in media (when they are victorious, and not without a personal cost). Chinese culture does not have the same “hero”- narrative or discourse. Many Chinese people that I have spoken with, after describing the type of behaviour and person I was looking for said: “Oh, you mean a bad person”. To make the respondents understand which type of behaviour that was the focus of the study, there was a need to exemplify. The examples used were: “A moral non-conformer could be a student that stands up for someone who is bullied in school.”, and, in later cases, I told the story of the Swedish moral non-conformer, Mia. A policewoman who reported a colleague for abusing a suspect. In the first interviews I often used the first example, but I noted that many of the people I interviewed

told me the exact story that I had used as an example. In later interviews I therefore switched, using Mia's story as an example instead, as there would be a smaller risk that they could claim having done the same thing. Sometimes I needed both examples to explain the concept, so even when I switched to primarily using Mia's story as an example, I would still sometimes use the bully-example. Therefore, I excluded these respondents, as I suspect they were influenced by my example, more than of their own experiences, especially since the narratives were poor in terms of details and length. In total five people were excluded from the analysis because of these criteria.

In Sweden, the sampling procedure was different, and this also made my view of morality influential on the type of moral non-conforming studied, as it was essentially decided beforehand that they would be classified as moral non-conformers. This was time-saving, but also problematic as their actions only followed my own preconceptions of what a moral non-conformer is. This makes the Swedish participants much more similar to each other in their moral non-conforming actions, compared to the Chinese sample where the interview was done first, and then it was decided if this respondent had experience of moral non-conforming. The French sample is a result of a mix between those procedures, I asked my personal contacts if they knew anyone with this type of experience and then the respondents came to me, without me knowing beforehand which type of experiences that they believed made them qualify as moral non-conformers. All French respondents were classified as moral non-conformers but one. The fourth French respondent was a French woman who had converted to Islam. I did not classify this as a moral non-conforming behaviour, as she did not convert because she believed that others were acting immorally, it was a personal conviction from her part, and therefore, although non-conforming, lacking the moral aspect of the moral non-conforming behaviour. The respondent from the UK was chosen in the same manner as the Swedish respondents.

Ethical considerations

There are important ethical aspects to this kind of study. Being a moral non-conformer can be dangerous, socially, politically, economically etc. It has therefore been important to ensure anonymity for the respondents. This has been done in accordance of the wishes of the respondents.

Choosing medium of response

The data gathering has been done in two ways, in a written format using an open-ended qualitative questionnaire, or in an interview setting using an open-ended interview. The two ways of letting the respondents respond facilitates two different types of privacy demands. In the case of the interview I will recognize the person I have talked too, which makes her/his identity known at least to me. I have used a Dictaphone without any USB-port which means that the sound files cannot be transferred to a computer. In the first stage of transcribing I have removed all names, dates and places, so that these details have never been digitalized. This might be the better privacy option for respondents who feel that there is a chance that their digital activities might be surveilled. The other option was to hand in a questionnaire via an anonymous email address, so that I will not be able to identify the person. This might be the better option for someone who want to preserve their anonymity even to me and have control over every detail about themselves that might come out. Apart from the ethical aspects of this there is a methodological aspect. I am interested in understanding moral non-conformers. Not only moral non-conformers that has the possibility to meet me, who likes to write long narratives about themselves, who do not mind being recorded etc. Giving the respondents the opportunity to choose their medium of response helps me to get a more qualitative diverse sample.

Narratives and names

In case of the Chinese respondents I have chosen, in some cases, to change their stories slightly to protect their anonymity. This is because moral non-conformity is a much less socially acceptable way to behave in China, as compared to the other nations involved. Some of the respondents have previously told their stories to the media or at trial, in these cases the respondents have not been as protective of their identity and their stories, and they have often given me verbal permission to tell their stories. In these cases, the changes to their stories have been superficial. This only concerns European participants.

I have used pseudonyms for all the participants, in some cases they have chosen their own. I have also chosen to exclude names of places from their answers to make sure that these cannot be used to find the respondents.

Information to the respondents

Each respondent was informed of the purpose of the study and how their responses would be used. This was done in written form in the qualitative questionnaire, or orally before, and sometimes after, the interview where they could ask additional questions about my research. Their consent to participate in the study was done in the same manner, and no children have been used as respondents in this study. All respondents have also been informed that they can terminate the interview or refuse to answer certain questions if they choose to do so. They have also been informed in how I would treat their answers (not transcribing with their real names, changing narratives do they remain anonymous etc.).

Respondents from previous study

Lars, Mia, Britta, Simon, Lena, David, and Frida were interviewed for my master thesis (Gustafsson Jertfelt, 2010), I have used their narratives in this study as well,

although I have chosen to re-analyse their answers to ensure that I have interpreted the modalities in a similar manner for all my respondents, new and old.

Language issues

The interviews have been conducted in English or Swedish, or English with a Chinese interpreter. The French participants have all chosen to answer in a written format and in French and I have translated their answers while analysing. It is important to notice some grammatical differences which can distort the meaning, or the modalities. First: In Swedish it is possible to create “new” words by putting two words together. As an example: In Swedish it is possible to write “rainday” as one word meaning rainy day, this is a word even I would be the sole user and the inventor of it. Every Swedish speaking person would recognize this as a word and understand its meaning, and this can be done for all manner of words. So moral non-conformist can become one word in Swedish: “moralnonconformist”. Not to get too many separate entities I have divided the “invented” words in the English fashion so that “rainday” becomes rain and day. This gives a slight distortion of meaning in some occasions, but the benefit is that the Minerva software then sort the entity under “rain” or “day” so if I have more of these entities they will be counted together. Otherwise I might get a large amount of entities which are used only once, but might, in meaning, be extremely close to each other. Second: The Chinese language is quite different from the Germanic and Latin languages. For instance, it does not use tempus in the same way, instead of conjugating verbs the Chinese often rely on context to understand when, how many, or what gender they talk about. Unfortunately, this context might sometimes get distorted in translation either from an interpreter or when Chinese people “translate” their own thoughts into a foreign language. It might then follow that they say “he” when they mean “she” or talk in present when they really talk about the past. I believe that most of these occasions are detected, and the context made me aware that this was merely a grammatical error and not their true meaning, but it is

impossible to be certain that some meaning has not been lost or distorted in this translation process. Third: My knowledge of French can be called basic at best. Although, I read fairly well and given time and help from dictionaries I am proficient enough to read most texts. Even so, it is a language I have not mastered fully, and this might influence my understanding of the French narratives.

The participants

In this part the participants and modalities of the participants are presented. I have chosen not to present function and property, as these turned out not to be relevant for the analysis.

Chuck

Chuck is from the UK. I met him in another European country where he worked, and this country is where his act of moral non-conformism has taken place. He has on two occasions helped in dangerous situations involving, for him, previously unknown people, and at least one involving risk on his part. The first occasion was when he interrupted a bouncer who was physically abusing a customer whom he was ejecting from a nightclub. This resulted in physical injury for Chuck. The other occasion was when he took care of a teenager who was too intoxicated to take care of himself. He also mentions two similar events where he has intervened, although those two minor occasions were of more trivial nature. Chuck comes from a Protestant (religious, although he himself is not religious) upbringing in a middle-class environment, has a university degree and he works in a field which requires specific qualifications. He is a friend of mine and the interview was done in a restaurant. He had some knowledge of my project beforehand. He is between 25-30 years old, single, and has no children. Chuck's interview lasted for an hour with a short break. The result was an approximately 40 minutes-interview which then was divided into 362 meaning units.

Table 1. Chuck's modalities: Affect

	Negative Prospective	Negative Retrospective	Neutral	Positive Prospective	Negative Prospective
Frequency	24	96	198	23	21
Relative frequency	7%	27%	55%	6%	6%
Total:					362

Chuck's narrative consists of two major occasions and two minor occasions when he helped strangers in difficult situations. These are not positive stories, and they happened in his past and so it follows that a larger part of his beliefs is "negative retrospective", although the most common is "neutral".

Table 2. Chuck's modalities: Belief

	Doxa affirmation	Doxa negation	Possibility	Probability
Frequency	296	46	7	13
Relative frequency	82%	13%	2%	4%
Total:				362

Chuck uses "doxa affirmation" as a belief modality in most of the meaning units. He uses "doxa negation" when mentioning his vegetarianism, how he could not leave the boy outside the bar, how he rallied people etc. He does not ask any questions, although he talks about "probabilities" and "possibilities". He uses "possibilities" when he speaks about moments in his story that he is unsure of, or about other people's motivations or circumstances in these stories. He talks about "probabilities" concerning his own motivation in the moment and the consequences of his actions. For example, he thinks it is probable that his actions stopped the bouncer or that he was motivated by drunken courage.

Table 3. Chuck's modalities: Subject

	I	One-all	Unspecified	We
Frequency	204	17	123	18
Relative frequency	56%	5%	34%	5%
Total:				362

The most common subject in Chuck's story is "I", which is also his most common entity. He is telling a story where he is the subject and the perceiver and is asked to reflect about his own motivations and emotions etc. which makes it natural from him the subject "I". "Unspecified" is the second most common, this is expected when telling a story where there is a need to describe things like the environment etc. "We" is mainly used in a practical way describing mostly when he has been in a group, such as with his friend. Sometimes he uses "we" for people in general, but not as often. People in general mostly falls into the "one-all" category which is used in real situations such as when the crowd took pictures of the fight, but mainly in imaginary situations such as the "typical" bar-fight or in hypothetical general situations such as when he talks about it being less likely for people to start a fight if you stand near them. This might indicate a sense of distance between him and the other people involved in these situations.

Table 4. Chuck's modalities: Time

	Always-reoccurring	Empty	Future	Past	Present → future	Present → past	Present
Frequency	61	1	5	255	7	8	25
Relative frequency	17%	0%	1%	70%	2%	2%	7%
							Total:362

The most common time modality is "past", probably because the stories he is telling occurred in the past. "Always-recurrent" is used for many different purposes, everything from people's general tendencies to do something or be something and his own tendency to be or do something, to recurrent actions such as him being drunk when in all the intervening situations, or rather permanent facts, such as London being a big city. "Present" is used in a similar way, from what he likes to do as hobbies right now to his opinion now about what happened is discussed using the "present" time modality. The "present→past" modality is foremost used when he speculates about how he developed his personality and interests, and how he believes that this might explain his behaviour in situations where he intervenes.

Both modalities concerning the future is about how he would act the next time, the “present → future” modality is primarily focused on how his experiences will influence his behaviour and the “future” modality is about how he thinks that he will act.

Table 5. Chuck's Modalities: Will

	Aspiration	Engagement	None	Unengagement	Wish - positive
Frequency	2	274	11	74	1
Relative frequency	1%	76%	3%	20%	0%
				Total:	362

Chuck relates to himself and he takes responsibility for actions and inactions. As he is talking about several episodes where he has been directly involved it is natural that he has an emphasis on the “engaged” modality. The “unengaged” predicates concern things that other people have done such as the bouncer or the kid or activists he follows on You Tube. He distances himself from the emotional episode when the drugged boy starts talking about his family situation, and when other people do something that he was not involved in, such as gathering in a ring around the fight. His “aspiration” modalities concern him wanting to be able to help people all the time. His “wish-positive” is for these types of scenario not to happen (e.g. people not getting hurt in the street in various ways).

Claire

Claire is French, with a university degree, living in an urban area. She is from middle class background, she calls it “bobo-intellectuelle” which is slang for bourgeois-bohemian intellectual. She has been volunteering, working with illegal immigrants, and the homeless. She has also been involved in the anti-globalist movement, the anarchist movement, and the feminist movement. I know Claire since before and I have previously talked about my project with her. She answered my questionnaire via email and in French. She is 30-35 years old, single, with no children. As often is the case when obtaining written answers, the answer is shorter than an interview. It was divided into 79 meaning units.

Table 6. Claire's Modalities: Affect

	Negative prospective	Negative retrospective	Neutral	Positive Prospective	Positive retrospective
Frequency	19	10	34	8	8
Relative frequency	24%	13%	43%	10%	10%

Total: 79

Claire mostly expresses herself in “neutral” affect, followed by a quite large number of negative modalities. Most negative predicates are prospective (I have classified statements about the present as a prospective), and these mostly concern her unwillingness to accept the injustices in the world, but also about the difficulties she has had with her activism. The “negative retrospective” meaning units are not as many but the amount of positive predicates are the same for prospective and retrospective. They, among other things, concern her friends in the “black-block” and the confidence she has in her beliefs.

Table 7. Claire's Modalities: Belief

	Doxa affirmation	Doxa negation	Probability
Frequency	49	29	1
Relative frequency	62%	36%	1%

Total: 79

Claire shows much “doxa negation” in her modalities, indicating that she believes many of her statements to go against what is normatively perceived as how it is. These things are not implicitly taken for granted and mostly concern her motives and activism.

Table 8. Claire's Modalities: Subject

	I	One-All	Unspecified	We
Frequency	64	1	11	3
Relative frequency	81%	1%	14%	4%

Total: 79

Claire writes primarily about herself as the subject (“I” is also her most common entity). The subject “we” is used mainly to represent herself and the groups she has been working with such as “who used pacifist confrontation”. “One-all” is used when she writes about general actions or general occurrences.

Table 9. Claire's Modalities: Time

	Always-recurrent	Empty	Past	Present	Future	Present → Past
Frequency	18	1	36	17	2	5
Relative frequency	23%	1%	46%	22%	3%	3%
	Total:					79

The “past” time modality is the most common, Claire writes about motivation, her childhood, and how it affected her thinking and her activism. This activism is mostly in her past now. When she writes about the “present” she writes much about her regrets, that she cannot be more engaged in her activism right now, and feelings she has about this. She also discusses her present situation. The predicates concerning “always-recurrent” are different from each other, some concern general things such as the nature of actions and some personal things such as personal beliefs and motivations. “Present → past” concern how her past has affected her thinking and motivations today.

Table 10. Claire's Modalities: Will

	Engagement	None	Aspiration
Frequency	73	5	1
Relative frequency	92%	6%	1%
	Total:		79

Claire is clearly engaged in everything she writes about. She has no unengaged meaning units.

Louise

Louise is Claire’s mother. She is French, with higher education. She comes from a middle-class background, but also, unusually for France, a Protestant background although she herself does not believe in God. She has, on several occasions, and with risk of losing her job, gone against the direct orders of the management in the school where she is working when she has believed that the management has infringed on students’ rights. She answered my questionnaire in written form. Louise’s narrative was divided into 150 meaning units. This is a large number to be a written answer and she has also written a longer answer than is common in written form.

Table 11. Louise's Modalities: Affect

	Negative prospective	Negative retrospective	Neutral	Positive Prospective	Positive retrospective
Frequency	19	10	75	30	16
Relative frequency	13%	7%	50%	20%	11%

Total: 150

Louise uses “neutral” affects in most of her meaning units. In general, it seems like she is trying to describe her life “objectively” without putting too much emotion and value into things, and she does not want to present her own actions as anything out of the ordinary. She does not know if she herself would classify her actions as moral non-conforming, as she believes that this requires more risk than she has been taking. She does not describe her moral non-conforming actions in detail. Even so, she uses mostly positive terms when she is not neutral, with an emphasis on a “positive prospective” affect. When she uses negative affect, it concerns the situations where she has not conformed, not so much about the practicalities of these situations but more about how she felt (“I cannot accept this”).

Table 12. Louise's Modalities: Belief

	Doxa affirmation	Doxa negation	Possibility	Question
Frequency	90	54	4	2
Relative frequency	60%	36%	3%	1%

Total: 150

Most of Louise’s meaning units have the “doxa affirmation” belief, but a rather large part is also “doxa negation” which indicates that a large portion of her meaning units contain statements that she considers to be non-evident, they need to be explained. These often concern her family tradition (“my child is also a non-conformist”) or certain types of moral non-conforming that she engages in. “Possibility” is used when she writes about the possible impact of Protestantism on her behaviour.

Table 13. Louise's Modalities: Subject

	I	One-All	Unspecified	We
Frequency	79	8	52	11
Relative frequency	53%	5%	35%	7%

Total: 150

“I” is the most common subject modality, and this is also Louise’s most common entity. “I” is mentioned in all manners of different contexts, and so is the “unspecified.” “We” is mainly used to represent her and her family. “One-all” is used in the relation with general characteristics and duties that people in general should have or have.

Table 14. Louise's Modalities: Time

	Always-recurrent	Empty	Past	Present	Present → future	Present → Past
Frequency	90	6	27	22	1	4
Relative frequency	60%	4%	15%	15%	1%	3%

Total: 150

Louise writes mainly in terms of “always-recurrent”, and it is possible to divide the predicates where she uses “Always-recurrent” into two categories: 1) general, such as people’s morals or what people generally do or feel; 2) specific, concerning things that always happen to her and her family or values that they always have. “Past” is often used when she writes about her childhood and family, but also when she writes about her engagement in the feminist movement. “Present” concerns what she does right now such as having memories, or things that exist now, such as anti-conformism or injustices, or people who exists or do things now such as her brother and sister. The subject modality “present→future” concerns an old saying that Louise refers to. The content of this saying is that “you do what you believe is right and then do not care about what other people think”. The “present→past” subject modalities concern the incident at her work-place and how that got her to be a respondent in the study.

Table 15. Louise's Modalities: Will

	Engagement	None	Unengagement	Wish-Positive
Frequency	126	13	9	2
Relative frequency	84%	9%	6%	1%

Total: 150

Louise is mostly “engaged” in what she writes about, which is normal as she discusses herself, and what motivated and formed her. She is “unengaged” when the narrative concerns groups to which she does not belong, such as religious groups, but also sometimes when she discusses her relatives (brother, grandfather).

Pierre

Pierre is French, between 25-35, and I do not know his level of education. His answer is in written form, in French and short (only 34 meaning units). He qualified as a respondent in this study because of his alternative life-style where he is trying to live independent from society by, among other things, not using money. He is doing this because he believes that the monetary, and social system is corrupt and should not be supported.

Table 16. Pierre's Modalities: Affect

	Negative prospective	Negative retrospective	Neutral	Positive Prospective
Frequency	5	1	22	6
Relative frequency	15%	3%	65%	18%

Total: 34

Pierre most often writes in “neutral” modalities, and he uses this for all manners of situations. His other modalities are evenly distributed between negative and “positive prospective”. The “positive prospective” modalities are mainly about the cause for his activism and the manner of methods that he uses. The “negative prospective” concerns the problem that these small communities of anti-conformist might dissolve when people develop in different directions, but also concerning how the French mainstream society feels about

groups like his. The only “negative retrospective” modality (or rather the only retrospective modality) concerns how many groups like his has dissolved in the past.

Table 17. Pierre's Modalities: Belief

	Doxa affirmation	Doxa negation	Possibility
Frequency	31	2	1
Relative frequency	91%	6%	3%
	Total:		34

Most of his modalities are “doxa affirmation”, which is interesting. He is taking a stance against a society that he does not believe in, but he does not use non-normative explanations for this. He believes his actions are culturally normative and self-explanatory, He uses “doxa negation” only twice, and this is to explain that the French mainstream population does not approve of them stealing.

Table 18. Pierre's Modalities: Subject

	I	One-All	Unspecified	We
Frequency	1	3	29	1
Relative frequency	3%	9%	85%	3%
	Total:			34

Pierre does not use “I” as a subject very often, which is uncommon, this also follows the frequencies of his entities where “group” is the most common and “I” is on the 9th place (2%). “I” is only used as a subject when he writes that he is living in this community. “We” is used when he writes about their solutions and their lifestyle. “One-all” is used both meaning his group and groups in general. Most of the subjects are “unspecified”, this might be because he discusses concepts more than factual events.

Table 19. Pierre's Modalities: Time

	Always-recurrent	Empty	Past	Present	Present → Past
Frequency	17	1	1	14	1
Relative frequency	50%	3%	3%	41%	3%
	Total:				34

Pierre mostly uses the time modality “present” and these modalities concern life in the community, and what he believes about their choices of actions. This indicates that most of his prospective affects represent the “present” or “always” and not the future as he has no time modalities classified as future. “Always-recurrent” is used about the same topics but about more general values such as rules, ideals etc. He writes about the group and nonconformism in general when using the “always-recurrent” modality. The modality which is “empty” of time is a comparison between his life and the life of what he views as the average French person with shopping and television. “Past” is only used when he discusses other groups which has had problems in the past and the “present → past “ is used when he writes about him being in the collective for the past ten year and how he lives there now.

Table 20. Pierre's Modalities: Will

	Engagement	None	Aspiration	Unengagement
Frequency	12	6	1	15
Relative frequency	35%	18%	3%	44%
			Total:	34

Most of Pierre’s modalities are “unengaged” which indicates a will to separate himself from what he is writing about. Many of the entities used in the unengaged will concern abstract concepts such as ideology, development, rules etc. These are concepts that are easy to use in an impersonal and distant manner. When he is “engaged” he writes about what his collective does in practice. When no will is expressed he also writes about abstract concepts. The predicate indicating an aspiring will is about the development of the collective.

Mia

Mia is Swedish, between 35-45 years old and has a professional, post-college degree. Her religion and socioeconomical background are unknown. She used to work as a police woman, and her moral non-conforming happened during this period of her life. Mia tells her story about when she reported one of her colleagues in the police when she witnessed

him physically abuse a suspect. She also mentions a significant story before her moral non-conforming. When she was in training she lied after she witnessed another colleague abuse a suspect, Kostas. She said that she did not see the abuse. When learning that she lied Kostas asked her not to forget his case when she finished her training. The interview with Mia lasted about an hour and was conducted in her workplace (which was empty apart from us at the time). I have chosen to analyse half of the interview, the latter half when she had already told the practical details of her story and is beginning to talk about her motivations and feelings toward what happened. The first part contains the events of her moral non-conforming act is and therefore less relevant to the motivation/reasoning around the decision to act itself. The analysed part of Mia's answer was divided into 458 meaning units.

Table 21. Mia's Modalities: Affect

	Negative prospective	Negative retrospective	Neutral	Positive Prospective	Positive Retrospective
Frequency	39	121	251	16	31
Relative frequency	9%	26%	55%	3%	7%
Total:					458

Most of Mia's modalities are "neutral", many are "negative retrospective" which expected when she is talking about a past event with negative consequences for herself and others. She uses positive modalities in a much lesser extent, "positive prospective" is the least used. She uses "Positive prospective" when she talks about how she likes to work with people, about the comradery in the police force, and how she feels good when she gets closure in cases like this. "Positive retrospective" is used when she talks about the good sides of her former profession, for example how much fun she used to have. She talks in "Negative prospective" mainly in the context of how the wrongdoers would feel now or how she cannot picture herself lying or interrogating somebody that she just physically abused.

Table 22. Mia's modalities: Belief

	Doxa affirmation	Doxa negation	Possibility	Question	Probability
Frequency	353	56	7	20	22
Relative frequency	77%	12%	2%	4%	5%
				Total:	458

The most common belief modality is “doxa affirmation”, she has a relatively low number of “doxa negation”. Her “doxa negations” concern how she feels that lying as a police officer in a court of law is not following the norm, but also how she felt when she did not follow this unofficial rule to protect their colleagues. The “questions” she asks are directed to me, about my intention with a question and she also ask me to repeat a question that she did not understand. She uses “probability” when she talks about how she expected the police academy to kick her out if she was not suited to become police, and about how she thinks she related to Kostas. This indicates that she sometimes has doubts about her own feelings or the source of the actions she took. “Possibility” is used when she talks about “things we say which might have long term consequences for those we say it to, without us knowing”. If we knew and understood this, it might impact our behaviour like how Kostas’ words affected hers. She also uses “possibility” to speculate about how she would have acted in different scenarios or roles.

Table 23. Mia's Modalities: Subject

	I	One-All	Unspecified	We
Frequency	268	55	125	10
Relative frequency	59%	12%	27%	2%
			Total:	458

Most of Mia’s predicates has “I” as the modality subject, and the most common entity is also “I”. The second most common subject of modality is “unspecified” which is used for general events or events where a third person/group is the subject and she herself is not involved. “One-all“ is used as a subject modality when she speaks about police in general, humans in general and human behaviour in general. “We” is used for her and her colleague

and “we” as human beings.

Table 24. Mia's Modalities: Time

	Always- recurrent	Empty	Past	Future	Present	Present → Future	Present → Past
Frequency	82	24	272	3	1	1	5
Relative frequency	18%	5%	59%	1%	16%	0%	1%

Total: 458

Mia speaks mainly about the past and hardly at all about the future. “Future” is only used as “time” in four modalities in total (counting how the present affects the future), they concern how the present graduates from the police academy differ in their pre-comprehension of these situations, compared to her generation of graduates, and that they are better prepared mentally (or at least should be). The “future” time modalities also concern her choice of path in life (that she will never lie again as she did in the first case with Kostas). “Always-recurrent” concern people’s reactions to these types of situations and their attitudes and behaviour in general, her own reactions, norms, dreams and attitudes and how organizations such as the police should be managed. “Present” is used about what she works with now, beliefs she has (such as that everybody has a responsibility for their own actions), and many of them concern how she believes that the people involve feels today and the concern she has for them. The modalities are “empty” of time when she expresses timeless opinions or hypothetical scenarios.

Table 25. Mia's Modalities: Will

	Engagement	Aspiration	None	Wish- Positive	Unengagement	Wish-Negative
Frequency	287	8	47	9	107	2
Relative frequency	62%	2%	10%	2%	23%	0%

Total: 458

Mia is over all “engaged” in her story, she talks about situations that happened to her and that impacted her life in many ways. “Unengagement” is mainly used when she describes the actions of other people, such as the policeman who abused the suspect or the

group where when was working or her boss's reactions. There is "no will" in the modalities when she speaks about abstractions such as grey areas of behaviour, or metaphors, and when she describes bureaucracy ("it looks better in the papers if you quit yourself"). "Wish-positive" is used when she wishes she had a lecture about how to handle these sorts of situations when she went to the police academy, and when she talks about what she wished to do when she grew up. She uses "Aspiration" when she is talking about how she believes that a good policeperson should act (not breaking laws and lie), and when she expresses an aspiration to meet the policeman who lost his job after the abuse. The "negative wish" she expresses is that she sometime wished that the abusing policeman would not get convicted.

Lars

Lars is between 45 and 55 years old, with a university degree. There is no information about his social economical background or his religious beliefs. He works in a high-status profession. He was interviewed in his office at his work-place. The interview took about an hour, Lars' answer was divided into two parts. It was the latter part, where he explains the thoughts and feelings behind his behaviour, rather than the behaviour itself, that was analysed. Lars used to work as a medical doctor at a big hospital. He is specialized in one field of medicine. He still works in this field, but in another country and for another hospital than when his story took place. He became a whistle-blower when he found out that one of the other doctors at the hospital systematically injected patients with lethal doses of drugs. He reported this to his superiors, who did not do anything about the situation, but instead criticized him for not being loyal to his colleague and the hospital. Lars then went to the police in the city where he worked, but nothing came from this. Instead, he was suspended from his job. In the end he got support from a member of parliament, and after years of fighting for his cause he was redeemed, but with great personal and professional cost. The analysed narrative was divided into 407 meaning units.

Table 26. Lars' Modalities: Affect

	Negative prospective	Negative retrospective	Neutral	Positive Prospective	Positive Retrospective
Frequency	53	74	247	12	21
Relative frequency	13%	18%	61%	3%	5%
				Total:	407

Most of Lars' modalities have a "neutral" affect, but a big part is also negative, both prospective and retrospective. To have a negative affect when talking about the problematic experiences he had during this time is expected, and when taking a closer look at the predicates which follows the "negative retrospective" modalities mostly concern his experience as a whistle-blower, but he also mentions other people's experience as whistle-blowers and people's reactions to whistle-blowers in general. "Negative prospective" is mainly used for present or "always-recurrent" statements, often concerning whistle-blowing in general, how it feels and how other people react. When his affects are "positive-retrospective" they concern his friends, his solicitor, some journalists, other whistle-blowers etc. supporting him. He also talks positively about his childhood and his parents who taught him to value the truth. He also states that he was lucky that he did not suffer even worse consequences. "Positive-prospective" is used to describe his feelings today, that he is happy that he survived and managed, and that he still has a view where he presumes that everybody is good and that he still believes in the world.

Table 27. Lars' Modalities: Belief

	Doxa affirmation	Doxa negation	Possibility	Question	Probability
Frequency	318	58	11	9	11
Relative frequency	78%	14%	3%	2%	3%
				Total:	407

Most of Lars's belief modalities are "Doxa affirmation". "Doxa negation" is used when he talks about his motivation to become a moral non-conformist, his character-traits ("I am not a person who can say it like it is not"), and his fundamental views of the world. "Possibility" is used in the context of what could have happened in the situation or which type

of person he could have been. Such as: “One could have broken down” and “If I had been a lone wolf type of person” but also possibilities about his own disposition “I think I am a person that believes the world is quite perfect” and “I think we who raise the alarm are the kind of people that think that the world is quite perfect”. “Probability” is used in the same contexts but accompanied (as the word implies) with a little bit more certainty. Here he also discusses how he believes that people felt during the Nazi in Germany, which he draws parallels to.

Table 28. Lars' Modalities: Subject

	I	One-All	Unspecified	We
Frequency	194	62	138	13
Relative frequency	48%	15%	34%	3%
Total:				407

The most common subject in his modalities is “I”, this is also his most common entity. It is used in all types of contexts. “Unspecified” is used when he talks about other whistle-blowers, world literature, media etc. As with “I” it is used throughout most contexts of the narrative. He uses “one-all” concerning the actions of people in general, or how one would act if one would have been another type of person (e.g. “Lone wolf”), and alternative scenarios. “We” is used as a subject concerning him and another whistle-blower, doctors, him and his siblings and whistle-blowers in general. It seems like whistle-blower is a big part of his self-identity, although this could be due to the focus of the interview.

Table 29. Lars' Modalities: Time

	Always- recurrent	Empty	Past	Future	Present	Present → Future	Present → Past
Frequency	121	28	180	8	64	1	5
Relative frequency	30%	7%	44%	2%	16%	0%	1%
Total:							407

The most common time in Lars’ modalities is “past”, and this primarily concerns the events where he blew the whistle. Other events that took place in the past such as his childhood, a trip to South Africa etc. are also discussed with a past time modality.

“Always-recurrent” is used as time in modalities concerning his stable personality traits (“I can be afraid”) but also about the nature of people and their reactions, his solicitor’s commitment to human rights, group behaviour etc. The time “present” is used in meaning units concerning his disposition now (ex.” I view the world with different glasses now”), the name of books he brought to the interview, that he is a doctor, the nature of our society at this moment etc. “Present→past” is used in the context of how he, because of the events, has gotten better in protecting himself than he was before the whistle-blowing incident. “Present → future” is used in one meaning unit, that people would despair if they knew how often bad things happen but are covered up.

Table 30. Lars' Modalities: Will

	Engagement	Aspiration	None	Wish-Positive	Unengagement
Frequency	252	1	84	1	69
Relative frequency	62%	0%	21%	0%	17%

Total: 407

Most of Lars’ modalities show “engagement”. “None” is used for general concepts such as people being professors or cases that he had nothing to do with but does not actively separate himself from. “Unengagement” is used when he actively separates himself from something such as lying doctors, politicians who does not help, misery that happens in the world etc.

David

David is between 50 – 60 years old and works as a social worker. He is Swedish with parents from Poland. He has a Catholic upbringing and a university degree. He has several stories about moral-nonconformity, one when he refused the mandatory military service (which at that time was punished by prison in Sweden), when he fought for his ideals when he was the head of a museum, and the third when he stood his ground and reported a problem in the social services as a social worker. In the first occasion he was sentenced to

prison, the other two made him lose his jobs. David is a friend of my parents, but at the interview it was the first time I met him. The interview lasted for about an hour. The analysed narrative was shortened to include only the part where he discusses his feelings and motivations and excluded the part where he is retelling the story, same as in the cases with Mia and Lars. David's narrative was divided into 274 meaning units.

Table 31. David's Modalities:Affect

	Negative prospective	Negative retrospective	Neutral	Positive Prospective	Positive Retrospective
Frequency	18	77	169	4	6
Relative frequency	7%	28%	62%	1%	2%
				Total:	274

Most of David's modalities have a "neutral" affect and these concerns all parts of his narrative. The second biggest class of modality affect is the "negative retrospective", which concerns the story and what happened to him. The "negative retrospective" events also, apart from the three actions of non-conformism, include a divorce which led him to lose contact with his children. He also uses "negative retrospective" when he describes how he felt during these separate crises. When it comes to now or he future the modalities still have more negative than positive affects, the meaning units tied to the "negative-prospective" concern how he still does not have any contact with his children, how he still ends up in non-conforming (and therefore painful) situations, and how he questions himself when it happens. "Positive-retrospective" is used when he describes some victories he had. "Positive-prospective" only concerns his vision a museum and when he states that the worst pain disappears after a while.

Table 32. David's Modalities: Belief

	Doxa affirmation	Doxa negation	Possibility	Question	Probability
Frequency	201	50	6	13	4
Relative frequency	73%	18%	2%	5%	1%
				Total:	274

Most of David's modalities are "doxa affirmation" in belief, concerning all aspects of his narrative, which is primarily about events in his life and feelings, emotions and thought that he has had. "Doxa negations" are used concerning his own motivation and actions of moral non-conforming. "Possibility" is used when he speculates about the reason for his behaviour. "Probability" as a modality belief is used when he is not entirely sure about a fact involved in his story ("We must have been 20-30 people working there").

Table 33. David's Modalities: Subject

	I	One-All	Unspecified	We
Frequency	188	9	67	10
Relative frequency	69%	3%	24%	4%
			Total:	274

Most of David's modalities has "I" as a subject and "I" is also his most frequent entity. A big part of the rest is "unspecified" followed by "We" and "One-all". "We" is used when David talks about him and his colleague, him and his ex-wife, and him and the other social workers. "One-all" is used when referring to public discussions in media and how other social workers (mis-)behaved toward adolescents.

Table 34. David's Modalities: Time

	Always-recurrent	Empty	Past	Future	Present	Present →Past
Frequency	34	15	189	2	30	4
Relative frequency	12%	5%	69%	1%	11%	1%
					Total:	274

Most of David's meaning units use a "past" time modality, they concern everything that happened during the three events, his divorce, and his childhood. "Always-recurrent" is used when he talks about the public's interest in museums, the type of situations he finds himself in, that his father is from Poland, his lasting personality traits ("I am not that cocky"), his convictions ("I am trying to do something good"), his doubts ("In weak moments I start doubting myself"), and possible reasons behind his acts ("I have always had role models"). "Present" is used in a context of his feelings now (the pain of losing his children),

also about his children (“they are about the same age as you”), stories that he “has”, what he knows now, and his doubts now. “Future” is used in the hypothetical scenario that he would become a conformist. “Present→past” mostly concern how he feels that he thinks in the same manner today as before, and that he does not regret his decisions. He also mentions briefly what happened to some of the people that he mentions in his stories.

Table 35. David's Modalities: Will

	Engagement	Aspiration	None	Wish-Positive	Unengagement
Frequency	215	1	26	3	29
Relative frequency	78%	0%	9%	1%	11%
Total:					274

David is “engaged” in most of his meaning units, one meaning unit has the will “aspiration” and this is about the plans he had for the museum. “Unengagement” is used when he talks about the behaviour of his colleagues who he claims mistreated adolescents, how his superiors handled the situations, public discussions in which he is not involved, the board of directors’ action during the debacle with the museum, as well as how media reacted, and how his ex-wife behaved during the custody trial. “Wish –positive” concerns his wish for support during these situations, and his vision for the museum. The meaning units lack will when he talks about facts which are general such as the age of the adolescents and that everybody watches television.

Lena

Lena is Swedish, between 45 and 55 years old and has a university degree. She comes from an upper-class background and she believes in her own version of Thai Buddhism. She helps illegal immigrants with juridical matters. To help illegal immigrants is not against the law in Sweden, but for them to stay hidden, the location of such helping places needs to be kept secret. I met Lena at such a place and the interview lasted about an hour. I

had to analyze the whole interview, because in Lena's case there was no clean border between her story and her motivation. She has experience of being in prison, she was four years in a Thai prison before getting transferred to Sweden, where she served eight years of her sentence. Because of the length of the interview I divided the narrative into slightly longer meaning units than usual. Note that the longer meaning units does not affect the number of entities, only the number of modalities and thus the specificity of the modalities. Lena's narrative is divided into 208 meaning units in total.

Table 36. Lena's Modalities: Affect

	Negative prospective	Negative retrospective	Neutral	Positive Prospective	Positive Retrospective
Frequency	47	33	62	32	34
Relative frequency	23%	16%	30%	15%	16%
				Total:	208

Lena's meaning units are slightly more negative than positive in their affect. "Negative prospective" is used concerning people who do not understand that everyone has the same value, who lacks empathy, the doctors who work for the board of migration, the board of migration (which she calls the board of migraine), injustices that she sees etc. Sometimes she speaks generally and sometimes specifically about one case. "Negative retrospective" is used to describe when she was sentenced to prison in Thailand, the events which led up to this, her initial feelings of bitterness, her time in Swedish prison, and her struggle to get an education in prison. She discusses the board of migration in the "negative retrospective" terms as well as the Swedish justice system, very few of the "negative retrospective" meaning units concern her time in Thai prison. "Positive prospective" is used to express her view of people's equal rights and value, the friendship she has found among the other volunteers, all the people who come and help, her friends from prison and how lucky she feels. "Positive retrospective" is used as a modality concerning her fellow prisoners in

Thailand, the importance of empathy, and her time in Thai prison. “Neutral” is mainly used to describe practical matters.

Table 37. Lena's Modalities: Belief

	Doxa affirmation	Doxa negation	Possibility	Question	Probability
Frequency	176	23	2	2	6
Relative frequency	84%	11%	1%	1%	3%
Total:					208

Lena uses the belief modality “doxa affirmation” in the majority of her meaning units, it is used in all aspects brought up in the interview. “Doxa negation” is used when discussing that she is “a little different”, and her motivation. “Probability” is used when she talks about how she could have become bitter, and how she would have been more broken by the system if she had been in a Swedish prison the whole time. She uses “possibility” when she talks about how she thinks there is a possibility that she makes a difference. Her questions are not directed toward me but rather toward the Swedish system “why do they do like that?”.

Table 38. Lena's Modalities: Subject

	I	One-All	Unspecified	We
Frequency	135	19	29	25
Relative frequency	65%	9%	14%	12%
Total:				208

“I” is the most common subject and it is also the most common entity it is used in all manner of contexts. “One-all” is used for the people who are welcome at the clinic, the prisoners she met in Sweden, people in general and their lives, healthcare staff at the clinic, the Swedish population etc. “We” is used as a subject in meaning units concerning her and her friends at the clinic, her and her fellow prisoners, “we who do things that racists do not like”, “we who have hearts” etc. “Unspecified” is used for specific persons such as the old man who comes to help them sometimes, or one doctor that work for the board of migration, but it is mostly used for meaning units which does not contain any specific subject, concerning the board of migrations, legal systems, rules, fear etc.

Table 39. Lena's Modalities: Time

	Always- recurrent	Empty	Past	Future	Present	Present →Future	Present → Past
Frequency	57	12	16	4	43	6	1
Relative frequency	27%	6%	18%	2%	21%	3%	0%

Total: 208

Lena's most common modality of time is "Always-recurrent" and this is used for meaning units concerning the habits of the people at the clinic and her friends, their responsibilities, the board of healthcare and the board of migration's reasoning, the people who regularly visit the clinic, her own feelings of empathy, horrible things she hears from the migrants, her own habits, views, luck, norms, and pathos, as well as reoccurring feelings of powerlessness, sadness, sorrow, and despair. On the positive note, how people have a value, and that all have their own destiny. The time modality is "empty" in meaning units concerning abstract things such as punishment fear, and sorrow in general. "Past" is mainly used to describe her time in prison and her time before prison. "Future" is used scarcely and is spoken of when she imagines how it would be to meet the person who planted the heroine in her bag and that sometimes she will have her turn of luck. "Present →future" is only used once and concerning the future of her friend who are waiting for his license to practice medicine. "Present→past" is used when she talks about the friends she met in prison and that she keeps contact with, how she used to study at Lund, but now she is lecturing there soon, and how her time in prison have affected her life in various ways. Lastly, "present" mostly concerns her work at the clinic and her motivation and attitudes around this.

Table 40. Lena's Modalities: Will

	Engagement	Aspiration	None	Wish-Positive	Unengagement
Frequency	167	3	12	5	21
Relative frequency	80%	1%	6%	2%	10%

Total: 208

Lena is "engaged" in most of her meaning units. When she uses "Unengagement" it is mainly in the context of people bureaucrats of different sorts.

“Aspiration” is used when she talks about how she started working with herself when she realized she was going to prison, and her academic and social aspirations. It was important for her to find a social circle when she got released. “No will” is declared in meaning units that concern organizations such as the EU, ideologies such as racism etc. “Wish-positive” is used when she expresses a hope for positive answers from the board of migration and the board of healthcare, and a wish for a change in their way of working. She also wishes for some luck for herself, personally.

Britta

Britta is a Swedish woman with a university education in social work and she is over 65. She has worked as a social worker all her life but is now retired. She has children and grandchildren and she is the older sister in her family. She volunteers at the same clinic as Lena and she chose to answer my question in writing. Her answer was short enough to be analysed in its entirety. Britta’s response was divided into 50 meaning units.

Table 41. Britta's Modalities: Affect

	Negative prospective	Negative retrospective	Neutral	Positive Prospective	Positive Retrospective
Frequency	12	2	31	3	2
Relative frequency	24%	4%	62%	6%	4%

Total: 50

Most of the meaning units have a “neutral” affect. These concern everything between her choice of education to descriptions of what a refugee is. The “negative prospective” meaning units concern how the well-fare system in Sweden has diminished, how she feels powerless sometimes when she meets the refugees, and how it is difficult to see the children suffer. “Negative retrospective” is used when she explains that her father died when she was seven years old. “Positive prospective” is used in meaning units concerning her experiences (which can be useful when working with immigrants) and her view that most

people are strong and capable. “Positive retrospective” is used in meaning units that explain that there are many people who has been helping.

Table 42. Britta's Modalities: Belief

	Doxa affirmation	Doxa negation	Possibility	Probability
Frequency	44	2	3	1
Relative frequency	88%	4%	6%	2%
Total:				50

“Doxa negation” is used concerning her choice to start working at the clinic and for the other people working in the clinic. “Possibility” is used when she speculates about how she would feel if she had to flee. “Probability” is used when she writes that she probably became a helper when her father died.

Table 43. Britta's Modalities: Subject

	I	One-All	Unspecified
Frequency	32	7	11
Relative frequency	64%	14%	22%
Total:			50

“I” is the most common subject in Britta’s meaning units, and it is also the most common entity. It is used in meaning units which concern her life story, her family, her personality and experiences and competences. “One-all” is used when discussing the general traits of humans (“people can be strong and capable”), or the decisions made by the government, the problems that one meets when working with immigrants etc. The meaning units have an “unspecified” modality when she writes about generalities such as the asylum process or the rules that the asylum seekers must undergo in Sweden.

Table 44. Britta's Modalities: Time

	Always-recurrent	Empty	Past	Present →Past	Present	Present → Future
Frequency	14	3	18	1	11	3
Relative frequency	28%	6%	36%	2%	22%	6%
Total:						50

Britta's meaning units mostly concern the past, which is inconsistent with her affect modalities, but "present" taken together with "always-recurrent" makes for a higher percentage so that might be the reason for this discrepancy as "always-recurrent" would be sorted under "prospective" in affects. "Past" is used when she writes about her childhood, her work life (she is retired now), her knowledge and her experiences. "Always-recurrent" is used when she writes about the problems and difficulties she faces when meeting the refugees, and the rules of the immigration process in Sweden as well as her thoughts about helping and what it means to her. "Present" is used in meaning units concerning things she does ("I can help") and other people who help at the clinic ("doctors") and other organizations which help the refugees ("the Red Cross"). When the meaning units are empty of time modalities, she writes about general things that exist such as "thoughts" without mentioning a time frame. "Present→future" concerns the situation getting worse for refugees, and her imagining what it would be like to be a refugee. "Present →past" concerns how she believes that her father's death has motivated her to become a helper.

Table 45. Britta's Modalities: Will

	Engagement	Aspiration	None	Wish-Positive
Frequency	37	2	10	1
Relative frequency	74%	4%	20%	2%

Total: 50

Britta does not express any meaning units where she is "unengaged". "No engagement" is shown, for example when she writes about the study, the different regions of social work etc. "Aspiration" is used when she discusses how she tries to help the refugees, and figure out how to help them, "wish positive" is used when she expresses her desire to help although it is not always possible.

Simon

Simon has chosen to answer the questionnaire in written form and anonymously. He does not mention his age. He comes from a politically conservative family and he has a university level education. He qualifies as a moral non-conformer because of his work within the Plowshares movement in Sweden where he practices civil disobedience. His answer has been analysed in its entirety and divided into 85 meaning units.

Table 46. Simon's Modalities: Affect

	Negative prospective	Negative retrospective	Neutral	Positive Prospective	Positive Retrospective
Frequency	3	16	52	3	5
Relative frequency	4%	19%	61%	11%	6%
				Total:	85

Simon uses “neutral” affect as the most frequent affect. This is used when he writes about the paths of life he chose to give up for his engagement, his intellectual role models and inspirations, the practical use of civil disobedience, the events that led to his decision to join the movement etc. He chooses to adopt a “neutral/objective” stance when writing about his decision, indicating an intellectualisation and distancing from the topic. When he writes about the past it is often negative in affect, it is about how he perceived the state of the world, which led him to join the movement. The consequences he suffered because of his activism, how his parents have felt because of his activism, and his own life-crisis when he realized that his previous belief system did not work are also themes in which he uses a “negative-retrospective” affect modality. He has less “negative-prospective” affects in his text, the ones he has concern how his choice to become an activist might affect his career, how the Swedish government supports unethical practices and how the movement of civil disobedience easily forms subcultures that might become narrow-minded and destructive. “Positive-prospective” is used as an affect modality when he talks about his own accomplishments, his abilities, and the possibilities to make a difference through the method

of civil disobedience. “Positive-retrospective” concerns his relief when he found civil disobedience as an outlet for his anger and sorrow, as well as his sense of belonging which he found in the theorists he read in his process to understand the events of 9-11.

Table 47. Simon's Modalities: Belief

	Doxa affirmation	Doxa negation	Possibility	Probability
Frequency	69	2	5	3
Relative frequency	81%	9%	6%	4%
Total:				85

Most of Simon’s belief modalities are “doxa affirmations”. His motivation behind his activism is often expressed in “doxa-negation”, separating him from the norm of society. Another subject in which he uses “doxa-negation” concerns his own intellectual accomplishment, level of performance and potential. When he uses “possibility” as a belief modality it concerns his thoughts about why he got involved in the movement of civil disobedience, about what “common Swedes” believes, what choices politicians have (“to clench their fist and start hitting”), the nature of civil disobedience, and of the world. “Probability” is used when he discusses his first meetings with other activists in the peace movement, that governments can be democratically selected, and how he felt before and when he found the movement of civil disobedience.

Table 48. Simon's Modalities: Subject

	I	One-All	Unspecified	We
Frequency	67	10	7	1
Relative frequency	79%	12%	8%	1%
Total:				85

Simon’s most common modality subject is “I”, it is also his most common entity, and as a subject it is present in all aspects of his answer. When “one-all” is the subject he is often writing about people, Sweden, civil disobedience and activism in general, politics and the state of the world. He uses an “unspecified” subject when he writes about practical

things such as finding somewhere to live, an essay he wrote, a situation one can be in etc. but also more abstract things such as inequality. “We” is used as a subject once and then representing the whole world, “we had a president who chose to respond like this”.

Table 49. Simon's Modalities: Time

	Always-recurrent	Empty	Past	Present →Past	Present	Present → Future
Frequency	8	8	55	8	5	1
Relative frequency	9%	9%	65%	9%	6%	1%

Total: 85

Most of Simon’s meaning units has a “past” time modality. He writes about his motivation and the events leading up to his involvement in the civil disobedience movement, both events that took place in the past. “Always-recurrent” is used when he discusses his own personality, the nature of civil disobedience, the structure of society and media, and the actions of governments. The time modality is “empty” concerning objects such as argument, authorities, money, the essay etc. “Present→future” is used once and it concerns his efforts to combine his activism with a career and life. The “present→past” is used when he writes about his previous experiences affecting his work model right now, how laws that we have today were created, their purpose etc. When he uses the time, modality “present” he talks about his anxiety, his feeling of ambivalence, his career, and the state of the world right now.

Table 50. Simon's Modalities: Will

	Engagement	Wish-positive	None	Unengagement
Frequency	67	5	5	8
Relative frequency	79%	6%	6%	9%

Total: 85

Simon is mostly “engaged” in the things he writes, when there is “no engagement” shown in a meaning unit it is likely to concern general aspects of the world, such as the nature of governments. He uses a “positive wish” concerning his own life where he hopes that he will be able to combine his activism with a job, and that he hopes to rectify some of the problems (missförhållanden) that he sees in the world. He distances himself by

using the “unengaged” modality when he talks about “common Swedes”, how west-north is oppressing east-south and society and governments.

Frida

Frida is active in the Plowshares movement, she chose to answer by anonymous questionnaire, and she did not reveal her age or any other type of background, except that she is Swedish. In here narrative there is a strong implication that she has previously, or still is, involved on the activist side of the animal rights movement, although she never explicitly writes this. Her answer has been analysed in its entirety, divided into 69 meaning units.

Table 51. Frida's Modalities: Affect

	Negative prospective	Negative retrospective	Neutral	Positive Prospective	Positive Retrospective
Frequency	16	5	27	20	1
Relative frequency	23%	7%	39%	29%	1%
				Total:	69

Most of Frida’s meaning units have a “neutral” affect. These concern the general nature of activists, actions, civil disobedience, animal rights movement etc. Second most common affect modality is the “positive prospective”. In the meaning units classified as “positive prospective” she writes about her family who now feels more accepting toward her activism, civil disobedience, and the peace movement which she believes can make a difference, love and respect from and toward other people as a result and mean in the peace movement, the positive aspects of being open with one’s engagement etc. “Negative prospective” concerns the consequences of a big fine or a prison sentence, problems of secrecy (in the animal rights movement), problems with the “system”, and about the problems that one faces in the animal rights movement which are more severe than in the peace movement. “Positive retrospective” concerns how she got to express herself in court after one of the actions, and how civil disobedience have been positive for her.

Table 52. Frida's Modalities: Belief

	Doxa affirmation	Doxa negation	Possibility	Probability
Frequency	54	7	6	3
Relative frequency	78%	10%	9%	3%
			Total:	69

Frida, like most respondents, uses “doxa affirmation” more than any other belief modality. “Doxa negation” is used when she writes about not how society, family, and people in general react to civil disobedience, and that one cannot predict how a person will react to a punishment that one gets after an action. “Possibility” is used when she writes about that civil disobedience might be something that more people could work with, that perhaps the method itself invites to a longer-term commitment, that people could infiltrate the groups, and that it might be inspiring for society with people who engage in civil disobedience. “Probability” is used when she writes that it might be more difficult to spread the message if one works with methods that need to be secretive.

Table 53. Frida's Modalities: Subject

	I	One-All	Unspecified
Frequency	21	25	23
Relative frequency	30%	36%	33%
			Total: 69

“One-all” is the Frida’s most common subject, and in her entities, “civil disobedience” is more frequent than “I”. “One-all” mainly concern activists, but also society, people in general, local communities, and humanity. “I” is the subject when she writes about her own activism, her family, her experiences, her hopes, views on the animal right movement, her opportunities to make her voice heard, and her view of the system. “Unspecified” is found in all the different aspects of her narrative.

Table 54. Frida's Modalities: Time

	Always- recurrent	Empty	Future	Past	Present → Future	Present → Past	Present
Frequency	10	3	1	8	12	2	33
Relative frequency	14%	4%	1%	12%	17%	3%	48%

Total: 69

Frida's text is rich in aspects of time. Most common is "present", which she uses to describe the state of things right now, such as the method of civil disobedience, activism, the animal rights movement, her family, her own associations and feelings etc. Second most common is "present → future", how secret actions might lead to more difficulties than open, her hopes for change, consequences of civil disobedience etc. "Always-recurrent" is used when she speaks about the legal consequences of civil disobedience, that the system is unfair, and her affects and attitudes. "Past" is used when she writes about her family's reaction to her activism and her trial, her own actions during the trial the role of media during the trial, she also mentions how she had to work on her relationship with her family after this. Her meaning units are "empty" of time when she writes about types of punishments, and types activism. "Future" is used when she writes about the possibility to use political violence in the future and that the civil disobedience movement would not approve of that. She uses "present → past" when she discusses about how she has been able to influence people.

Table 55. Frida's Modalities: Will

	Engagement	Wish-positive	None	Aspiration
Frequency	63	3	1	2
Relative frequency	91%	4%	1%	3%

Total: 69

Frida's text does not contain any "unengaged" modalities, she is mostly "engaged" in what she writes. She expresses "positive wish" when she writes about how she believes the technique of civil disobedience might change people's attitudes and that her activism can help in doing this. She uses "aspiration" when she writes about her hopes to

change society. “None” is used when she writes about the positive aspects of the peace movement over animal rights movement.

Klara

Klara is a vegan who chose to remain anonymous when she answered my questionnaire, following a request on the Facebook page “Vegans and Vegetarians in Sweden”. I have no other information about her besides her gender and that she is a vegan. Her answer has been analysed on its entirety, divided into 82 meaning units.

Table 56. Klara's Modalities: Affect

	Negative prospective	Negative retrospective	Neutral	Positive Prospective	Positive Retrospective
Frequency	20	20	24	15	3
Relative frequency	24%	24%	29%	18%	4%
				Total:	82

Klara uses her affect modalities quite evenly except for “positive-retrospective” which is used less than the others. The “neutral” affect is mainly used when she writes about her decision, some aspects of her personality (like being a sweet-tooth), the nutrition of certain foodstuffs etc. Her “negative-retrospective” affect modalities concern a film she saw about the dairy industry that she describes as fundamental to her decision to become a vegan, and for some of the reactions she has gotten regarding her choice, such as people referring to other vegans that are “annoying” etc. “Negative prospective” affect is used when she talks about “animal factories that kill”, the problems she has had choosing her diet (as she is very picky with vegetables and hates cooking), online trolls, and the problems she faces because of other vegans who are viewed as “annoying”. “Positive prospective” is used for her boyfriend and her friends who support her and admire her decision, that she does not try to force uncomfortable information on people who have not asked for it, and her confidence in her

choice. “Positive retrospective” is used when she talks about her boyfriend, her family and some of her friends’ reactions and support when she made the choice to become vegan.

Table 57. Klara's Modalities: Belief

	Doxa affirmation	Doxa negation	Possibility	Probability
Frequency	60	14	3	5
Relative frequency	73%	17%	4%	6%
			Total:	82

Most of Klara’s statements are “doxa affirmations”, the modalities with this belief concern everything from what she saw in the film that influenced her to her sweet-tooth, the prejudices she meets, and her boyfriend’s support. “Doxa negation” is used about her own thoughts and actions following her decision to become vegan, and the reactions from others. “Possibility” is used when she speculates why so few people chooses to be vegan or vegetarian, and the motives behind her teacher’s dislike toward her vegan standpoint when she wrote an essay about the problems with the animal industry. She uses “probability” when she writes that many beside her are also picky when it comes to vegetables, that she believes that people have talked behind her back and that her family probably thinks she is weird.

Table 58. Klara's Modalities: Subject

	I	One-All	Unspecified	We
Frequency	53	9	19	1
Relative frequency	65%	11%	23%	1%
			Total:	82

“I” is the most commonly used subject in Klara’s narrative, and it is also her most common entity, she uses it in most aspects of her answer. There is “unspecified” subject when she writes about the facts of the animal industry, veganism and the environment and “one-all” is used concerning vegans, people and their nutritional needs in general and the people around her. “We” is used for her and her boyfriend, and her and her friends.

Table 59. Klara's Modalities: Time

	Always-recurrent	Empty	Past	Present	Present →Past
Frequency	33	3	34	8	4
Relative frequency	40%	4%	41%	10%	5%

Total: 82

When Klara uses the time “past” she writes about the reactions of her parents, her reactions to the film she saw, the content of said film, the reasons behind her decisions (“I vowed never to eat dairy products again”) etc. She uses “always-recurrent” to describe the animal industry, her daily struggles as a vegan, her personality (being a sweet tooth), the attitudes of people etc. “Present” concerns the treatment of animals today, the problems she has, the choice that exist (not to eat animal products) and the attitudes of the people surrounding her. She uses no time when she writes about the existence of a book, online trolls and that she wishes that the world would see its faults. The “present →past” concerns how the information she got made her become vegan, and how she suspects now that her teacher got information that he did not want.

Table 60. Klara's Modalities: Will

	Engagement	Wish-positive	None	Aspiration	Unengagement
Frequency	65	4	3	1	9
Relative frequency	79%	5%	4%	1%	11%

Total: 82

One of the Klara’s meaning units expresses “aspiration”, when she writes about her pledge never to eat dairy products again. “Engagement” is the most common will of the meaning units, used throughout the answer, concerning for example her habits and general knowledge to her moral decision. She uses no will when she writes about general facts such as the existence of a chapter in a book and the trolls on the internet. She is “unengaged” when she writes about the actions of said troll, the actions of the animal industry, and the reaction to veganism from one of her friends. “Wish positive” is used relatively often compared to the

other respondents, and it concerns her wish for the world to realize that what it is doing is wrong.

Johanna

Johanna is a vegan who answered my questionnaire anonymously following a request on the Facebook page “Vegans and Vegetarians in Sweden”. She has not chosen to disclose any other information about herself than her sex and nationality, although she mentions that she is in a long-term relationship and is a mother of two children. Her answer has been analysed in its entirety, divided into 85 meaning units.

Table 61. Johanna's Modalities: Affect

	Negative prospective	Negative retrospective	Neutral	Positive Prospective	Positive Retrospective
Frequency	10	8	47	12	8
Relative frequency	12%	9%	55%	14%	9%
	Total:				85

“Positive retrospective” concerns her decision to become first a vegetarian - then a vegan, realizing that this was simple. “Negative retrospective” is used when she is describing some of the reactions she got from her decision, when her first child getting stomach problems from milk protein, and the doubts she had at first when she decided to become a vegetarian although she felt that she should probably become a vegan (as she later decided to do). “Negative prospective” is used when she talks about the meat, egg, and dairy industry and the norm to eat such products in society, how she got questioned about her decision, and problems she sees within the vegan movement. “Positive prospective” is used when describing the environmental benefits to a vegan diet, how she is not alone in being a vegan anymore, how her husband and brother have become vegans as well etc. “Neutral” is used when describing events and facts such as her having a daughter, a book she read, her habits before becoming a vegan (“I still ate dairy and egg outside the house”) etc.

Table 62. Johanna's Modalities: Belief

	Doxa affirmation	Doxa negation	Probability
Frequency	69	14	2
Relative frequency	81%	16%	2%

Total: 85

Most of Johanna's beliefs are "doxa affirmation", the "doxa negations" concern her decision and reasoning behind becoming a vegan. "Probability" concerns how she thinks that her decision affected her husband and brother's decision to become vegan.

Table 63. Johanna's Modalities: Subject

	I	One-All	Unspecified
Frequency	68	3	14
Relative frequency	80%	4%	16%

Total: 85

"I" is the most common subject in Johanna's meaning units, it is also her most common entity and it is used throughout the whole answer, and in all its different contexts. The subject is "unspecified" when she writes about facts (such as mussels not having a brain), books in her bookcase, environmental benefits of being a vegan etc. "One-all" is used for the egg industry, the "meat-norm" in society and the dairy industry.

Table 64. Johanna's Modalities: Time

	Always-recurrent	Empty	Past	Present	Present →Past
Frequency	16	5	45	17	2
Relative frequency	19%	6%	53%	20%	2%

Total: 85

"Always-recurrent" concerns her husband being a philosopher, the "meat-norm" the environment, the anatomy of mussels, the norms in the vegan world, etc. The time modality is "empty" when she writes about the nature of the meat, milk and egg industry, the resources in the world, environmental issues, deontology, two different philosophers, and ethics. "Past" is used when she discusses the basis of her decision, that she realized that it was easy to find non-animal replacement products (such as soy milk), the stomach problems

of her daughter etc. “Present” is used when she discusses the thoughts she has today, her brother and husband’s decision to follow her example, that she works and work out a lot, how long she has been a vegan, and her current thoughts about the reasons she has for being vegan etc. “Present → past” is used when she refers to her decision possibly affecting her husband and brother, and that it is still not clear if it really was the milk protein that made her daughter ill.

Table 65. Johanna's Modalities: Will

	Engagement	None	Unengagement
Frequency	80	4	1
Relative frequency	94%	5%	1%

Total: 85

Most of Johanna’s meaning units contain an “engaged” will, and she is engaged in all aspects that she writes about. She uses “no will” when she discusses certain facts such as the anatomy of mussels, the environment and two of the philosophers she mentions. She is “unengaged” once, when she writes about the decisions of her husband and brother, which she makes sure to emphasize were their own.

Lei

Lei is 20- 25 years old and a Chinese student studying in a mid-sized Chinese city. He has decided not to engage in an after-school activity that all his friends have joined to get good credits, as he thinks it is immoral to act interested in something just to get better credits. I met Lei for an interview, and we spoke for approximately 45 minutes. The interview was held in English and no interpreter was needed. Lei comes from a rural background. I divided Lei’s interview into 561 meaning units. The meaning units are a little longer than ideal, as the text is long. Therefore, modalities might not be as exact as in the shorter narratives. For example, a meaning unit can be deemed neutral even if it contains positive aspects if it is mostly neutral in content.

Table 66. Lei's Modalities: Affect

	Negative prospective	Negative retrospective	Neutral	Positive Prospective	Positive Retrospective
Frequency	158	86	203	107	7
Relative frequency	28%	15%	36%	19%	1%

Total: 561

Lei's most common affect is "neutral" and this is used throughout the interview, foremost in the context of explaining certain Chinese terms or systems to me (such as how the school system works), but also about his dreams in the future and their practical aspects ("I will be 30 when I am finished with my studies"), his family situation ("my parents are farmers"), facts about China etc. Second most common affect modality is "negative prospective", here he talks about limitations ("my family doesn't have much money"), the grading system in school, and the teachers' power, his classmates' choice to "pretend" to be interested in after school activities to show a good face toward the teachers, how he feels it is hard to have another opinion on this matter than his classmates, some aspects of the school system in China (it is too much "repeating" and not enough analysing), and how many thinks that he is just a cynic who complain too much. His third most common affect modality is "positive prospective". It concerns his belief in his own abilities, both familywise, academically and professionally, his good friends who agree with his point of view, his dreams, and his sense of moral. He uses "negative retrospective" when he criticizes the school system, the attitude of his classmates, how many think he is a cynic and complain too much, that he never liked to "pretend" to get favours, not even when younger, and how he has been in a lot of conflicts with teachers and friends about this. "Positive retrospective" is the least used affect modality and he uses it concerning his family and his independence.

Table 67. Lei's Modalities: Belief

	Doxa affirmation	Doxa negation	Possibility	Probability	Question
Frequency	358	136	43	10	14
Relative frequency	81%	16%	8%	2%	2%

Total: 561

The belief in Lei's meaning units is mostly "doxa affirmation", and he uses this in all aspects of his narrative. Second most common is "doxa negation", which he uses more often than most of the other respondents. He often points out that he believes different things from the norm. "Possibility" concerns his plans in the future, possible future family, and the future of his friends who chose to conform (they might be successful but not happy). The "question" belief is used to ask if I have understood what he just said, about some ("How many are you in your country?"), but also rhetorical questions ("Why would I do something I am not interested in?"). "Probability" is about new thoughts that one probably gets by reading a book, his future, and probable consequences of too much non-conforming.

Table 68. Lei's Modalities: Subject

	I	One-All	Unspecified	We
Frequency	300	124	118	19
Relative frequency	53%	22%	21%	3%
Total:				561

Lei's most common subject is "I" and this is also his most common entity. "I" as a subject is used in most aspects of the narrative, about his plans, his family, choices, classmates, county, personality traits (both that he thinks he has and that other thinks he possesses), his moral, etc. "One-all" refers to the Chinese people, Chinese traditions, students, it concerns the group that his classmates participate in for extra credits, people in general, and the personalities of people who conform. "Unspecified" is mostly used for general facts such as how it is to work as a teacher in China or about the school system etc. "We" concerns the school system (we only think about books), and "we in China".

Table 69. Lei's Modalities: Time

	Always- recurrent	Empty	Future	Past	Present →Future	Present → Past	Present
Frequency	108	82	37	122	44	11	157
Relative frequency	19%	15%	7%	22%	8%	2%	28%
Total:							561

The time modality that Lei uses the most is “present”. He uses it when he talks about his wish to study abroad, the current situation at the university and in the schools in China, his classmates, his dreams, his friends, traits that he has (“I am cynic”, “I am angry”), and opinions he has. Second most common is “past” which is used when he explains how he thought about school before (“we only thought about books”), what his friends have said to him (that he is being stubborn and will suffer from it), the choices of his classmates, events from the past such as other times when he did not want to do like the teacher said, or when he fought with a friend, his teachers’ behaviour etc. “Always-recurrent” concerns his family (“I am lucky to have them”) and the school system in China, the difference between the school system in China and the system in Sweden, his need to be free to choose what to do after school, etc. A portion of the meaning units are “empty” of time and these concern general facts about the school system in China, China, Chinese terms, his thoughts about issues such as whether 33 is an old age, how English should be taught etc. The “present → future” modalities mainly concern his dreams and plans, the future of his classmates who will continue doing things that they do not like and become miserable, problems that non-conforming might get you in, etc. Lei uses “Future” when talking about his dreams, plans, future family, the bad decisions of his classmates etc. He “present →past” when explaining how his brother has influenced his thinking, and how his earlier school experiences have influenced his decisions now.

Table 70. Lei's Modalities: Will

	Engagement	None	Unengagement	Aspiration	Wish-Positive	Wish-Negative
Frequency	368	56	85	20	29	3
Relative frequency	66%	10%	15%	4%	5%	1%

Total: 561

Most of Lei’s meaning units have an “engaged” will and these are to be found in all aspects of his answer, second most common is “Unengagement” and these meaning units

concern things like the school system, and the choices of his friends who chooses to engage in activities they do not believe in or enjoy. The “No will” modality concerns facts about China and its school system etc. Lei expresses “positive wish” mostly concerning his plans and dreams about the future. “Aspiration” is used about his dreams and plans. “Wish negative” mainly concern the wishes of his classmates to choose security over what they really want to do.

Yong

Yong lives in a bigger city, he has a job for which he has a relevant university education and he is 25 -30 years old. He is originally from another part of China where his parents, who are factory workers, still lives. I met him for an interview at his workplace and we talked for about 45 minutes. He speaks good English, so no interpreter was needed. Yong is considered a moral non-conformist based on three separate events; The first happened when he was rather young, and he protested a teacher who physically abused a student in his class by hitting her with a newspaper. Yong got his classmates to help him and eventually the teacher apologized. The second event occurred when he protested another teacher who was taking monetary bribes to give students better grades. He succeeded in getting his money back. The third was when he tried to help a friend who was unfairly treated in a recruitment procedure for a private cooperation. This endeavour failed. Yong’s narrative was divided into 502 meaning units.

Table 71. Yong's Modalities: Affect

	Negative prospective	Negative retrospective	Neutral	Positive Prospective	Positive Retrospective
Frequency	27	187	219	23	46
Relative frequency	5%	37%	44%	5%	9%
	Total:				502

The most frequently used affect modality in Yong’s answer is “neutral” and

Yong uses it for factual information, both personal and general (“my parents are from CITY”

and “individualists is about their own style”), and contextual information of the stories he is telling (“I have a personal story”). Next most common is the “negative retrospective”. Yong’s stories are in the past, and they concern topics which are negative (abuse, corruption), and so many of his meaning units have a negative affect modality. Most of the “negative retrospective” modalities concern the stories about his moral non-conforming and his feelings and thoughts around those times: “I had a strong feeling”, “I didn’t want to play that game”, “my family do not have much money”. The third most used affect, “positive retrospective” concerns his biggest interests (he is very passionate about his job and the education that led up to it), his good grades, his abilities, and his fellow students etc. He uses “negative prospective” affect when he discusses the differences between the city he lives in now and the city he comes from, that the teacher who took bribes is still working, and some students who paid money but never got it back etc. “Positive prospective” meaning units concern what he does for a living, that he has had some use of the experiences he got from these events, his admiration for the people of his hometown, how he would do if he was in the same situation again, etc.

Table 72. Yong's Modalities: Belief

	Doxa affirmation	Doxa negation	Possibility	Probability	Question
Frequency	398	77	15	11	1
Relative frequency	79%	15%	3%	2%	0%

Total: 502

Yong’s most common belief modality is “doxa affirmation” and concerns all aspects of his narrative. “Doxa negation” concerns his actions in his moral non-conforming situations, as well as how he believes he and other people of his profession are more prone to non-conformity than others. “Possibility” is used for meaning units where he, for example, speculates about artists might be more prone to non-conformity, and what he would do if he was in the same situation again, etc. “Probability” is used concerning consequences for different actions (“they probably wouldn’t have any problem with the law”) etc.

Table 73. Yong's Modalities: Subject

	I	One-All	Unspecified	We
Frequency	281	40	144	37
Relative frequency	56%	8%	29%	7%
Total:				502

Yong's most common subject modality is "I" which is also his most common entity. "I" is used in all aspects of his narrative, everything from traits, profession, his case, to his thoughts, wishes and attitudes. He uses the subject "unspecified" when he talks about general facts such as how the recruitment system in the company works, that China has a collectivistic culture, the Chinese education system, the traits of people in general (people can be old) etc. "One-all" is used in contexts such as all people of his profession, the Chinese people, people in general etc. "We" is used for contexts such as; we as friends, we as family, we as class mates, we who were the people who worked with the different cases, we as people who come from his home province, we as students, etc.

Table 74. Yong's Modalities: Time

	Always-recurrent	Empty	Future	Past	Present → Future	Present → Past	Present
Frequency	89	3	3	364	3	17	23
Relative frequency	18%	1%	1%	73%	1%	3%	5%
Total:							502

Yong's most common time modality is "past", the situations which he describes are all in the past, as well as the feelings and motivations he had then. "Always-recurrent" is the second most common time modality. It is used in contexts concerning non-conforming behaviour in general, the character and attitudes of the people of his profession, the nature of the Chinese culture, culture in general, his hometown and the people there, morality etc. He is using "Present" as time modality when he discusses his present profession, his family situation right now, what he thinks about the situation now ("I think it is a joke") etc. The "present → past" is used mostly in the context of what the involved people are doing now and

the (lack of) consequences the situation has had. “Future” time modality refers to what he would do in a hypothetical future scenario which is similar to those that he has experienced. In the “present →future” Yong discusses how he hopes that his profession will develop in the future, and how he could take what he learned in the past to use in future situations similar to the ones he has been in.

Table 75. Yong's Modalities: Will

	Engagement	None	Unengagement	Aspiration	Wish-Positive	Wish-Negative
Frequency	367	48	77	6	3	1
Relative frequency	73%	10%	15%	1%	1%	0%

Total: 502

Yong is mostly “engaged” in what he talks about, it concerns his experiences, his feelings, thoughts and motives. Second most common is “Unengagement” which he uses to mark a distance between him and the system of recruitment, other people’s business, the people at the company, the teachers, people who protest in the streets, the teacher who took bribes, students with a wealthier family background etc. When he expresses “no will” he mainly talks about facts such as the system in the company, in China, about Chinese culture, but also more specific facts pertaining to the stories that he is telling. “Aspiration” is used mainly concerning how he would do in hypothetical future cases. “Wish-positive” is used to express the wish of his profession (to be understood) and how he wishes people in general could be. “Wish-negative” is expressed when he does not want to “play their game”.

Ying

Ying is a Chinese woman from an intellectual upbringing with one Hani Chinese parent and one parent from a minority culture. She is a Christian and she is between 40 and 50 years old. She lives in a larger city and holds a highly qualified job. The interview took around 40 minutes and was conducted in her friend’s office. She did not need an interpreter, but she insisted that her friend remained present during the interview. Her friend

reacted to what she was saying from time to time, although this did not seem to affect her negatively in any way. She is a moral non-conformist because she decided to exit her church when she did not agree on some of the decisions they made, and now she is a devout Christian but without a parish. Ying's interview was divided into 361 meaning units.

Table 76. Ying's Modalities: Affect

	Negative prospective	Negative retrospective	Neutral	Positive Prospective	Positive Retrospective
Frequency	46	31	180	93	11
Relative frequency	13%	9%	50%	26%	3%
				Total:	361

Half of Ying's meaning units are "neutral" in affect, these meaning units concern everything from her upbringing to exemplifying stories, to her perception of some of her own traits, etc. "Positive prospective" modality concerns her viewpoint on life ("life can bloom like a flower if you try new things"), about her philosophy of child rearing ("children need their space"), the benefits of curiosity, education and different experiences, her own feelings ("I am happy", "I am safe") etc. When she expresses a "negative prospective" affect it concerns conflicts (mostly inner conflicts), how her curiosity might become dangerous in certain situations, a disagreement she had with her family, negative consequences of her quitting the parish, that freedom has its limits (your actions should not affect others negatively), etc. When Ying expresses a "negative retrospective" affect it concerns her conflict with her family a time when her curiosity put her in a potentially dangerous situation, the reactions of the members of her parish when she quit, etc. The meaning units which are "positive retrospective" concern her child, her upbringing, and her friends.

Table 77. Ying's Modalities: Belief

	Doxa affirmation	Doxa negation	Possibility	Probability	Question
Frequency	234	104	10	1	12
Relative frequency	65%	29%	3%	0%	3%
				Total:	361

Most of her meaning units have a “doxa affirmative” belief. These concern situations she experiences and feelings she has had and have. “Doxa-negations” concern her students (“I never give them advice on how to live their lives”), and how she does not believe that what is good for others necessarily is good for her and vice versa, her own view of life which she believes differ from the mainstream Chinese view of life etc. “Question” is sometimes directed towards me (“What do you think?”) and sometimes toward herself (“What reason did I have?”). “Possibility” concerns what to do in hypothetical situations (“If your behaviour disturbs somebody you should adjust it”), speculations about how her childhood might have influenced her today, possible consequences for a moral non-conform behaviour or curiosity. “Probability” is used when she thinks about how most people would react in a certain situation.

Table 78. Ying's Modalities: Subject

	I	One-All	Unspecified	We
Frequency	234	42	68	17
Relative frequency	65%	12%	19%	5%

Total: 361

“I” is the most common subject in Ying’s meaning units and in her entities. It concerns everything from her abilities, behaviour, challenges she faces, her child, personality traits, her upbringing, friends etc. The second most frequent subject, “unspecified”, is used when she talks about experiences in general, different personality traits in general (e.g. not applying them to one person or group), facts such as “my father comes from a minority background” etc. “One-all” is used concerning that people in China can have a mixed heritage, the Chinese personality, the Chinese view of child rearing, general life rules such as “if your behaviour disturbs other people you have to adjust it”, the general attitudes of people (“they are afraid of quitting”) etc. “We” is used referring to us as humans who are able to have a lifestyle, her and her family, we as Chinese, we as individuals with our own lives etc.

Table 79. Ying's Modalities: Time

	Always-recurrent	Empty	Past	Present →Future	Present →Past	Present
Frequency	193	12	103	16	8	32
Relative frequency	53%	3%	29%	18%	2%	9%
Total:						361

Most of Ying's meaning units have a time modality of "always-recurrent" and these concerns her attitude toward her students, the traits of her students ("they are adults"), the Chinese personality and view of life, choices we face in life, her own personality traits, her parents' personality traits, etc. "Past" modality is used concerning her childhood, the consequences of her curiosity in the past, past life events such as her divorce, her feelings in the past, what people have said to her in the past etc. The "present →future" is used when she discusses how her decisions might influence her balance in life, her hopes for her students and her child, and how tolerance can enrich your experience. "Present" is used when she talks about her child's needs now, the acceptance that she has got from her friends, her life right now, her lifestyle right now, and that she is happy in her current situation etc. Her meaning units are "empty" of time concerning general facts such as the geographical layout of certain places she has been etc. The "present →past" is used, for example, when she talks about how her curiosity has gotten her into trouble and that she learned from that experience and the reasons that she chose her lifestyle etc.

Table 80. Ying's Modalities: Will

	Engagement	None	Unengagement	Aspiration	Wish-Positive
Frequency	313	19	26	1	2
Relative frequency	87%	5%	7%	0%	1%
Total:					361

Ying mostly shows "engagement" in her meaning units. She is "unengaged", showing a distance between her and what she talks about, when she discusses people in general who do not approve of/do not like/disagree with her lifestyle, that she has a different

lifestyle and personality than most people etc. There is “no will” in meaning units which concern facts such as her parents not wanting her to take food from strangers, that people can have a mixed background etc. A “positive wish” is expressed about the Chinese people’s wish for everything to be in harmony, and her own wish for more tolerance. “Aspiration” is used once, and this is the aspiration of others who want to change her.

Lijuan

Lijuan is a woman between 25 – 30 years old. She comes from a wealthy family with divorced parents. Her mother is a business woman, and her father is very prominent in his profession. She has a university degree, speaks fluent English, and lives in a big city far away from her hometown which is one of China’s largest cities. Lijuan has a qualified job and she is of Christian faith. Due to her fluency in English I could hold the interview with her without any interpreter. It was held in a private home with just the two of us present. Lijuan has worked as a volunteer helping an underprivileged and marginalized group of people in a foreign country. This is what has qualified her for my study. The interview took around an hour and I and Lijuan know each other beforehand. This lengthy interview was divided into 721 meaning units. Some of them had to be longer than ideal.

Table 81. Lijuan's Modalities: Affect

	Negative prospective	Negative retrospective	Neutral	Positive Prospective	Positive Retrospective
Frequency	46	237	253	47	138
Relative frequency	6%	33%	35%	7%	19%
				Total:	721

The “neutral” affect modality is the most common of the affect modalities in Lijuan’s story. “Neutral” affect is used when she talks about practical things such as her apartment, the material in which the houses in the village where she was volunteering was built, which city she comes from originally, her actions (ex. “I decided to take a nap”) etc. Second most common of her affect modalities is “negative retrospective”, she talks about

problems she had within her church, an accident she suffered while volunteering, her parents' disapproval of her life-choices (they would like for her to choose a "safer" and more well-paid career), the suffering of the people she helped, a teacher she had who wanted her to give him presents when he realized she came from a rich family, her class mates who encouraged her to give these present and invite the teacher for dinner, how she lost a scholarship when she refused, a time in her life when she had very little money as her parents did not help her and she was too sick to work etc. She talks about her own problems but also a great deal about the suffering of the people she worked with in the foreign country. The meaning units which are "positive retrospective" concern how she got her apartment which she loves a lot, how people always told her that she is talented in what she does, that she did not want to be the enemy of the people who have done something wrong against her, how she gained her father's support, the support of her friends, the good experiences she had with the villagers she worked with and the organization who helped her get there, her excitement to live in the village with the people she worked with, their love for her and her love for them, how she got a well-paid job to be able to travel, etc. "Positive prospective" concerns her talents/abilities/expertise, her enriched experiences, her friends, her mentor, that different experiences are enriching for everyone, especially travelling etc. Her least used affect modality is "negative prospective", these include things that people in the village where she works still struggles with (ex. Venomous snakes, lack of food), problems with corruption, problems you can face if you do not have "guanxi"¹, a letter that she has written to be read in case she died, rules that she does not like but has to follow, etc.

¹ Guanxi, 关系, is a Chinese Chinese term which describes relationships or social networks between persons. People can also have more or less guanxi, which means that they have more or less social power.

Table 82. Lijuan's Modalities: Belief

	Doxa affirmation	Doxa negation	Possibility	Probability	Question
Frequency	632	62	17	1	4
Relative frequency	88%	9%	2%	0%	1%

Total: 721

The majority of Lijuan's meaning units are "doxa affirmations" and these concerns all aspects of her answer. Her "doxa negations" concern some of her motivations behind her actions. She shows a low number of "doxa negation" indicating that she does not believe herself as acting outside the norm. The "possibility" belief concerns the possibility of experiences enriching your life, the possibility of her dying and her family receiving the letter she wrote, and her parents' reaction if something happened to her

Table 83. Lijuan's Modalities: Subject

	I	One-All	Unspecified	We
Frequency	572	30	78	41
Relative frequency	79%	4%	11%	6%

Total: 721

Lijuan's most common subject is "I" and this is also her most common entity. It reflects that she is telling a story about her own experiences and feelings and the meaning units containing "I" as a subject are spread throughout her narrative. The "unspecified" subject meaning units mostly concern facts such as animals living in the village, the doctor she met with when sick etc. "We" refers to her and her friends, some friends who are just like family, her and her best friend, the people who lives in the city where she lives, we as her and her former friends who she had a fight with (we broke up), etc. "One-all" concerns the behaviour of the men in the village, what is good behaviour if you are a Christian, the importance of "guanxi" in China, illnesses that people can suffer from because of bad living conditions, that you are expected to invite your teachers to fine restaurants, etc.

Table 84. Lijuan's Modalities: Time

	Always-recurrent	Empty	Past	Present →Future	Present →Past	Present	Future
Frequency	105	8	571	9	5	13	10
Relative frequency	15%	1%	79%	1%	1%	2%	1%

Total: 721

Most of Lijuan's meaning units have a "past" time modality. Next most common is "always-recurrent" and she uses this when she speaks about the vegetation and animal life of the village where she lived, "guanxi" in China, the Chinese way of viewing and argument, attitudes such as being able to cooperate in spite of not being friends, that one needs courage to face some things, her good relations with friends, her abilities, her lifestyle, the need for money if you have none, her respect for the organization which she worked for, the attitudes and beliefs of people in general, the importance of truth, etc. The time modality "present" is used when she talks about an article that she thinks I ought to read, what she is working with now, her current relationship to her parents etc. "Future" is used when she states that she wants to go abroad in the future, that projects she is involved in will enrich her and others' experiences, and she also talks about something she will show me after the interview (the article). The "present →future" concern what she wants her friends and family to know if she dies, the letter she wrote pertaining to this, her mentor's advice about the future etc. Examples of when she uses "empty" as a time modality are: "you might hurt people's feelings", and "we can be happy". The "past→present" is used when she describes her friend's present reactions to the conflict she had.

Table 85. Lijuan's Modalities: Will

	Engagement	None	Unengagement	Aspiration	Wish-Positive
Frequency	674	15	20	4	8
Relative frequency	93%	2%	3%	1%	1%

Total: 721

Lijuan is mostly "engaged" in everything she talks about. She is distancing herself showing "Unengagement", in some meaning units concerning the living conditions of

the people in the village, and then about the teachers who take bribes. The meaning units which express “no will” refers to kids wearing slippers in the winter, the temperature in the winter, the feeling one might get when one hurt people etc. When she expresses a “positive wish” it concerns her wishes not to bring bedbugs into her friend’s apartment, and her wish to find the truth. Her “aspirations” are her wanting to explain and how she wants to find righteousness.

Baozhai

Baozhai is a woman between 45 to 55 years old. She is a local business owner, has a high status in her community, and she is economically well off. She comes from an intellectual environment, and she lives in a smaller city. I met her in the office of a friend of hers who also helped me to interpret, the interview lasted for about 20 minutes and several people were present, apart from the interpreter. These were Baozhai’s child, and the child of the interpreter were there. I did not know beforehand that she was a moral non-conformer, but during the interview she told me two stories about how she intervened in life-threatening situations following traffic accidents, a practice that is not without potential problems for the helper. There are several examples of incidents in China where the helper has been sued for causing the accident. She is a dedicated Confucianist. Baozhai’s narrative was divided into 93 meaning units. It is shorter than normal for an interview, but this is due to the use of an interpreter as everything must be said twice, we might therefore compare a twenty-minute-interview with interpreter with a ten-minute-interview without an interpreter.

Table 86. Baozhai's Modalities: Affect

	Negative prospective	Negative retrospective	Neutral	Positive Prospective	Positive Retrospective
Frequency	7	18	44	19	5
Relative frequency	8%	19%	47%	20%	5%
				Total:	93

Baozhai speaks mostly in a “neutral” affect modality and she uses this when she talks about practicalities, such as “the boy had a friend” or “I was taught the teachings of Confucius”. She talks about the situations, which at least one was very dramatic with a person bleeding heavily, in a neutral manner where she refrains from emotional judgments or statements but practically explained. “The situation was not complicated.”, and “My reaction was instinctive.” She also states that she rather abides by the social norm than not, and this is also pronounced as a statement without any attributed value, just as a matter of fact. In “positive prospective” affect she brings up the teachings of Confucius “to be nice to people”, her father “who is a very kind hearted person”, herself “I am a rational person”, Chinese people who, “when they get richer they are willing to give out some money”, and Chinese tradition “which says that it is preferable to help people with our money” etc. The “negative retrospective” meaning units mostly involve the state of the people in the accident “the person was dying from the accident”, but also, in one occasion, some concern for herself “the boy was bleeding and my car was new”, her husband being worried about her, the state of her mind “If I didn’t help him then nobody will”, and the possible consequences for herself if she would not have helped “I might not be able to sleep” etc. The “negative prospective” meaning units mostly concern her disregard for the national football team although she also talks about some weak points in modern society (such as people not helping each other enough). “Positive retrospective” is used when she talks about her admiration of her grandfather who was a local doctor in traditional medicine, and about how she has helped several people in the past. In general, the negative parts of her story seem to concern the accident itself, she comes with little negative affects besides that. Baozhai seems to have a positive view, especially concern her own ability to help and the willingness to help (from herself and others who follow the Chinese tradition), and her family’s influence in forming her values.

Table 87. Baozhai's Modalities: Belief

	Doxa affirmation	Doxa negation	Possibility	Probability	Question
Frequency	71	18	2	1	1
Relative frequency	76%	19%	2%	1%	1%

Total: 93

The majority of Baozhai's meaning units have a "doxa-affirmative" belief.

These meaning units concern everything from her own feelings and state of mind to fact such as "Confucius teaches..." and "the boy was bleeding". "Doxa-negation" is used mostly when she talks about her own state of mind: "I never thought about any bad consequences", and actions "I do not only help people when they are in dangerous situations". "Possibility" concerns the possible consequences for herself if she did not help the people suffering from the accident "I could not eat anything". "Probability" is used to speculate about how her helping behaviour might be a consequence of her family tradition. She asks one question, and this is directed towards me, when she asks if "not liking the Chinese football team might be an example of moral non-conforming".

Table 88. Baozhai's Modalities: Subject

	I	One-All	Unspecified	We
Frequency	47	14	28	4
Relative frequency	51%	15%	30%	4%

Total: 93

Her most common subject is "I", which is also the most common entity. In about a third of her meaning units there are no specified subject. These meaning units contain general information such as "one can call an ambulance", specific facts, "he was lying on the ground", but also evaluative statements such as: "It will become better in the future". "One-all" is used as a subject for statements such as: "Chinese people are improving", "The nature of human beings is good", and "Everybody pretends that the football team is good" etc. "We" concerns thing such as "we are taught about the teachings of Confucius from an early age.", and "we (her husband and her) were in Thailand".

Table 89. Baozhai's Modalities: Time

	Always-recurrent	Empty	Past	Present →Future	Present
Frequency	28	2	44	2	17
Relative frequency	30%	2%	47%	2%	18%

Total: 93

Of Baozhai's time modalities the "past" is the most common category, it mainly concerns the situations she has been in where she helped people, but she also talks about her father and grandfather and her family tradition, possible causes for her helping behaviour, and her husband's reactions to her behaviours. "Always-recurrent" time modality concerns how these types of accidents affect her, that she will be the first to help if nobody else does, the teachings of Confucius to be a good person, traits that she has (such as being rational) and others have (such as her father being kind-hearted, or Chinese people being generous), etc. "Present" is used when she talks about the experience she has, that she does not criticize the national football team in public, that her father is still practicing traditional herbal medicine, and that the new generation is less social than her generation etc. There is no time modality when she talks about that she helps even when people's lives are not in danger. The "present →future" concern how Chinese people when they get more money, they start helping others.

Table 90. Baozhai's Modalities: Will

	Engagement	None	Unengagement
Frequency	89	3	1
Relative frequency	96%	3%	1%

Total: 93

Baozhai is mostly "engaged" in what she speaks about. "Unengagement" is shown when she talks about the players in the football team (which she obviously wants to distance herself from). "No will" concerns the person who was hurting, her father and when she asks me if she uses the right example.

Roumei

Roumei is between 20 and 25 years old. She has a university education, and I met her with her friend in a smaller city. She appeared shy during the interview, which was held with the help of an interpreter. Her friend sat next to her (she was interviewed before Roumei and did not have a moral non-conforming experience), and the interview was held in a busy hotel lounge. The interview took about 20 minutes and both her friend, and the interpreter helped with the translation. She is deemed a moral non-conformer although this is a borderline case. She and her family were involved in a situation where her father helped a co-worker who revealed corruption within a private cooperation. The person accused of corruption thought it was Roumei's father who had reported the corruption, and her father let them believe that, as he felt that he was in a better position to take the blame. The family was harassed by thugs loyal to the person under investigation, they threatened to hurt Roumei in order to make her father revoke the accusations, but the family stood united against this threat and in the end the corrupted man was caught by the police and sentenced. It is then possible to argue that Roumei herself is not the moral non-conformer, but in a way, one could say that her whole family is. The interview was divided into 62 meaning units.

Table 91. Roumei's Modalities: Affect

	Negative prospective	Negative retrospective	Neutral	Positive Prospective	Positive Retrospective
Frequency	3	20	30	3	6
Relative frequency	5%	32%	48%	5%	10%
	Total:				62

Roumei uses a “neutral” affect concerning all aspects of her narrative. Second most common affective modality is “negative retrospective” and these mostly concern the problems her family got in the situation and how they felt (“we felt scared”, “we were always followed by bad guys”). “Positive retrospective” is used concerning her father’s strength, how her family felt they did the right thing, and how they succeeded in the end. “Negative

prospective” concerns how she would feel guilty if she did not do the right thing, but also how she is very nervous in the interview. “Positive prospective” is used when she talks about her relief that the men who threatened them is in jail now, that the law punished them and that she is happy that her family is still well.

Table 92. Roumei's Modalities: Belief

	Doxa affirmation	Doxa negation	Possibility
Frequency	44	15	3
Relative frequency	71%	24%	5%
Total:		62	

“Doxa affirmation” is Roumei’s most common belief modality. It concerns all the aspects of Roumei’s narrative. “Doxa negation” is used when she discusses the motivations and actions of her and her family. “Possibility” concerns the possible consequences for the girl who made the initial report had they not helped her, and the possibility of Roumei getting hurt by the thugs who followed them.

Table 93. Roumei's Modalities: Subject

	I	Unspecified	We
Frequency	16	29	17
Relative frequency	26%	47%	27%
Total:		62	

The largest part of Roumei’s meaning units have an “unspecified” subject, “We” is used as a subject in a less than third of the meaning units and “I” in around a fourth of the meaning units (her most common entity is “father” rather than, in most cases, more common “I”). “We” is used in the context of her family, “we who thought this was the right thing”, “we who thought it was the right thing to punish the bad guys” and “we who were threatened” etc. “I” is used when she talks about the concern her father had for her, her own feelings (scared, or in the case she would not do the right thing guilt, it was good that they went to jail).

Table 94. Roumei's Modalities: Time

	Always-recurrent	Empty	Past	Present →Future	Present →Past	Present
Frequency	1	2	54	2	2	1
Relative frequency	2%	3%	87%	3%	3%	2%

Total: 62

Most of Roumei's meaning units have a "past" time modality and these mainly concern the events of the situation with her father and the corrupted man, but also her own feelings, and the concern for the girl who might get hurt. "Empty" concerns the hypothetical situation if her parents would not have helped the girl. "Present →future" is about her hopes that her and her family will be lucky in the future. "Present → past" concern that it is better now when they guys are in jail. "Present" is used when she states that her father has a company. "Always-recurrent" is about how she would regret it if she did not do the right thing.

Table 95. Roumei's Modalities: Will

	Engagement	None	Unengagement
Frequency	44	2	16
Relative frequency	71%	3%	26%

Total: 62

Roumei is mostly "engaged" in what she speaks about. She distances herself and show an "unengagement" in meaning units concerning the person who was corrupt, the people who thought that her father reported this thing, how the girl reported, that people thought it was her father, and the relationships of the corrupted man etc. "No will" are statements such as "this is a state" and "there was corruption".

Chapter 7

Result and Analysis

Differences and similarities

This next step of the analysis focuses on looking at the respondents' narratives to see if they have any similarities that we might draw conclusions from.

Classification of moral non-conforming

Nineteen of the respondents interviewed for this study have been classified as moral non-conformists and will be referred to as "the respondents" (see table 96).

Table 96. Respondents and their qualifying act of Moral Non-Conformism

Name	Nationality	Act
Chuck	British	Help on street
Claire	French	Helping illegal immigrants
Louise	French	Going against her colleagues
Pierre	French	Independence from society
Mia	Swedish	Whistle-blowing
Lars	Swedish	Whistle-blowing
David	Swedish	Conscientious objector
Lena	Swedish	Helping illegal immigrants
Britta	Swedish	Helping illegal immigrants
Simon	Swedish	Civil disobedience
Frida	Swedish	Civil disobedience
Klara	Swedish	Vegan
Johanna	Swedish	Vegan
Lei	Chinese	Refuse after-school activity
Yong	Chinese	Protesting wrongdoings
Ying	Chinese	Leaving her parish
Lijuan	Chinese	Helping children
Baozhai	Chinese	Help on street
Roumei	Chinese	Family helped reveal corruption

Modalities

This section presents a deeper analysis of the modalities that the respondents have displayed. Not all categories of modalities will be presented, but only the modality categories that have been influential in the analysis.

Belief: “Doxa-negation”

Moral non-conforming is, by its definition, norm-breaking. It is therefore important to look at the “doxa-negation” belief modalities of the respondents. For instance, if a respondent talks about her/himself in “doxa-negation” this indicates that her/his actions, traits, values etc. are not self-evident within her/his own cultural context or shared belief. I therefore looked at the predicates for the entity “I” when “doxa-negation” was used as a belief modality.

Britta

When Britta uses “doxa-negations” with the entity “I” she writes about when she retired, and she decided to start working at the clinic. Britta does not use “doxa-negation” much concerning herself, which indicates that she does not believe she is breaking the norm. More importantly, she only describes the situation or the actions that qualify her to be a respondent in this study using “doxa-negation” she does not bring up any traits and/or motivators, which indicates that she believes herself to be quite “normal” (in the sense of acting within what is the societal norm).

Chuck

Chuck’s uses “doxa-negations” with the entity “I” when he talks about his traits and behaviours. These traits include being engaged and involved, not feeling threatened until a reason is given, often getting into stupid predicaments (meaning the moral non-conforming situations), and a need for closure. He brings up possible consequences of his behaviour, but

states that he will not get affected by the negative consequences that he experiences, at least not in the way that he will stop intervening. He talks about the guilt he would feel if he did not intervene as a motivator for his actions.

Claire

Claire uses “doxa-negation” with the entity “I” when she states that she cannot accept the unacceptable, how she felt that she betrayed her convictions when she stopped her actions to focus on her career, when she discusses her background which she believes was very shielded and protected, how she is sickened by the system, has a moral non-conformist identity and trust the “black-block”.

Louise

Louise uses “doxa-negation” with the entity “I” when she says that she has a strength, and that she needs to do what she feels is right and that she does not let others decide for her. She also says that she is unsure of how she would react if the consequences of her non-conforming were graver, such as life-threatening. She says that she has a moral and she must do what is right, this might, according to her, be due to her background of a non-conformist family tradition.

Frida

Frida uses “doxa-negation” with the entity “I” when she talks about how she got into trouble with her family for norm breaking.

Mia

Mia uses her “I” with the modality “doxa negation“ to talk about her moral code, that she would not feel right, and that it is not right, to lie to defend a colleague. She states that her reporting was not due to a desire to help the system, not reporting would not feel right to her personally and this, she says, was her motivation. She did not realize that this

was the way that things were conducted, and that she did not believe that she would get the negative reaction from her colleagues that she ended up getting.

Lars

Lars' "doxa negations" for the entity "I" are focused around four different themes, his demand for truth, what he learned from his experience (which is to anticipate these types of situations, to see them better and to protect himself), his naivety (that he had before this happened, he thought it was a problem easily fixable, he is less naïve now), and his positive outlook on life and the people he meets (he believes people to be competent and good).

David

David's predicates associated with "I" and "doxa-negation" might be put into three categories, him being active (he is over all often focused on what he does, his actions, he sees himself as an active agent), his upbringing ("I was brought up as a real catholic), and his values ("I believed them to be uneducated", "I can't do anything else if I am doing the right thing").

Lena

Lena focuses her "doxa-negation" paired with "I" on her conviction that about human value, her frustration with bureaucracy, and her background which, in her opinion, puts her in no position to judge others. She feels that her belief that all humans should be equal but not same goes against the policies of the state and the bureaucracy.

Simon

Three themes emerged in Simon's "doxa negations" tied to his entity "I". First, that he is a high achiever, second that he perceives the wrongness of the world, and third how this has affected his career negatively. He seems to think that his intellectual ability has

granted him the ability to see the wrongness of the world. It seems as he believes this to be both a blessing and a curse. Because of his ability to see it he can do something about it, but on the other hand this ability has made it impossible for him to pursue the career and easy life that he had planned for.

Johanna

Johanna uses “doxa negation” for her entity “I” to talk about her process to become a vegan and her motivation to become a vegan (“I cannot do differently when I know what I know”).

Klara

Klara uses “doxa negation” tied to “I” to state that she does not want to be “that” type of vegan who feels special and who constantly make comments to meat eaters. At the same time, she wants to convince the world about the wrongness of eating animal products. She feels that she gets a lot of criticism from the world around her because of her convictions, and she also says that she is the only vegan in her family. She quit eating meat and dairy because she gained knowledge about the industry. This part of her narrative exposes an ambivalence between wanting to be a vegan and convince people to become vegans, and her unwillingness to be seen as a part of the subgroup “vegans”.

Baozhai

Baozhai uses “doxa negation” for the entity “I” when she says that she must help, or she will feel guilty, she also thinks that if she does not help no one else will, and then the victim will suffer, something that she feels strongly about. This makes her get into the helping situation without thinking about potentially negative consequences for herself. She describes herself as always willing to help.

Lei

Lei talks about his feelings as “doxa negation” tied to his “I”. He is angry, sad, he hates, and he is unsatisfied. He also feels better now when he has decided not to conform, and he feels more satisfied when decided to live his life the way he wants to. He mentions different traits that separates him from others, he is different, extreme, cynic, and he does not follow people easily. He talks about values as well, he believes that it is wrong to join a club that you do not want to belong to, he feels that his values are different from his peers who just want to get advantages no matter the cost of their freedom and personal goals. He believes that they are wrong about the consequences, he believes that it is possible to be independent and still have a good life.

Roumei

Roumei uses “doxa negation” in relation to her entity “I” to say she would have felt guilty if she had not tried to help, and that she would do the same thing again because it was the right thing to do.

Ying

Ying focuses on different aspects of herself when using “doxa negation”. First the consequences of her behaviour which she does not feel are so severe. Second her values, she does not think that things that are good for one person is necessarily good for another person. Third, her traits, she is curious, independent, and different from others. Fourth, her relationships, which are a bit strained with her family because of her independence, and last, her background, she believes that her intercultural background and the teaching of independence from a young age has formed her personality now.

Yong

Yong talks about his relation to the people in charge using “doxa negation” and the entity “I” (he does not trust them) and his peers (he does not agree with them). He

discusses his home province (how they are more rebellious than the rest of China) and says that authorities often have a problem with him.

Lijuan

Lijuan uses “doxa negation” tied to the entity “I” when she says that she does not feel like a “normal” person, although she tries to act like one sometimes, when does not get into great detail as to what this feeling entails or is based on.

Pierre

Pierre does not use “doxa negation” paired with the entity “I”.

Conclusions

As Britta does not seem to see herself in “doxa negation” she is excluded from the following conclusions. Pierre will also be excluded as he does not use “doxa-negation” paired with “I”.

Traits

Many of the respondents classified some of the traits that they have as “doxa-negation”, Ying, Lei and Lijuan describes themselves as “different from others”. Louise, Lei and Ying also describe themselves as independent. Chuck and Lars talk about not thinking bad of people until they have proven themselves bad, as a trait they both believe they possess. Apart from these, the traits that they are saying that they have, and classifying as “doxa-negations” are different in content, but all but Roumei, Frida, Mia and Johanna present traits that they believe are different from the norm.

Consequence

Ten of the respondents talk about consequences for their “I” in a “doxa-negation” modality. The consequence that the most respondents have in common is “potential guilt” (for not being a moral non-conformist). This is presented by Chuck, Baozhai, and

Roumei. Chuck and Lars have learned to be more careful from their experiences. Frida and Lijuan both mention problems with their families in relation to their moral non-conforming. Mia and Lars say that they were unaware about the consequences of this type of behaviour before. Lei and Ying believe that the consequences are not as severe as people make them up to be. Klara and Lei are experiencing peer pressure and criticism. Claire, Lijuan and Simon see that their choices have hurt their careers. Baozhai does not think about possible bad consequences. Louise discusses that she might not non-conform had there been a risk for more serious reproductions.

Relationships

Some of the respondents discuss their relationships in the context of “doxa-negation “and the entity “I”. Frida, Ying, and Lijuan are experiencing problems with their relationships to their families. Lei is also experiencing problems with relationships, mostly with his classmates, and Yong with his peers. Yong does not trust authorities and is not well liked by them either. It seems like Yong is a good representative for this group of respondents. All of them seem to have a problem with obeying the authority, but it varies to which degree they are punished for this.

Values

Different values have emerged as important in this section. These are the values that the respondents claim to have, and which are either different from the norm or motivation for the behaviour that is different from the norm. Mia and Lars both say that they have a need for truth, and that it is immoral not to “tell it like it is”. This is similar to Lei who says it is wrong to join a group if you do not want to belong to it. Both Johanna and Klara say that it is wrong to eat meat based on the knowledge that they have and claim that knowing what they know it would be impossible to eat meat. This is similar to David’s claim that he must do what he knows is right, something that Roumei and Louise also expresses. Claire, Simon and

Klara want to convince the world of the injustices that they see, and their belief is that the world is wrong and that one must fight to make it better. Lena and Ying both say that there must be an individual choice or concern for the individual, and Lena adds that all people have equal rights and value.

Background

Ying and David discuss their upbringing as something that might have affected their moral non-conformism. They are discussing this in terms of “doxa-negation”, and this means that they believe that their backgrounds were extraordinary in some way. They have similarities in their background, both come from families that differs culturally and ethnically from the larger society. Ying is from a mixed cultural background of Chinese minority and Han; David’s parents were immigrants to Sweden. Both claim that the culture that was passed to them from their parents have influenced their moral standards. Yong does the same but for his province, he believes that the mentality and culture of his province has affected his way and possibility to become a moral non-conformer. Claire and Louise are also discussing their upbringing and its effect on their moral non-conforming. Claire says that her upbringing did not prepare her for the injustices of the world as it was very shielded, Louise says that she comes from a moral non-conformist family background. Claire is Louise’s daughter, so they are, in a way discussing the same family.

Emotion

Emotions also emerge as important as a non-normative behaviour. Mia must do what “feels right”, Lena gets “frustrated” with people who do not share her values, and so does Lei, he is the one who expresses the most different types of emotions associated with norm breaking. He feels hate, sadness, dissatisfaction, and anger, but he also feels better when not conforming. Baozhai, Roumei, and Chuck mention guilt, and that they would feel guilty if

they did not do what is right. Lijuan says she does not feel “normal”. Claire says that she feels like she betrayed the other activists, and that she is sickened by the current social system.

Time

The present “now” is given by the experience of the past “before” and the expectation of the future “after”. How moral non-conformists constitute their moral non-conforming within time is therefore important to understand their motivation for action. Two of the objectives of this thesis is to see whether there is a certain motivation or meaning needed to become a moral non-conformer, and if there is such a motivation, to see if this motivation can be taught. From the modality of time it is possible to see the changes that each respondent experience from one time to another, how previous experiences are perceived as affecting their moral non-conforming decision, and how their moral non-conforming decision have, or will affect them. What the moral non-conforming act is expected to affect in the future is also important to understand the motivation of an action. I have therefore decided to focus the time analysis on the forward moving time modalities, namely the “Present → Past” and the “Present → Future”. To see how the respondents, perceive current events, situations, feelings etc interconnected with past and future events.

“Present → Past”

When the past is seen as impacting on the present it can do so in different ways. I have divided the respondents into different groups depending on their manner of perceiving this, the groups are: “Learning from moral non-conformism”, “Learning to be a moral non-conformer”, “How others were affected”, “How I was affected”, and “Descriptive”.

Learning from moral non-conformism

This group consists of Claire and Lars. They both express learning something from their moral non-conforming, but their conclusions are different. Claire reports learning

that she is a moral non-conformist. She reports that her experience made her realize that she identifies as such. Lars has shown an identification as moral non-conformist, but it is possible to interpret this part of his narrative to the other direction, that his moral non-conforming experience has made him more cautious now, and as his moral non-conformity before might have stemmed from a place of naivety, this is now gone, he has learned to protect himself better. Thus, in both cases the moral non-conforming itself has resulted in a shift of character, but, seemingly in two different directions.

Claire

Claire uses 13 entities with a “present→past” time modality. These concern her identity change to a moral non-conformer. She realized that she felt sad because she had to stop her activism, this made her surprised, and so she concluded that she had incorporated moral non-conforming into her identity. Her moral non-conformist identity was something she acquired, this identity did not motivate her moral non-conforming actions, it became a consequence of her moral non-conforming actions. The past experiences of, not performing, but stopping her moral non-conforming actions led to her current identification as a moral non-conformist.

Lars

Lars uses four entities with a “present→past” time modality. Their predicates mostly concern how he, from his whistle-blowing experience have learned to protect himself better now, and that his upbringing (which was very secure and loving) might have affected him. He believes his upbringing affected him in two ways: first, that he was better equipped to handle the situation that he was in, and second that he got into the situation because of his belief that everyone is good.

Learning to be a moral non-conformer

This group consists of the respondents who have used a “present→past” time modality to discuss how they became a moral non-conformer. These might, in turn, get divided into three subgroups. Louise, Britta, Lei, and Ying all discuss how their family situations and upbringing have in some way laid the foundations for them becoming moral non-conformers. Klara and Chuck (and somewhat Lei as he mentions media) discuss documentaries and information as the foundation of their decision to become moral non-conformers. Lena mentions her general life-experience as the motivation for her moral non-conforming decision.

Louise

Louise uses 16 entities with a “present→past” time modality. When Louise writes about the past affecting the present, she does this in two different themes; her family tradition affecting her to become a moral non-conformer, and the situation where she became a moral non-conformer. She believes that the tradition of her family to not join groups that everyone else belongs to (e.g. to be protestants in a catholic environment etc.) has influenced her decision to become a moral non-conformer.

Britta

Britta uses “present→past” for two entities. “I” and “helper”, both entities concern how she became a helper when she was a child and her father died. Since then, she writes, she has been a “helper”.

Lei

Lei uses his “present→past” to discuss how media, his brother, a feeling, and a “gaining of sense” has made him a moral non-conformism. This has led to more happiness for Lei. He has 21 entities with the modality “present→past”.

Ying

Ying uses “present→past” for reflections about the situations she has been in. She did not receive any bad outcomes, although there was a risk for it. She also uses it to discuss her reasons for having an independent life-style, like her education, her family, her experience etc. It seems that she believes much of her independence comes from her upbringing and education. She uses 16 different entities connected to “present→past”.

Klara

Klara writes about the school project which led her to read books about how animals were mistreated. Much of her “present→past” focus on this and how her teacher did not react well to what she wrote in the school project, and this modality is connected to 5 of her entities.

Chuck

Chuck uses 19 entities with a “present→past” time modality, and these are connected to predicates that include how he has had a change of character when he moved to the place where he lives, and that he cannot recall that he intervened like this before. He ascribes this shift in character to the documentaries he has been watching. Another theme found is that he feels bad for the situations where he did not get closure.

Lena

Lena has 27 different entities tied to her “present→past” modality. These can be separated into different categories, concerning different aspects of her narrative: 1) Her time in Swedish prison. 2) Her studies. This is tied to her time in Swedish prison when she finished several university courses. 3) Her friends. She has found several during her various life-experiences. 4) Things she learned the importance of. This last aspect is probably the most interesting from a moral non-conformist perspective. It is somewhat tied to the “friends” aspect, as she has learned from her friends, and she has learned the importance of friends and

how to hold on to friends. Other traits that she has learned to be important in life in general, and, implicitly, to moral non-conforming are: empathy, humility, caring, and support from others (and in turn supporting others).

How others were affected

Mia, Yong, Frida, and Johanna are more focused on how others' present situation have been affected by their moral non-conformism. Mia discusses how the person she reported must feel today. Yong has similar thoughts, but when Mia shows concern for the person she reported for misconduct, Yong shows regret and anger that the people who did wrong were not properly punished for their wrongdoing. Frida uses her civil disobedience to change people's perspectives, but she is also concerned for how her family has been affected by her actions. Johanna's reasoning is very close to Frida's although she does not share the same concern, but instead thinks that it is good that her brother and husband now are in the process of becoming vegans as well.

Mia

Mia uses eight entities with a "present→past" time modality. These mainly concern how she believes that the person she reported feels today, what she wishes for him, and that she is no longer working as police.

Yong

Yong uses "present→past" time modality for 25 different entities. These touch three subjects; the non-conforming situations themselves, the outcome for the people involved (he seems upset that the people that he believed of wrongdoing are still in powerful positions), and lastly how he feels that his actions during these situations did not lead to closure. It seems that he regrets not pushing the situations forward to see that the people responsible for the wrongdoing got punished in some way.

Frida

Frida focuses on how her moral non-conforming might affect others in her “present→past” meaning units. She uses this modality on six entities, all concerning how her civil disobedience might affect other people, either getting them to think about these issues, or when concerning her family, how civil disobedience affects their attitude.

Johanna

Johanna uses past to present for five different entities, all concerning her actions affecting her husband and brother’s decision to also restrict their diets.

How I was affected

The respondents in this group have been focusing on the consequences for themselves. David talks about his feelings about his situation today. Simon discusses how his decision to become an activist changed how he planned to live his life. Roumei concludes that she feels safer now when the situation has been resolved and that the people responsible are in prison.

David

David’s approach to the “present→past” modality is more reflective than explaining. He uses 13 entities mostly concerning how he feels about the situations today, “I do not regret anything”, “I have thought about this” etc. He does not offer any explanations or motivations, instead he just states that he thinks and reflects about these situations and how they have affected his sentiments now.

Simon

Simon uses “present→past” for 21 different entities. He focuses on two different areas, his work life and how it has been affected by his civil disobedience, and 9/11 which made him politically aware and made him change his life course towards activism and a

professional life including freelancing. 9/11 was Simon's political awakening which led to his civil disobedience and new direction in career and life choices.

Roumei

Roumei's "present→past" concern how everything got better when the people threatening her family went to jail. She has six entities tied to this modality.

Descriptive

Lijuan and Pierre do not discuss motivation or change, their meaning tied to "present→past" mostly concerns practicalities and is descriptive.

Pierre

Everything Pierre writes in the context of past affecting the present is about his commune where he lives, he says he been living there for ten years and that they have been developing a way to return to farming as a primary source of living. Pierre has seven different entities tied to his "present→past" modality.

Lijuan

Lijuan's "present→past" modality concern practical, descriptive things such as how she come to live in this city, how she remembers something etc. She has seven different entities tied to her "present→past" modality.

Excluded

Baozhai was excluded from this part of the analysis as she did not show and "present→past" modality.

"Present → Future"

The present is not only influenced by the past, it is also influenced by the anticipation, the future. To understand the motivators behind moral non-conformism we will

need to look at what moral non-conformists believe that their present actions will result in in the future.

Louise

In Louise's narrative she uses the "present → future" to explain that one should not let the masses influence one to act against one's own moral principles. Louise use four separate entities associated with the "present → future" modality.

Chuck

Chuck uses 15 different entities associated with "present → future". These might be divided into two categories: the situation itself, and how his bad experiences might affect his willingness to help next time. He believes that he might be a bit more cautious next time, but in general he does not believe that his bad experiences will keep him from intervening again.

Frida

Frida uses 30 entities tied to a "present → future" modality. Most of them concern the expected results of her activism, a better understanding, respect, awareness, long term goals etc., but also more negative effects such as jail, fines etc. The second theme concerns her family and that she hopes that they will come through and accept, perhaps even approve of, her activism in the future.

Britta

Britta has six different entities tied to "present → future", they concern two areas: a "what-if" scenario where she imagines how she would react if she became a refugee and could not see her children, and the other is a reflection that it is getting worse and worse for immigrants in Sweden today, and that she has been watching this gradual change during the course of her work-life.

Mia

Mia has three entities in connection to “present → future”. They concern her hope that newly graduated police have a better preparation for these sorts of situations and that she tries to help with this by lecturing at the police academy about this.

Lars

Lars two entities tied to “present → future” both concern the despair the public will feel if they knew all the wrongdoings that are going on behind closed doors in hospitals and in other institutions.

Lena

Lena uses the “present → future” to describe the problems and future problems of a friend of hers with getting his Swedish medical licence. She has three entities tied to “present → future”.

Simon

Simon focuses on how he must adapt his career to be able to continue with his civil disobedience and how he hopes to find a balance soon. He uses three entities in relation to “present → future”.

Baozhai

Baozhai uses “present → future” to say that the Chinese people want to help others, and that when Chinese make money, they also spend it on charity. She has three entities tied to “present → future”.

Lei

Lei has many entities, 42, tied to “present → future”. They can be divided into three different categories; 1) his goals and abilities that makes it possible for him to meet those goals: he talks much about how he will succeed and that he believes that with hard work

and talent there is no need for extra credits to succeed. He also mentions that he does not believe himself to be a moral non-conformer yet, but he thinks he might be in the future. 2) The goals of others. In general, he seems to believe that they are aiming too low, that they prefer security over achievement and to have an interesting life. He clearly separates himself from these people. 3) The bad consequences he might suffer from his attitude.

Roumei

Roumei uses her four entities tied to “present → future” to say that she and her family would do the same thing again, and that they are lucky who succeeded so well in all this.

Ying

Ying uses her 28 entities tied to “present → future” to explain that she needs an independent life and that people need to accept that, and that they get used to this after a while. She also says that this search for independence should not influence anyone else negatively because then she needs to be stopped. She also says that there might be negative consequences for her behaviour. Besides this she discusses how she wants her students and her child to be able to change their lives and live in a way that suits them.

Yong

Yong uses “present → future” in six different entities. These concern how he would have done differently if he was in the same situations today, he would have made sure to get the closure he did not receive.

Lijuan

Lijuan uses “present → future” in 21 entities. Mostly concerning practicalities, what will happen if she dies for instance. She says that experience makes you change.

Excluded

Claire, Pierre, Johanna, Klara, and David have no meaning units classified as “present → future” time modality.

Conclusions

Frida and Mia are the only respondents who discuss the implications of their moral non-conforming, except for their personal consequences (problems with jobs, being able to live the life they want etc.). It is therefore perhaps possible that moral non-conformity is more of a personal decision than a decision based on expected generalized consequences.

Subject

Each meaning unit have been assigned a subject modality. These subject modalities are “I”, “We”, “One-all”, and “Unspecified”. Meaning units classified as “I” indicates that the “I” is the subject forming the action, the passive synthesis, and is the active subject of the meaning unit. What a person perceives as “I”, what intentions “I” as an object has for this person, is important. “I” is, as we saw in Chapter 5, a stream of consciousness and not an object, but when we look at our stream of consciousness it becomes an object. The closest we can ever come to the pure meaning of “I”, the stream of consciousness experienced by another “I” is to look at how they constitute their own “I” as an object. It is therefore always of importance to look at the “I” in every phenomenological study where the subject concern humans. “I” is the source of all intentionality, subjectivity and understanding.

The relative frequency of the subject modality “I” in the meaning units of each respondent is listed in the first column of Table 97. The relative frequency indicates how important the object “I” is for the respondent in relation to the narrative he/she is presenting, in a sense, how much of the narrative that is directly related to the “I”. Another aspect is the entity “I”. There is a difference between the two, the modality and the entity. The subject

modality “I” can be more implicit, less outspoken, it is the “I” as the perceiver, the lived experience, whereas the entity “I” is an object. It is the “I” that we see when we look upon ourselves, not the perceiving awareness that is our lived “I”. The entity, the object “I” is still a part of our concept of ourselves, just as our perceived stream of consciousness is, it is important to present the two together to show a full picture of the concept of “I” and how important it is to the respondent. Table 97. column two shows the relative frequency of the partial intentions/predicates tied to the Entity “I” compared to the total amount of partial intentions. It is evident from both columns that, for most of the respondents, the most common subject is “I”, and the most common entity is also “I” (with some exceptions). There is a lower relative frequency of the partial intentions/predicates concerning the entity “I” than the meaning units having the subject modality “I”. This might indicate that the larger part of their meaning of “I” is implicit, “I” is primarily perceived as a stream of consciousness and secondarily as an entity, even if it is (for most respondents) one of the most meaning-laden entities. “I” is the most common subject modality for most of the respondents, exceptions are: Pierre, Frida and Roumei of the moral, Pierre stands out with only 3 % of his subject modalities categorized as “I”.

Predicates tied to “I”

After the overview of the relative frequencies, each respondent’s “I” is examined more in-depth. To see what meaning that each person ties to “I” the predicates in these meaning units have been examined for each respondent. This, together with the predicates tied to the entity “I” (which often overlaps) indicate the meaning each respondent ties to her/his “I”. This meaning is, of course, contextual. It is the meaning they reveal in the context of being asked about their moral non-conforming. Their full meaning of self is, with high probability, much richer and more nuanced.

Table 97. Percentage of meaning units with the subject modality "I" and predicates with the entity "I" sorted by respondent.

Name	Subject modality	Entity
Claire	81%	25%
Johanna	80%	29%
Simon	79%	27%
Lijuan	79%	33%
David	69%	33%
Lena	65%	28%
Ying	65%	29%
Klara	65%	29%
Britta	64%	30%
Mia	59%	30%
Yong	56%	21%
Chuck	56%	21%
Louise	53%	15%
Lei	53%	29%
Baozhai	51%	17%
Lars	48%	25%
Frida	30% ("one-all" 36%)	10% ("civil disob." 12%)
Roumei	26% ("unspec." 47%)	16% ("father" 19%)
Pierre	3% ("unspec." 85%)	2% ("group" 8%)

Relative frequency (most common subject/entity if not "I", relative frequency of the most common subject/entity)

I have found some similar patterns within the narratives tied to "I" for some of the respondents. I have grouped the respondents in four groups tied to how they see themselves in relation to their moral non-conforming: "The independent freedom seekers", "The group oriented", "Need for closure", "The group as a mean", and "The conforming non-conformer". I have also identified another pattern to some of the respondents, "relying on competence".

The independent freedom seekers

The common pattern for these respondents Ying, Lei, and Simon, is that they value freedom and independence, and this forms a motivation for them to become moral non-conformers. They have little other commonalities, they are from different generations, cultural upbringing, religion, and gender. Ying and Lei act alone, but Simon as a part of a group.

Ying

Much of the meaning Ying attaches to herself is centred around “independence” in some form. The entity “independent/independence” is used together with the subject modality “I” for ten different partial intentions. These partial intentions and predicates states that; independence is important, that Ying was taught to be independent by her parents, that she has independence and is independent, that she sees independence as a personal ability, and that she considers herself in possession of this ability. She wants to keep her own lifestyle, make her own decisions, and she believes that her life decisions are her own business and she does not need to consult others such as her family or friends. She also believes in the independence of others, something she manifests by trying to teach her child and her students independence. Furthermore, she believes that her independence and decisions should not impact others negatively, if they do, she believes she must find another course of action, as independence entails both freedom and responsibility. She defines her person with both traits. She needs to be independent and responsible to be her “I”. This independence, paired with curiosity, tend to get her into trouble now and then, but she is generally a happy person who does not worry about problems beforehand. Her identity as a university teacher and a daughter of university teacher is important to her and she believes that the university environment has formed her personality. Another important factor that she believes has made her different (more curious, independent, less worried) than the people around her, and Chinese people in general (she believes she is not the typical Chinese. she feels different from what she imagines is the “typical Chinese”, and she does not agree with many things that she believes constitutes the Chinese culture, such as parents knowing everything about and deciding for their children), is that her family is an intercultural family as one of her parents is from a minority group.

Ying: Conclusions from “I”

Ying believes in independence and the right for everyone to choose a way to live their life as they feel is best for them (as long as they do not affect someone else negatively). Her view of self is tied to freedom and independence which gives her a strong sense of self-reliance. She believes that she can handle her own choices and situations and she knows what is best for her. The risk of being un-free is probably worse for Ying than the risk for retaliation.

Lei

Like Ying, Lei associates himself with independence, he claims to have an independent sense, a wish for an independent life, and an independent self. His freedom is important to this concept of “I”. Like Ying, he believes that he is not the one to judge others (even if he frequently evaluates his classmates’ life choices negatively). He feels misunderstood and mistreated by his peers who believes him to be cynical, lacking substance, and sense of the real issues in life. He believes that they see him as a naive idealist, and he feels like they are disliking and disrespecting his stance on life. He frequently berates himself for not doing enough, for lacking courage, instead he says that he “complains too much”. He talks about his dreams, to study abroad and have good job and a family, and to feel free. This need/wish for freedom, is something that he returns to many times when using the subject modality “I”. He also defines himself as angry, angry with his friends, and angry with the limitations put on him. He recognizes that his actions are his choice, something that he also cherishes. He believes that his classmates should also take the opportunity to choose freely, not what they think they “ought to” choose but what they want to choose. He believes that he can achieve his life dreams if he only works hard enough, and he has a positive look on his future. He describes himself as feeling alone before, but now he has found people who he feels more similar to, in his ideas, interests and feelings.

Lei: Conclusions from “I”

Lei is very self-reliant, but at the same time feeling that he would like approval from the group. He wants to belong, but not on the expense of his freedom. He shows a high belief in his own capacity and a sense of independence. He is alone in his moral non-conformity, but the impression is that he would rather do it as a part of a group if this option was open to him.

Simon

Simon talks about himself in terms of intelligent, thinking, analytical, and with a strong pathos. He wants to unveil the ills in the world, he believes that the world order is bad, and that we need to do something about the inequalities of the world. He loves his commitment to civil disobedience as well as everything it gives him (happiness, freedom, a way out, strength etc). At the same time, he has a lot of problems with it standing in his way of his career and an “easy life”. It seems that he believes that he was intended for a bright and easy future which he has now made more difficult for himself. He sees himself as free and believes that his engagement has helped him “free himself from the influence of authorities”. His engagement came because of an indignation, and an intellectual and emotional search for what he wanted to do. He felt surprised when he realized what his beliefs were, as he had a very different upbringing in a politically conservative family (his beliefs now are more on the left-side of the political spectrum). He identifies with his current profession and believes it is a profession that will help him with his activism. He mentions some life-changing events: 9/11 was the event that made him redefine his opinions and career choice, and after that he was further strengthened in his newfound engagement by “being a human rights observer in a conflict zone”. He sees himself as having a choice, and that he is fighting for what is right. He believes that he cannot be happy unless he fights for this and he further believes that civil disobedience is a good way to fight the struggle. He has gone from right to left politically and

from elite universities to struggling to keep a job, he is very ambivalent toward this. He feels anxiety because of it, but he also believes it is the right choice.

Simon: Conclusions from “I”

Even though Simon does his moral non-conforming as a part of a group he still expresses a great deal of independence. He has a life-defining catalyst which is important to the way he views himself. He does not start his moral non-conforming as a spur-of-the-moment type of action, but as a well-thought intellectual decision.

The group orientated

The group oriented are Pierre, Roumei, and Britta. These three seem to identify with their groups, Pierre and Roumei to the extent that their “I” in the context of moral non-conforming is inseparably tied to their group. Britta, although she has a distinct “I” separated from the groups she belongs to, this “I” is defined by the groups she belongs to. She identifies as a “sister” or a “mother” which are roles within a group and cannot exist without the group. The three of them have in common that they act as a part of a group. Apart from this it seems like they are quite different, in age, manner of non-conforming action, gender and culture.

Pierre

Pierre does not reveal much about his meaning of “I”. Very few of his meaning units have this subject. He only says that he is living in a commune and that this commune wants to experiment with sustaining themselves using farming. There might be several reasons for this scarcity, perhaps his meaning of self might not be that important to him, perhaps not at all, or perhaps just in this context. Perhaps he is uncomfortable with sharing this meaning with me, and perhaps being a part of a group is more important to him than his “I” in this particular context.

Pierre: Conclusions from “I”

Pierre is group centred, his concept of “I” in the context of moral non-conformity is centred around the group that he belongs to. Here he identifies with the movement more than as a separate entity of “I”.

Roumei

Roumei does not use the subject “I” as often as most of the respondent. When she does, it is connected to the story about what happened to her and her family. She mentions that she was scared when it happened, and that she is nervous now (in the interviewing situation). That she believes they did the right thing and that she would have suffered regrets and guilt if she had not supported her father in his decision. She says that she is the top concern for her father. It seems that Roumei’s sense of self is deeply connected with her family relation, especially with her father. The feelings she mentions are; feeling scared, nervous, guilt and regret. All of these are negative affects, and most (except for scared) dependent on how one gets evaluated by the world.

Roumei: Conclusions from “I”

Roumei’s constitution of self is dependent on group-belonging. She almost exclusively defines herself as a member of her group, there is no clear border between her and her primary group (her family). It is therefore necessary for her that her moral non-conforming is conducted as a part of a group. She believes that her group have the capacity to do, to change and achieve things. She says she would feel guilt and regret if she did not support her group in their moral endeavour, guilt and regret is often associated with breaking one’s principles, she does not mention how she feels for the person who would have risked getting hurt if Roumei’s family would not have stood up for her.

Britta

Britta identifies as a helper. She is a “big sister” and she became a helper as a child, when her father died. Her education and experience are important for her “I”, she is a former social worker (she is now retired), she has experience with refugees and people with trauma. One part of her dedication is also due to her feelings of empathy “I imagine that it was me” and it “feels beyond comprehension”. Her friendship with the leader of the clinic is important for her and one of the reasons she decided to help.

Britta: Conclusions from “I”

Britta sees herself as empathic, and she defines herself from her primary group (big sister, mother). She has also decided to help as a part of a group, which is consistent with her defining her “I” from the groups she belongs to.

Need for closure

I have identified another group of moral non-conformers, a group that is motivated by a search for closure. It is not, perhaps, the need for closure that motivates them to become moral non-conformers to begin with, but it motivates them to continue with their actions, and they are unhappy when they do not get closure. The respondents belonging to this group are; David, Mia, Chuck and Yong. Here, like in the first two categories, there is no other apparent link between the four respondents belonging to this group, perhaps with the exception that they have all acted alone and are risking retaliation for their actions.

David

Much of David’s modality “I” or the entity “I” are directed toward action. He “acts”, “reacts”, “defends”, “fights”, “considers”, “protested”, “choice”, “did something”, “do the right thing”, “can’t keep silent”. He also uses emotional labels to describe himself: “afraid”, “feeling shit”, “painful”. He speculates about the origins of his behaviour “perhaps it is my family history”. He expresses doubt: “What is wrong with me?”, “I hurt myself”. He

puts labels on himself such as “conscientious objector”, “social worker”, but also traits “not so cocky”. Central to his sense of “I” are his children and what happened to his relation to them and their mother. There are stories in his life which have been “life changing” which he uses to define himself. He says that his life would have been easier without him getting into these fights, but that he would be another person then, “I would have been a conformer”. Being a non-conformer seems to be important to his sense of “I”. He sees himself as an active, moral and idealistic person, although he sometimes expresses doubts, suffer anxiety, and bad consequences from these non-conforming actions. He suggests that his upbringing with an understanding father, catholic values and family traditions, stories and role models might have formed him to moral non-conformer.

David: Conclusions from “I”

David sees himself an active agent, although he shows an ambivalent belief in himself. On one hand he feels like he must do something, but he is not sure if he accomplishes much. He does not mention many groups as important to him. For him, being alone in his moral non-conforming is not a choice, because it is not even anything, he has reflected upon that it could be in another way.

Chuck

Chuck does not describe himself as much as he is describing the situations that he has been in. In the situations he describes himself as active (he says, thinks, chats, rallies, etc.), he also describes emotions that he has in the situations, he feels engaged, but also annoyed, he gets bored, restless and flustered. He describes how he would have felt if he did not intervene: “I would feel like shit”, “I could not leave a kid like that and still enjoy a night out”. He also describes a situation where he was not happy with the outcome as he felt it unresolved. He wants, as he puts it, “closure in these situations”. Chuck seems to have an ambivalent relation to his own role in helping, often apparently contradicting himself in his

narrative. He tries to be cool headed, but his helping is often fuelled by adrenaline and alcohol (“drunken courage” as he puts it). He says that he would feel “like shit” if not intervening, but at the same time he does not always intervene (it is unclear if he feels bad about this). He points out that he is not a person that always helps, there has been situations where he has witness similar problematic situations without intervening, this is sometimes due to him having had too much to drink to be able to do so. He thinks he should be more cautious, but at the same time he does not say he would not do the same thing again. He discusses his personal belief system in the same contradictory manner “I believe in absolute causality”, “a form of fate”, but at the same time he talks about arbitrary timing. He speculates about why he intervenes so often, and he says that this has not always been the case but that he has had a “shift in character” especially since he moved to the country where he is presently living. This might explain the contradictions in how he views himself as a helper, he might be talking about two different periods of “I”, the first which did not necessarily intervene, and the second who does. He does not know why he had this shift in character but thinks that the smaller scale of his current environment might have something to do with it (he previously lived in a large city), he also says that he has started to watch a lot of documentaries and YouTube channels featuring people who stand up for what they believe or exposing injustices.

Chuck: Conclusions from “I”

Chuck does not necessarily believe himself having a “helping” personality. His helping does not seem to be a consequence of having a moral non-conformist self-image (like in the case of David). He helps in the spur of the moment. He believes himself an active agent, he is not afraid of intervening, but also admits that this might be the effect of alcohol. He does, however, incorporate an emphatical part in his self-concept. He believes he will feel bad if he did not help as he is feeling bad for the person suffering.

Yong

Central to Yong's meaning of self is his identity as a professional and a talented student. He believes that other students follow talented students, and that members of his profession are more prone to non-conforming than others. The mentality of his hometown and province is also important to his self, he believes that people from his part of China are more rebellious, and he claims to have experienced a lot of protesting when he was growing up. He has been in several situations of moral non-conforming, but he has only felt threatened in the last one, when he decided to stop his actions out of concern for his family. He likes to have clear goals when he fights a fight, and he has had that in the other two scenarios but not in the last. In the second scenario he only met a partial victory and he regrets not having fought the fight to its very end. He expresses negative feelings for not getting a satisfying closure in the last two cases. In the last situation he was helping a friend and therefore it was easier to keep a distance and to quit when it got to close. He feels that he has a special view on things, perhaps due to being talented in his profession, and he wants to show other people this view. He says that it is important to show others that you have an individual thought.

Yong: Conclusions from "I"

Yong goes into every situation believing he can correct a mistake, although he sometimes does not understand that it is not a mistake but a much more sinister problem. He has a high self-confidence thinking that he is more independent than others. He believes himself very competent at what he does, and he goes into these situations with or without support, as long as he knows why and what he wants to accomplish, and he feels bad when he does not accomplish a satisfying closure.

Mia

Mia is motivated by high standards that she has put on herself, perhaps with the help of her earlier experience with Kostas, who was abused by the police when she was in

training. She says she needed to raise the alarm to feel good. She, like Yong, David, and Chuck, searches for a closure in the cases she is involved in, she got closure with the first victim but not with the policeman she reported. Something she feels she missed out on. She views herself as independent “nobody forced me”, but at the same time dependent on her commitments and principles, “I could not have done in another way”. She thinks about the feelings and motivations of the other people involved which indicates that empathic understanding is important to her. She herself is motivated by “making a difference”, with a high regard for “right and wrong”. She does not necessarily identify with being a police officer, she says that she never dreamed about becoming one as a child, and she does not describe herself as one. She does, however, describe herself as a colleague. She says that some things are important to her “in herself” and if she breaks them she “cannot see how I can continue”, so she concludes that her decision to report is an egoistic one as it made her feel better. She is, however, concerned for the reported policeman and she has followed up with a friend of his to see that he is OK today, even if she did not speak to him herself. She says that whatever reason he had to do what he did it is not good enough. Everyone must take responsibility for their own actions. She describes herself as naïve before the event “I did not understand”.

Mia: Conclusions from “I”

Mia is acting alone, and she shows an independence in her constitution of “I”. She is more concerned about her own conscience and integrity than belonging to a group, and so she does not define herself as a police woman first, but as a person with a moral principle.

The group as a mean

The respondents in this group have decided to act as moral non-conformers with the help of a group in some way. Klara and Johanna do not belong to formal groups, but they are part of a vegan community (more or less). Even so, they want to make clear that they do

not identify with the group. Being a member of the vegan community is just something that happens as a consequence of their decision to become moral non-conformers. Frida, Lijuan, Lena, and Claire have also chosen their groups because they can help them in their various moral non-conforming actions, but they do not identify with the group. The groups are primarily a means to perform the moral non-conforming action, they are not part of their personalities or identities. They were moral non-conformers before they became group members so to speak. The most striking common denominator between these respondents is their gender. It is also worth noticing that both vegans are in this group. Apart from this, there seems to be no other commonalities between the group's members.

Frida

Frida chooses to convey only a small part of her meaning of self, and only in the context of civil disobedience. She has a lot of positive associations and feelings surrounding civil disobedience, she believes that has something important to tell the world about the injustices and oppression within the system, and she feels like civil disobedience gives her a tool to get her message out and “create reflection”. She seems to focus on the non-violent aspect of the peace movement, and she says that it is the obvious method for her. The only negative aspect is that the civil disobedience has created a problem in the relationship with her family who do not agree with her cause or methods.

Frida: Conclusions from “I”

Frida, like Pierre, does not convey much about her “I”. She is more focused on the movement. In the context of civil disobedience, her “I” seems not as important as her cause.

Lena

Lena seems to have integrated her emotions in the way she sees herself. She often uses emotional words connected to the modality “I”. She says that she is “happy” to be a

part of the group who helps refugees. She also sees them as her friends and part of her sense of security. She gets stricken by all the life-stories she hears on a regular basis. She is “thankful” for not being more damaged by prison, for being able to help, and for the privilege of being in the group. Empathy is important to Lena and she keeps coming back to it. She gets “filled with empathy” when she hears the stories of the refugees she talks to, she gets “frustrated” by the inflexible generalized rules of the red tape that meets these people in the Swedish system (she has a profound dislike for generalizations which she brings up in many predicates). She gets “pissed” by people who believe that doing time in a Swedish prison is like a vacation. She also gets “angry and furious” with the bureaucracy, with racism, the prison system in Sweden, and how illegal immigrants are treated here. She gets “sad” when people do not understand that all people are created equal, and she “pities” the people who are that narrow minded. She believes herself to be “open”, “a back-packing type”, having a great “pathos”, she cries easily, and she believes she has a lot of empathy. She respects people who respect her, and she does not like aggressive behaviour. She believes it is important to be “humble”, “empathic” and caring for your fellow humans. She believes in Karma and that her good actions will eventually lead good things her way, although this is not what motivates her engagement. Her time in Thai prison has taught her about what is important, and she cherishes what she learned there. Before she was “naïve” but also “selfish”, caring about only herself and living a carefree but at the same time shallow and hard life. She identifies strongly with her education, she has a lot of university credits in sociology and law.

Lena: Conclusions from “I”

Lena is independent and self-reliant. She is aware that groups are important to well-being. She seeks out groups to join for a sense of belonging but does not necessary identify fully with these groups. She builds her “I” around what she feels, her empathy, and

her values. A large part of her “I” seems to be formed from her life experiences, especially her time in prison.

Lijuan

Much of Lijuan’s meaning tied to “I” concern the hardships she has endured, conflicts with co-workers and family, health problems, accidents etc. She also speaks about her friends who love her and trust her. She sees herself as a person with many friends and who makes friends easily. She mentions one friend in particular, who seems to be important to her. She mentions her family and especially how she has her fathers “professional gene”, how she used to be “mum’s girl”. She sees herself as a courageous person, but she attributes the source of this courage to other people who believes in her and inspire her. She believes relationships are more important than money, and she sees herself as someone who helps people. She believes herself to be a loving person who prefer to care about, and understand the people around her, even when they wrong her. She has a double-sided relationship with her parents, she wishes to have a close relationship with her parents, but she experiences this difficult and that her life choices and interests do not necessarily pair well with their expectations, which in turn seems difficult to combine (her father wanting her to be freer and her mother wanting her to choose a traditional career). In this she feels more similar and accepted by her father although she also feels abandoned by him, as he was absent during her childhood. She believes herself to be talented and that this has earned her some respect in the community around her. Her talents are also something she believes is important to her relationship with her father, who is happy that she follows in his footsteps. In sum, most of Lijuan’s predicates pertaining to “I” consider her relationships with others and do not mention many traits, dreams or goals associated with her “I”. The exceptions are that she sees herself as courageous, talented, and lucky.

Lijuan: Conclusions from “I”

Lijuan believes relationships are important which also shows in her decision to help as a part of a group. Approval is important to her, both her parents' and other people's approval, it is probably easier to find approval as a moral non-conformer if one works in a small group. Moral non-conformers are generally not well liked in a society and if approval is something important for defining one's "I" being a moral non-conformer within a small group might be one solution to the problem of how to keep approval, but at the same time act according to one's moral principles. The group is therefore necessary for her moral non-conforming, but it can be a number of different groups, she does not seem to have one in particular that she identifies with.

Klara

Klara describes herself in trait-terms such as: “lazy”, “sweet-tooth”, “picky” (when it comes to food), “dedicated”, and “vegan”. She says she does not want to be seen as special, or part of a minority. She describes herself as a person who reads a lot about animal rights, and who donates money to an organization with a vegan agenda. She also helps this organisation by up posters in the city. At the same time, she says, that she does not want to be intrusive with her veganism, she prefers not to give people inconvenient information which they might not wish for. She says that she does not want people to believe that all vegans “are like that”.

Klara: Conclusions from “I”

In some aspects Klara wants to distance herself from the group “vegans” which she believes to be preaching and annoying to others. She does not want to be the “stereotype”. Although she has decided to become a vegan she does not want to be associated with vegans, or the stereotyped vegan. She displays an ambivalent attitude toward the own group. She is also a member of a Facebook group for vegans and vegetarians, and she actively supports the

cause by donating money and putting up posters, so the refusal to be a part of or the “stereotyped” vegan is ambivalent.

Johanna

Johanna puts her meaning of self in this context as an intellectual being. She writes about her intellectual process to become a vegan, that she has read philosophy and has gotten to where she is in a logical process based on Peter Singers’ utilitarianism, deontology, and living creatures’ ability to feel pain and pleasure. She stresses the difference between her and “the vegan community” which she believes attract people without critical thinking, who use a lot of anecdotal evidence and “woho”. She has her reasons for deciding to be a vegan clear and they are philosophical and factual in nature. She says that knowing what she knows she must change her behaviour (e.g. become a vegan) and that it would be “dishonest not to translate her insights into practice”. She has also been influencing parts of her family to become vegans and vegetarians. This feels like a victory to her, and it is also important to her that she is not alone anymore.

Johanna: Conclusions from “I”

Like Klara, Johanna wants to distance herself from the vegan community (even though she is a member of the vegan group on Facebook). She became a vegan after an intellectual process that she feels differ from other vegans, who she thinks believes in unscientific things. She believes in her own intellectual ability to take these decisions and to know what is best for her.

Claire

Claire identifies herself as a non-conformist and activist. She is politically aware and became so when she was a teenager. She feels like her childhood was too shielded, and that she did not understand the injustices of the world until in her teens. She is now sickened by living in society and being a part of the system. She has very strong convictions and she

does not like people who do not share hers. This poses a problem for her because she does not live up to her own standards, she has been focusing on her career lately and therefore been forced to quit the radical parts of her activism. She feels very bad about this “like a hole in my life” but she hopes that she will be able to start her activism after finishing her studies. She has a dual relationship to different blocks in the activist community. She was with the non-violent block, but she felt powerless and betrayed after the events of the G8 meeting in Evian 2003, where protesters were met by violence by the police. She was protected and helped by the people from the more violent “black-block”, and so she started to radicalize. Today she does not believe in non-violence only, but her actions (which she performs during her vacations) are non-violent and she hopes that she will find the courage to become more radical when she is finished with her studies.

Claire: Conclusions from “I”

Claire identifies with being a moral non-conformer. In the context of moral non-conforming moral non-conformers forms her primary group. She acts as a part of groups, but it is the moral action itself that is most important to her. She is a person who do not respond well to the cognitive dissonance of believing in one thing and doing another and she has high expectations of her own and others’ conduct.

The ones who cannot be quiet

Next group of respondents consists of two people, Lars and Louise. Both say that they cannot stay quiet when they see something that is wrong, and this seems to be a motivator for their moral non-conforming. They have a need to say it like they see it. Both have suffered professional consequences for their actions and they roughly belong to the same generation. The issues where they have moral non-conformed are similar in the sense that they believe that their colleagues have acted non-professional and thereby hurt the people they are put to serve (students and patients).

Louise

Louise makes for a doubtful moral nonconformer. She does not believe that she has earned the title (although she calls herself moral non-conformer several times) and she is hesitant to be in the study. She describes herself as shy, reserved, and reluctant to talk in front of people, but when something goes against her moral, she “has no choice” but to do something about it. She feels strong, calm, and sure of herself in these situations even when she “takes a beating”. “I connect to a strength that is not from my will” and “which is more powerful than shared opinion”. She does not think about the consequences, but she says that her “moral has an easier time accommodating things which are good for my comfort”. If she does anything against her convictions (which are humanistic values and therefore “above the law”) she feels guilty and she tries to avoid it. She speculates that her family tradition might be the cause of her moral non-conformism, her family is Protestants in the Catholic France (even though Louise herself is not religious).

Louise: Conclusions from “I”

Louise does not identify with any group (apart from her family), not even moral non-conformers. The act is more important than the identity for the constitution of her “I”. She sees herself as someone that needs to speak up, and she does not need to put the label “moral non-conformist” on it. She only does what she needs to do.

Lars

Lars sees himself as a person with a lot of integrity (“I would rather die than say it like it isn’t”), principle, and he holds truth sacred. He has strong ethics and believes himself following it. He sees himself as changed after his whistle-blowing. Before blowing the whistle, he says he was naïve. He thinks that this is due to his secure childhood with understanding and communicative parents. He still considers himself naïve but after his whistle-blowing this is up to a point. He says that he is more careful now, and that he would

probably not put himself in a situation like that again. He says that he recognises the type of situation that he was in more often now, as he has “special glasses now”. He still tries to believe that everyone is good, sensible and that life itself is good. He believes that it is hard to distrust everyone all the time. During the situation at the hospital he got some of his beliefs about the world challenged “I thought everything was perfect and that this was just a little flaw”, “I had never met people acting like that before”, “I didn’t understand”. He believes that he would have perished if it was not for his friends and network who supported him, but he does not elaborate on this. He believes that he was right, and do not regret doing what he did (even though he would not do it again). One of the reasons he believes he succeeded without perishing is his identity as a doctor, and an intellectual. He knew he was right as he “is very good in medicine”. His identity as a doctor and an intellectual seem to be very important in his self-meaning. They could not get him to doubt that he was right even though he started to doubt other things, like his naïve trust in others, and in the system.

Lars: Conclusions from “I”

Like Yong, Lars views himself as fixing an error rather than being a moral non-conformer. Lars approaches these things as someone who is naïve. He believes that errors should be corrected., and before his whistle-blowing experience he believed that everyone else also wanted to fix these types of errors. He has a high self-confidence, trusting his own judgment and competence. He knows what is right, this is right independently of what others believe.

The conforming non-conformer

This category only has one respondent. Baozhai do not feel like a moral non-conformer. She does moral non-conforming things, but she insists that she mostly conforms, and she does not identify as a moral non-conformer. She does not believe that she does anything extraordinary.

Baozhai

Baozhai sees herself as a helper and says that she would not be able to sleep or eat if she did not help. She refers to her family tradition, her father and grandfather have been helping their community with herbal medicine. She helps even when her husband does not think it is safe for her, because she could not live with her conscience otherwise. She does not see herself as a non-conformer, she says that she abides by the norm and rules of society and social custom, but on the other hand she says that if she does not help then no one else will, so in a way she recognises that helping does break the social norm.

Baozhai: Conclusions from “I”

Baozhai acts alone as a moral non-conformer, at least in a practical way, but in another way, she sees herself as a representative of her family and carrying out the family tradition of helping. She is able to help, and if she would not she would feel bad about it. But helping is not only empathic, but also a principle, it is the way of her family. In this she is similar to Roumei, although she has a more powerful position than Roumei, as Baozhai is the matriarch of the family.

Relying on competence

A portion of the respondents expresses a high reliance on their own competence. They talk about their talents and speak with a great confidence in themselves. These are Simon, Lei, Lars, Lijuan, and Yong. They all emphasize that they are talented in their professions, and this, in a way, gives them the possibility to become moral non-conformers. It might not directly motivate their actions but gives them the possibility. For Simon it makes him certain of his analysis of the world, and that he has a shot of making it even though his activism makes his professional life difficult, as he has the intellectual capacity to perform qualified tasks. For Lei it is also about a reliance on his intellectual capacity, he thinks he is a good student, so he will manage without the extra credits. Lars' belief in his competence as a

doctor renders him absolutely sure that this other doctor did what Lars accused him of, and he was confident that he had the documentation to prove it. Lijuan felt like she could resist when her teacher indirectly asked for bribes, and that she felt she could make a good job out of the project she enrolled in, because she believes she is good at what she does. The same goes for Yong, his reliance on his professional capacities makes him confident enough to take the fight.

Table 98. Percentage of meaning units with the subject modality "We" and predicates with the entity "We" sorted according to respondent

Name	Subject modality	Entity
Lei	3%	2%
Klara	1%	1%
Roumei	27%	9%
Simon	1%	None
Lars	3%	2%
Yong	7%	3%
David	4%	2%
Pierre	3%	2%
Claire	4%	2%
Baozhai	4%	1%
Louise	7%	1%
Mia	2%	2%
Johanna	None	0%
Lena	12%	5%
Lijuan	6%	3%
Ying	5%	2%
Chuck	5%	2%

We

Most individuals belong to social groups, indirectly or directly, real or imagined.

These social groups are often intertwined with an individual's sense of self. To understand a person, it is therefore important to know what groups he/she sees her/himself as part of, and what meaning he/she ascribes to these groups. This might be of even greater importance when studying behaviour which is regarded as contrary to the group norm. To break a group norm, there must be a relevant group to break the norm of. One way of understanding which groups

a person views her/himself as belonging to is to look at how they use the subject “we”. In this next section the respondents’ subject modality “we” as well as their entity “we” have been analysed.

Commonalities between respondents

With the starting point of their meaning tied to “we” I have formed four groups of respondents, “No ‘We’”, “The ones with no-group”, “The identifiers”, and “Just as everybody else”. Within these groups are respondents whom I believe have something in common in their relations to their groups, their “we”.

Table 99. Groups describes by the modality "we" or the entity "we" sorted according to respondent

Chinese	Lei, Baozhai, Lijuan, Ying
Profession	Lars (Doctor), David (Field assistant), Louise (Teacher), Mia (Police)
Family	Roumei, Yong, Louise, Lijuan, Ying
Activist group	Simon, Claire, Lena
Humans	Mia, Lena, Ying
Students	Lei, Yong, Lijuan
Siblings	Lars, Louise, Lei
Me and my partner	Baozhai, Klara, Johanna
Friends	Lena, Ying
Young people	Lei
Dormitory mates	Lei
The world	Simon
Whistle-blower	Lars
Home province	Yong
Commune	Pierre
My generation	Baozhai
Homeopath	Louise
Swedes	Lena
Prisoners	Lena
Volunteer	Lena
Civil courage	Lena
Religious group	Lijuan
People in village	Lijuan
People outside the pub	Chuck

No “We”

Frida and Britta stand out by not using the entity nor the modality “we”, which is interesting because both are doing their moral non-conforming as a part of a group, and in the last section Britta was classified as “group oriented” when her meaning tied to “I” was analysed. Frida, on the other hand seems to use the group as a tool more than a sense of social

identity and source of security and belonging, although she does not use “I” much either, so her identification within the moral non-conforming is not that tied to her meaning of self either.

The ones with no-group

These are not to be confused with the first group, the ones with “no we”, these respondents use both the modality and the entity “we”. They do not, however, seem to identify very much with any of their groups. The groups they belong to do not seem to be necessary for their self-identification and/or for their actions of moral non-conforming. This is a relatively large category consisting of: Lei, Lijuan, Klara, David, Simon, Claire, Louise, Johanna, Ying, and Chuck.

Lei

Lei uses the subject modality “we” or the entity “we” when referring to him and his brother, students, young people, dormitory mates, and the Chinese.

Lei: Brother

Lei identifies himself as a sibling, a brother. He describes him and his brother as having the same goals when it comes to academics, to get into good universities, and this is an important mutual goal for Lei. This group, or dyad, seems important to his sense of identity and as a motivator for his actions. He believes that him and his brother similar views of life makes it easier for him not to conform.

Lei: Students

Lei identifies himself as a student. He says that “we work hard” and “only think about school”, “don’t have the time to think about anything else” etc. He seems to perceive this group as hard working and under pressure that keeps them from realizing their personal goals and dreams and to come up with their own ideas and thoughts. Even though Lei identify as a

student he also seems to separate himself somewhat from the group. He believes that they have no sense to think for themselves, but that he has. Thus, even if Lei identifies as a student, he does not, necessarily identify with the group students.

Lei: Young people

He identifies with being young and he believes young people should take advantage of their youth and the relative freedom from responsibility. Being young is important to him, because of the possibilities to break old patterns that this situation opens.

Lei: Dormitory mates

He recognizes that he is a part of this group, but he does not seem to identify as such, similar to the “student”-group. The meaning of these two groups often overlaps as the dormitory mates are all students as well. Lei only mention dormitory mates in the context of disagreeing with them.

Lei: Chinese

He believes that Chinese people follow the rules and the social norm, and many of them suffer from pressure from their situations. Lei is ambivalent toward his identification with this group. On one hand, he identifies with the Chinese, and feels like he shares some hardships with the Chinese (like pressure in school), but on the other hand he feels separate from them. He believes that he is more independent than the typical Chinese person.

Lei: Conclusions from “we”

Lei identifies with his brother, other student, young people and Chinese people. All but the first group are big groups, and he also seem to identify less with the larger groups and more with his sibling-dyad. His affect modalities connected with “Chinese people” are negative or neutral, indicating that even if he sees himself as a part of this group, he does not have a positive affect connected to it.

Lijuan

Lijuan uses “we” for several dyads such as her and her friend, and her and her father. What seems to stand out among these dyads are the “we” she shares with her friend, who is important to her as a support in her life, although she does not discuss her friend in relation to moral non-conforming. Other groups that Lijuan mentions are: “Chinese”, “her religious group”, “family”, “people in the village”, and “student team”, she mentions them and declares that she is in these groups, this is purely descriptive, and seems not to have much meaning attached to it. She does not introduce us to much meaning into every group. It is mostly concerning practicalities. She feels like a part of the “people of the village”, she feels that the “religious group” has abandoned her when she needed them as did her family. The “student team” seems to be more like a working group and not something she identifies with. In all she stays in the descriptive area and does not convey much identification or significance to these groups, at least not in relation to her moral non-conforming.

Lijuan: Conclusions from “we”

Lijuan likes to belong to a group, she actively seeks out groups, but she does not identify much with them while in them, and she also tends to change her groups, and group identity, when she feels that the group fails her. She shows more individualistic tendencies and groups seem to be a means for her to do her moral non-conforming, it is not a goal in itself.

Klara

Klara only uses “we” to describe herself and her partner (“sambo” in Swedish indicates a serious relationship, similar to a marriage). She does not elaborate much about this group except writing that they have friends.

Klara: Conclusions from “we”

Klara is alone in her moral non-conformism and this is reflected in the little importance she puts into groups in her narrative.

Simon

Simon uses “we” only for two groups; “the world” by which he means the political side of humanity and the activist movement. The activist movement is mentioned as a “we” once, when he writes that they have to fight narrow mindedness within the movement. “The world” is mentioned as having a responsibility and “having” an American president who did not act according to reason.

Simon: Conclusions from “we”

In the context of moral non-conforming Simon feels like he belongs to two groups, his movement and the world. This indicates that he is taking on a responsibility for “the world” as a group. His frequency of the subject modality “we” is low, and that he is not using “we” as an entity at all indicating that groups are not that important in his moral non-conforming. Just as for Frida, the identification with the group does not seem to have much to do with his decision to become a moral non-conformer. Simon even goes further and criticize the group he is in, by talking about the “narrow mindedness” within the group.

David

David uses the subject “we” only to describe dyads (him and his mistress and colleague, him and his ex-wife), and this is more explicative to understand the story he is telling (e.g. “we” went there). The only non-dyad group he mentions as a “we” is his former profession “field assistant” (a type of social worker). There are only a few predicates concerning “field assistant”, however, and they are descriptive ex. “we were 20-30 who worked there”.

David: Conclusions from “we”

In the context of moral non-conformism David does not seem to consider groups an important part of his identity, which is further strengthened by his decision to act by himself and often against the groups he feels he belongs to (like field assistants). This is in accordance with how he has constituted his “I” in relation to moral non-conforming. He feels alone when he does it, and he does not do it as part of any group.

Claire

Claire uses “we” for: “the people in society” and “the activist group”.

Claire: We as people in society

She says that it is difficult for her to live in the society “we” have created. She uses the “people in society” as a category that she is a part of but does not identify with or want to be a part of it. She is distancing herself from this group, although at the same time, she admits that she is a part of the group.

Claire: The activist group

Claire uses “we” as representing the “activist group”. Interestingly, despite discussing a more radical view and a growing identification with the “black-block”, she only uses “we” to describe the pacifist activist group. The only violence she describes in the predicates pertaining to “we” is violence against the activist group (from the police). This indicates that Claire, even if she claims to have become “more radical” has not yet taken the step to identify herself with violent protesting or activism.

Claire: Conclusions from “we”

Claire is still divided when it comes to her identification as a moral non-conformer. She has a tie to her moral non-conforming groups, but she does not fully identify with them. She is reluctant case of a moral non-conforming person belonging to a group.

Moral non-conforming in itself is more important than belonging to a group, even though she seems to be looking for a group to help and enforce her moral non-conforming. What she seems to be certain of is that she does not want to belong to the group “we” as society, at least not in the form that it is right now. Currently, the group she identifies most with seems to be the pacifist activist group, but at the same time she is in the process of separating herself from this group. It seems like Claire would like to belong to a moral non-conforming group, but this is not what primarily motivates her moral non-conforming.

Louise

Louise uses four groups as “we”: “teachers”, which she does not seem to identify much with as she only mentions them as “we” when she says that she went against them, “homeopaths” which she says her family is, “family” which seems to be her primary group of identification in this context, she talks about how there are a lot of history of non-conformism in her family and also that she and her “siblings” (the last group) all have their way of being non-conformists.

Louise: Conclusions from “we”

The most important group for Louise in the context of moral non-conforming is her family, which she also believes are moral non-conformists. She is, in a way, continuing a family tradition. She seems to identify with this family tradition, and with this “we”, although it does not seem to be a primary motivation or even a necessary motivation for her moral non-conforming.

Johanna

Johanna only uses “we” as an entity once, and only for the dyad her and her partner.

Johanna: Conclusions from “we”

As already seen when looking at “I” Johanna is a self-reliant person who do not identify with the vegan community but has chosen her veganism as her own principled choice, after an intellectual process, seemingly without social pressure.

Ying

Ying uses “family”, “friends”, “Chinese” and “humans” as a “we”. “Family” is the modality/entity to which she ties the most meaning “who can disagree about independence”, “where there was freedom to choose” etc. She seems to trace some of her independence to her family, which makes it important for her choice to become a moral non-conformer. The “we” as Chinese, is for Ying filled with meaning about how parents think about their children in China. She writes “we”, but much of the meaning, when looked at in more detail, shows that, although she counts herself as Chinese, she does not see herself as the “typical” Chinese. She distances herself from this group, although she acknowledges that, at least in the eyes of her interviewer, a foreigner, she belongs to the group “Chinese”. “Friends” is mentioned only in practical situations “we were a group of friends going to X” and not specifically specified, no friends are mentioned by name, and their role in the narrative seems to be purely to paint the context of her own actions. “Humans” are written as a group she belongs to “which I am” but not more specified than that.

Ying: Conclusions from “we”

In the constitution of “we” Ying shows her independence. While she acknowledges that she belongs to groups she does not seem to believe that they impact her personality that much, on the contrary, she often describes herself as “different” from them, using the groups to accentuate her own uniqueness. The only possible exception is “family” which she uses as a possible explanation for this independent behaviour.

Chuck

Chuck uses “we”, but only for dyads (him and his friend) and to explain the situation outside the pub, he does not display any identification to any group.

The identifiers

This category of respondents has strong ties to one or more of their groups and the identification to this group has influenced or motivated their moral non-conforming in some way. In some of the cases such as with Roumei and Pierre it is even hard to distinguish between them and the “we” that they find most important to them. In other cases, such as with Lars and Mia, the expectations of their groups, or the expectations that they believe the groups have on them have been motivating for their moral non-conforming directly. In this group we find; Roumei, Lars, Yong, Mia, Pierre, and Lena.

Roumei

Roumei identifies strongly with the family group, and especially her father. When she or he is threatened “we” are threatened. The family also shares their attitude toward actions “we thought it was right”, as well as a common fate “we were lucky”. This indicates that Roumei’s sense of self is deeply integrated with her family and her family identity.

Roumei: Conclusions from “we”

This adds to the impression from her constitution of “I” that Roumei’s self is very much tied to her group, especially her family and her father and at least in the context of moral non-conformity. She does not make a clear distinction between her own, personal, thoughts and feelings and the thoughts and feelings of her family. “I” and “we as family” is interchangeable in the context of moral non-conformity.

Lars

Lars uses “we” indicate three groups; “doctor”, “whistle-blower”, “brothers”.

Lars: Doctor

“Doctor” which is his profession and something he identifies strongly with. He says that doctors need their patients to trust them, and they need this trust to be mutual. You should be able to trust your doctor, and your doctor you, even if you are a liar in other areas of your life. This is one of the reasons he believes that a breach of trust is worse between a doctor and his patient than perhaps between other groups. He believes that he is the one who conformed to the role of being a doctor when raising the alarm. It is the people who are doing wrong and opposing him who do not fulfil their group norm.

Lars: Whistle-blower

Lars identifies as a whistle-blower. He says: “we believe the world is almost perfect” and that is why they have the courage to try to change the “small imperfections” they believed they found. He also speaks about this group on a less abstract level, he describes himself as becoming “best friend” with another whistle-blower he met.

Lars: Brothers

The third group is Lars and his brothers, he mainly uses this group to explain how he was brought up. His parents used to discuss with him and his brothers instead of punishing them when they had done something wrong. He does not seem to identify much with his brothers but rather with the method of solving disagreements that his parents implemented.

Lars: Conclusions from “we”

In a way, the three groups that Lars uses as “we” says much about his reasons to engage in whistle-blowing. He identifies foremost as a doctor, and whistle-blowing becomes a mean to follow the norms that he believes are suitable for this group. The identification hierarchy of Lars might be described as: He is first a doctor, but to be able to be a good doctor who are following the norms, which he believes are proper to assume the role as a good doctor, he needs to become a whistle-blower. This role is secondary to his identification. To

be able to become a whistle-blower he would have the need to have a certain background with a certain parenting style and method of conflict solution, he is a brother in third hand (or perhaps a family member would be a better description). Him being a good doctor is dependent on him being brought up the way he is, but the fact that he is brought up the way he is, is not as important to Lars as being a good doctor.

Yong

Yong uses several groups with the subject “we”. They are; “family”, “student”, and “people of my home province”. Some of these groups have subcategories.

Yong: Family

Yong sees himself as part of his family, “family” for him is two separate groups. First, it is himself, his wife and child and second it is his parents. He is putting on himself the role of protector for both families, he cares for his parents’ economic well-being and his current family’s safety.

Yong: Student

Yong has identified himself with students in general (when he was in school) but more specifically and importantly with two subgroups: Students from his home province, and students in his high school class. He believes that students from his home province are more rebellious than others and are also suffering from discrimination in his current province. His first act of moral non-conforming was together with the students of his high school class. His identification as a student has therefore been a foundation for his moral non-conforming.

Yong: People of my home province

This group seem to explain much for Yong, and it is also infringing on his “student”-category as the subgroups of the student category which seemed most important to Yong was when students of his home province, and the student of his high-school (which was in his

home province). He says that he learned to non-conform in his home province where people often protested. He believes people of his province are more prone to active protests than others, something he believes have added to his will to protest. He says that he and the people of his province have “hot blood”.

Yong: Conclusions from “we”

Family is an important group for Yong to belong in, but perhaps not as important for his moral non-conforming. Being of his home-province is another matter, he explains his moral non-conforming tendencies with the “hot blood” of his home province, and the examples of protests he witnessed there. He learned much of his moral non-conforming behaviour while being a student, but not any student, but a student from his specific home province.

Pierre

Pierre identifies with his commune, it is the only “we” he uses. He writes about their alternative lifestyle, their lack of fundamental resources, and their solutions to those problems. He also discusses his commune in the entity “group”, but he uses “group” in a more detached manner where he discusses pros and cons about community groups such as his. “We” on the other hand is less abstract but more oriented toward practicalities and descriptions.

Pierre: Conclusions from “we”

In his moral non-conforming Pierre makes little difference between himself and the members of his commune, they are in it together. When he reasons about this on an abstract level, he is more detached, but in all practical ways the moral non-conformer-Pierre is the same as the moral non-conforming commune.

Mia

Mia uses her subject modality “we” only for dyads, these are all descriptive such as “me and my friend were sitting there”, but for her entity “we” there are two groups: “police” and “all humans”.

Mia: Humanity

She believes herself as part of “all humans”, this is a non-compromising identity to her, and where her loyalty seems to be. We ought to do things because we are human beings and we owe others respect and ourselves respect because we are human beings.

Mia: Police

She does not seem to overly identify with the group “police”. She sees herself as a part of the group, but she does not identify with the group, although she identifies with the ideal of the group. She believes that the police should abide by the law, so as a police officer she tries to do this, to hold herself to a high standard. She identifies with this idea of how the police should behave but does not necessarily identify with how they behave in reality.

Mia: Conclusions from “we”

Mia identifies with police, who she believes should stand above abusive behaviour and who she believes should set a moral example. She does not, however necessarily identify with the norms within the police if these do not live up to this ideal. She also identifies with all human beings and she believes that we have a duty to one another to treat each other with respect and be the best we can be.

Lena

Lena uses seven different “we”, although five have been classified as one, as she refers to the same group but by different names in all these occasions, I have named this group “activist group”, the other groups are: “prisoners” and “humanity”.

Lena: Prisoners

By prisoners she means the prisoners in Thai prison, not the Swedish prison where she was incarcerated for a longer period. She talks about how “we as prisoners in Thai prison” supported each other despite living under materially scarce circumstances. This is a group that she strongly identifies herself with, and a group that is very important and dear to her.

Lena: Humanity

Lena also defines herself as “human” and as a human being, according to Lena, we need to be humble, to be able to give and receive help, and we cannot do much without each other.

Lena: Activist group

Lena defines herself as the group in the clinic (in the table I have translated this to “activist group” to simplify comparison with the other respondents). The people at the clinic help each other, support each other and are “friends”. They all “volunteer” and they help each other when the responsibilities of what they do gets too much. They are a whole network of people with “civil courage”. The people in the clinic is, in many ways similar to how she sees “humans”. They are important to her and her moral non-conforming and form a large part of her identity.

Lena: Conclusions from “we”

Lena has certain groups that are important to her, but in another social circumstances (such as Swedish prison) she does not feel compelled to belong to the immediate group. She seems to be loyal to the groups she believes she belongs to. She uses many different words to describe the group she currently belongs to, indicating that it fulfils many different needs for Lena. For her, belonging to this moral non-conforming group is important both for her identity and sense of belongingness. As seen in Lena’s “I” she knows the importance of belonging to a group for the sake of her own well-being, but it is possible that all these

subgroups really are more of tools for her to be able to act in the way that she feels one has to act to be a member of the larger group “humanity”. All groups that she identifies with have, in different ways, exemplified how people are supposed to act as human beings, according to Lena.

Like everybody else

Once again Baozhai forms her own group. She feels like she is like everybody else, that she is not a moral non-conformer and she identifies with society at large, which she believes follow the rule of conduct she herself follow. Her “we” is not very important to define for her as she believes that they are the same as for everyone else, and that she is not in any way special, just doing what is expected of her.

Baozhai

Baozhai uses three groups of the subject “we”; “me and my husband”, “Chinese people”, and “my generation”.

Baozhai: Me and my husband

This “we” is mostly used to describe certain events, such as “when we were in Thailand”. It is more of a descriptive than a significant category for Baozhai.

Baozhai: Chinese people

About Chinese people she says that “we are taught the ideas of Confucius from a very early age”. As she herself takes the teachings of Confucius very seriously this is an indication that she identifies as Chinese, and that she feels like she shares the Chinese culture.

Baozhai: My generation

She also identifies with her own generation, which she believes is more capable than the younger generations.

Baozhai: Conclusions from “we”

Baozhai does not seem to identify much with a group, apart from Chinese people in general. Her moral non-conforming comes from principle and empathy and she is very self-reliant in the type of situations where she helps, but she also believes it is a common trait among the Chinese as they are taught the teachings of Confucius.

Distance from group

For some of the respondents there seems to be a need to distance themselves from groups, saying that they are not “typical” of some group (in this case the “Chinese”), Lei, Lijuan, and Ying all mention that they are different from “Chinese”, thereby distancing themselves from this group. This might facilitate their decision not to conform, it is easier not to conform to a group to which you do not feel that you belong. On the other hand, there are some other respondents who express a distance between themselves and other moral non-conformers, this is especially evident for Klara and Johanna who want to make it clear that they are not like “other vegans”, distancing themselves from the group, but not the mainstream meat-eating group, but to the subgroup to which they have actively chosen to belong. This might be a consequence of the normative society’s negative attitude toward moral non-conformers, it might be an attempt to try to belong to both groups at once, and thereby circumvent the social stigma. It would be possible to argue that Baozhai is also actively distancing herself from other moral non-conformers, but it is not so. She has no need to distance herself as she simply does not feel that she is a moral non-conformer.

It is interesting that it is the Swedish vegans who chose to distance themselves, a group which do not risk much else than people being mildly annoyed at dinner parties. The Chinese non-conformers with risk for retaliation on the other hand seem to distance themselves from the mainstream Chinese society, which might be a sign that they do not want me to believe that all Chinese are like them, this might be a consequence of being interviewed

by a Westerner who needs to understand how the Chinese mainstream society is. It might also be a way to protect the Chinese society and show modesty (all Chinese are not as bad as me, most follow the rules), and it might also be a way of showing that they feel different from the Chinese society for good or for worse.

Groups

Next step in the analysis is to take the different groups found in the “we” subject and look at entities containing the same group. I have focused on groups that more than one respondent has used as an entity, or entities that contain similar sense used by more than one respondent. For example, if one respondent used the entity “brothers”, the second “sisters”, and the third “siblings” they might be considered parts of the category “siblings” and analysed as the same type of entity.

Family

Table 100. Moral Non-Conformist respondents who have used "family" as an entity

Name	Frequency (relative frequency)	Number of different types of predicates
Lijuan	27 (1%)	16
Ying	27 (1%)	15
Yong	23 (1%)	14
Frida	21 (4%)	17
Lei	17 (1%)	11
Louise	10 (1%)	7
Claire	5 (1%)	4
Britta	4 (1%)	3
Roumei	3 (1%)	3
Lars	3 (0%)	3
Johanna	2 (0%)	4
Baozhai	2 (0%)	2

Following the focus on groups, some entities emerged. “Family” is one of them, it emerged as an important “we”-group and a part of the constituted “I” for many of the respondents. Therefore, entities concerning different aspects of family and family members were looked at. Not all narratives analysed contain the entity “family”, instead some of them

mention specific members of said family. In table 100. all the moral non-conformists who have used the entity “family” are presented.

Types of families

Table 101. Entities included in the category "family"

Category	Entities
Original family	Mum, dad, mother father, grandfather, grandmother, cousin, sibling, brother sister, uncle, aunt.
New family	Wife, husband, children, in-laws
Own hypothetical families	Families they will have in the future
Other hypothetical families	Families others might have
Families of others	Other people's families

There is a difference between which family the respondents mean when referring to family or family members. Table 101 contains a classification of different types of families, as well as which entities have been classified into these categories.

Affect modalities tied to “family”

To further deepen the understanding of the respondent’s meaning of “family” an analysis of the modalities tied to entities concerning family was made. After looking at all the categories of modalities tied to family it seemed like “affect” modality was the only modality which provided additional dimensions to their meaning of family.

“Negative retrospective” affect modality

Frida, Lijuan, Yong, Lei and Roumei use a “negative retrospective” affect modality when talking about the entity family (see table 102). Roumei is the only one of these who uses it as the exclusive affect connected to this entity.

As discussed Roumei’s sense of self in the context of moral non-conforming is inseparable from her family, but it seems that this is not entirely positive for her. Her partial intentions of “family” only involve her own, original family. They are all negative, but this does not mean that she feels like her family is negative, it is probably due to the context. The

negative aspect comes from when her family was threatened, the family itself is not the negative aspect, the threatening situation is. She has a rather low number of “family”- entities. This is because she rarely discusses “family” as an object separated from herself, instead she uses “we”. Yong uses the entity family in a “negative retrospective” manner for three different type of families, his original family (about their money problems), his new family (about them being at risk), and the families of others (a friend’s, other students’), and the family of the people he does not agree with. Lijuan consistently uses “negative retrospective” affect in relation to her own original family. Lei’s negative retrospective affects concerning family are all tied to the economic situation of his family. All of Frida’s “negative retrospective” predicates concerning family are about her own and their response to her civil disobedience.

Table 102. Number of predicates to the entity "family" which have a negative retrospective as affect modality

Name	Number of negative retrospective predicates	Total number of predicates for "family"
Frida	4 (24%)	17
Lijuan	5 (31%)	16
Yong	10 (71%)	14
Lei	3 (27 %)	11
Roumei	3 (100%)	3

“Negative prospective” affect modality

Frida, Lijuan, Ying, Lars, Lei and Britta display “negative prospective” affect modalities in their predicates tied to the entity family. Ying talks about her own family and that her independence might influence her relationship with them negatively. Frida states that her family do not approve of her choice to become a moral non-conformist because they believe that her civil disobedience might give her problems in life. Britta speculates about how she would feel if something negative would happen to her family. Lijuan’s predicates concern her own original family and how she had to write letters to them in case she would die when out working in the field. Lars speaks about other hypothetical families and how everything in them might be bad and, consequently, their members would not think about

becoming whistle-blowers. Lei talks about three types of families; first, his original family, which does not have the economical abilities to support his studies abroad, second, the families of students who lack ambition and how these families pay for their education, and lastly, about the hypothetical family he will have in the future and his friend's insinuations that he will not be able to provide for them.

Table 103. Number of predicates to the entity "family" which have a negative prospective affect modality

Name	Number of negative prospective predicates	Total number of predicates for "family"
Frida	2 (12%)	17
Lijuan	5 (31%)	16
Ying	2 (13%)	15
Lei	4 (36%)	11
Lars	2 (67%)	3
Britta	2 (67%)	3

Summary: Negative affect and the entity family

Three respondents use a negative affect paired with hypothetical examples. Lei and Lars both use the entity family to mean a hypothetical family. For Lei it concerns his own future family, while Lars speculates about "other" families and the conditions he imagines that they live under. Britta also expresses a hypothetical concern, she talks about how it would feel if she and her family had to become refugees, so her concern is hypothetical although her family is real. She uses this concern as an example of her motivation for helping.

Frida talks about her own family and the problems they have had to accept her choice to become an activist. This is similar to the situation of Ying. Who also describes that her relationship with her original family has become damaged by her need for independence. Both seem to express an understanding for their families' standpoints, but at the same time they do not apologize or express any doubt of their own life choices and lifestyles.

Lijuan differs from the other respondents' affect modality on the entity family. Lijuan uses the entity family with an almost exclusively negative affect to describe her relationship

with her original family, and, in contrast to Ying and Frida she does not show understanding for her family's standpoint.

Roumei does speak about her family in negative affect, but the negativity stems from the situation that her family was in. This has a parallel in Yong who, like Roumei, also experienced threats to his new family because of his moral non-conformism. In addition, Yong uses a negative affect on the predicates concerning his original family situation, the negative part there solely concerns their financial situation, not their relationship or social situation. So, for both Yong and Roumei it is the situation that is negative, not the family.

Family as metaphor for society

Yong and Lei discuss other people's family situations with negative affect, for Yong the negative affect concern how these families were treated and the status difference between a rich and powerful and a less rich and powerful family. Lei, on the other hand, brings up how conformity can harm families by making their children less ambitious, and thus make their education worthless even though their parents have made financial sacrifices to give them a good education. Ying mentions other people's families in this way (although she does not use the entity "family" in this context, but talks about "Chinese people"), she believes that Chinese families in general control their children too much. In a way they are using the example of family to criticize social and cultural flaws.

"Neutral" affect modality

Table 104. Number of predicates to the entity "family" which have a neutral affect modality

Name	Number of neutral predicates	Total number of predicates for "family"
Frida	10 (59%)	17
Johanna	2 (100%)	2
Ying	9 (60%)	15
Lei	2 (18%)	11
Louise	6 (85%)	7
Britta	2 (66%)	3
Baozhai	2 (100%)	2
Yong	6 (42%)	14

An examination of the “neutral” affect modality of the entity “family” shows that most respondents who use this entity also use the affect modality “neutral” (see table 104). The exceptions are: Roumei, who (as previously seen) only used “negative retrospective”; Claire who only used a positive affect modality; Lijuan who used all other types of affect modalities except “neutral”; and Lars, who uses both negative and positive affect modalities in his predicates, but only two different types of predicates “which exists”. He uses this predicate two times and one concerning a hypothetical “other family” where everything was bad and therefore their members did not think about becoming moral non-conformists. All the other eight moral non-conformists who used “family” also used it with a “neutral” affect.

Two respondents use a “neutral” affect modality exclusively, Baozhai and Johanna: They only use two different predicates to describe “family” of which one is “which exist”. Johanna mentions that she is the only vegetarian in the family. Baozhai’s second predicate is “which it is probably because of its tradition” which is similar to Louise’s “neutral” predicate: “which have a history which it is perhaps is due to”. Both these predicates pertain to how their family tradition has influenced their moral non-conformity. Louise uses “neutral” affect modality to explain parts of her non-conformist behaviour she brings up the family history and religion (Protestantism) as potential causes of her moral non-conforming. Lei only discusses the family he hopes to have in the future. He expresses this hope with certainty “which I will have in the future”, the neutral affect indicates that having a family in the future is certain and unproblematic. Ying mentions her family’s cross-cultural lifestyle and Frida talks about her family not agreeing with her world views, in contrast to the predicates of the negative affect modalities, this is done in a more detached manner in the “neutral” affect modality. She does not say how she feels about it, only that they do not agree with her, and she also leaves a glimpse of optimism that her family are changing their views.

Yong's "neutral" affect modalities concern practical considerations of his new family and about the family background of people that he went to school with.

"Positive retrospective" affect modality

Table 105. Number of predicates to the entity "family" which have a positive retrospective affect modality

Name	Number of positive retrospective predicates	Total number of predicates for "family"
Claire	3 (75%)	4
Lijuan	5 (31%)	16
Ying	5 (33%)	15
Lei	3 (27%)	11
Lars	1 (33%)	3

Ying and Claire speak about their own original families when they use the "positive retrospective" affect modality. Claire states that she is born in a "bobo-intellectual"- family as a possible origin of her moral non-conforming behaviour. Ying discusses the freedom of choice when she was growing up as well as her family's current scepticism toward her curiosity, she uses a positive affect concerning this, apparently not negatively affected by the scepticism of her curiosity. She believes that her family shows that they care for her by questioning her curiosity, and the freedom of choice is presented as something that might have made her a moral non-conformer. Lei discusses the families of other students (that they support their children) when he uses a "positive retrospective" affect. Lars states that families exist, and the positive affect predicates connected to family are for Lijuan the ones connected with the family where she stayed for a while, not for her original family.

"Positive prospective" affect modality

Lei continues to speak about his hypothetical family in the future in a positive manner, now with his own perspective of this, the negative affects shown for this future family had to do with other people's opinions. In his own opinion he views his future family as something positive. Claire uses positive prospective affect modality for the families of illegal immigrants she helped. This is the only non- negative affect modality where Lijuan talks about her

original family. The positive aspect here is in the sense that they can support her financially. Frida only uses this affect modality to state that she has a family. Ying uses “positive prospective” affect concerning the potential of all families to raise independent children, and Louise uses it for certain types of families who might be more inclined to foster moral non-conformists, in this Ying and Louise are similar.

Table 106. Number of predicates to the entity "family" which have a positive prospective affect modality

Name	Number of positive prospective predicates	Total number of predicates for "family"
Claire	2 (50%)	4
Lijuan	4 (25%)	16
Ying	3 (20%)	15
Lei	3 (27%)	11
Frida	4 (24%)	17
Louise	2 (29 %)	7

Type of Family relation

A group of the moral non-conformists mention their family or family ties as influential to their decision to become moral non-conformists. Among these are Britta, Claire, Lei, Louise, Baozhai, Ying, Lars and David. Roumei also belongs to this group, but she has a difference in her process as she is acting as a part of her family and their moral non-conforming actions.

Family tradition

Family tradition is one way which families might influence the decision to become a moral non-conformer. David, Baozhai, and Louise all mention non-conformity as a family identity, habit, or tradition, and they all link this to their decision to become moral non-conformers. Claire might be included in this group and although she does not dwell on this part of her motivation in her answer, it is there implicitly, for two reasons: first, she talks about her upbringing as a “bobo-intellectuelle” and secondly, she is the one who

recommended her mother, Louise, to be a part of this study as a moral non-conformer. Louise, on the other hand, dwell lengthily on the family tradition, that her family have been Protestants in a Catholic environment, that all her siblings found their own way of moral non-conformity etc. David talks about several “family stories” involving moral non-conformity. Baozhai talks about her grandfather and how he helped people as an herbal doctor.

Parenting style

Others mention their parents’ role in their upbringing as influential to their choice to become moral non-conformists. Lars says that his parents always discussed everything with him and his brothers, encouraging them to solve problems by reason and to preserve integrity. Ying discusses how her parents’ relative independence and preserving of their individual tastes encouraged and developed independence in her. David mentions his Catholic upbringing being taught values connected with moral integrity.

Role within the family

Another group seems to be influenced by their roles as siblings, Britta says that her “helping” started in her childhood, with her role as a “big sister” when her father died. Lei is influenced by having a brother who shares his values.

Rebellious child

There are some of the respondents that have the opposite experience as well, Lijuan, Simon and Frida, for instance have chosen a life-style which their parents do not agree with, making it hard for them to preserve a good relationship with their family. Lijuan’s mother does not approve of her helping and wants Lijuan to get a “real” career instead. To change Lijuan’s mind her mother has on several occasions cut her off from support, and during long periods they have not been on speaking terms. Simon has a conservative upbringing with a future in economics on fine universities, he has not written anything about a conflict with his parents, but he sees his choice to get into civil disobedience as a break with

his background. Frida writes about the problems she has had with getting her parents to accept her choice to engage in civil disobedience and that they have felt that she has caused problems, not only for herself but for her entire family.

Catalyst

In their research Oliner and Oliner (1988) conclude that many of their respondents have experienced a catalyst, a trigger situation where they went from potential bystanders to moral non-conformists. During the work with my master thesis (Gustafsson Jertfelt, 2010), I found a similar pattern of catalysts within the sample I had then. Expanding the sample has changed this analysis. Catalysts, or trigger situations, are perhaps facilitating, but not necessary to become a moral non-conformist, although this is, of course depending on the definition of a catalyst. What Oliner and Oliner (1988) mean with catalysts is a large spectrum of situations, such as witnessing a wrongdoing, or being asked to help. I have chosen another definition, namely, if the person tells me about a single event that they believe are the reason why they became moral non-conformers, then I have chosen to describe this as a catalyst. By this definition, and with the extended sample, seven respondents describe a catalyst. All of these are, interestingly, Swedes, but their type of moral non-conformism are different, although, not all Swedes have a catalyst.

Oliner and Oliner (1988) writes about the catalyst as an acute situation, or event, that forced the person to take a stance. According to my definition the stance did not have to come immediately, and the situation might not have been a single, isolated event, but a life-experience that went on for a while to count as a catalyst.

Table 107. Respondents with a catalyst

Name	Type of catalyst	Type of moral non-conforming
Lena	Being imprisoned	Helping illegal immigrants
Mia	Being confronted with a lie by a victim	Reporting misconduct
Britta	Father died when very young	Helping illegal immigrants
David	Brother died because of prejudiced doctor	Conscientious objector
Simon	Chock of 9/11	Civil disobedience
Klara	Watching a documentary	Vegan

Lena's experience with being a prisoner in Thailand, then in Sweden, and later an ex-prisoner, has given her the foundation for her choice to become a moral non-conformer. This is not a single event, but a series of events that changed her. Mia did not become a moral non-conformer when confronted by the victim of the first police abuse that she saw as a police officer. In fact, she continued to lie to protect her colleague during this first process, but the experience, her guilt and doubt about herself, as well as what the victim, Kostas, told her, made her decide how to act the next time. Britta's life changing event came when she was just a child and her father died. She then took responsibility for her siblings, and this fostered her to become what she calls a "helper". David talks (after the Dictaphone was switched off) about how the death of his brother. His brother was sick, but no one took his parents seriously because they were immigrants- This made David understand that one should not abide to authorities when one believes them to be wrong. Simon's catalyst is a mix between an acute situation and an intellectual process. The intellectual process started with the reactions of the government of the United States to the events of 9/11. He had previously had a positive view of American politics, but the war on terrorism was something that shook his worldview, from this he started an intellectual journey that ended with him deciding to become involved in civil disobedience. Klara describes herself as shocked and appalled after watching a documentary about animal abuse in the food industry and this made her a vegan.

There is a reason to argue that two of the other respondents having a catalyst, perhaps more in the sense of Oliner and Oliner (1988), these are Chuck and Baozhai. Both helped

people in the street, and it is possible to argue that seeing people in need was their catalyst. This is a valid argument, but one could also argue that this is not so much a catalyst, but an opportunity for them to help, the situation gives them a chance to manifest their moral non-conforming, rather than a situation that causes this trait to form. The moral non-conformity might already have been there it was just canalized into behaviour in that situation. If they never encountered a person in need, we might never have known that they were moral non-conformers. The catalysts mentioned above happened before the actual moral non-conforming and are not necessary for the moral non-conforming to take place. The same might be argued with Yong and Lars, to expose something unfair, corrupt, or criminal, one must first encounter it. This line of reasoning ends in a circular argument. The cause of the moral non-conforming is their moral non-conforming act. Which is, of course true, they would not be in this study had it not been for this act, but it says very little about why they act like this, when other people do not.

Chapter 8

Conclusions and Applications

In this chapter I will discuss how the results from previous chapters can be understood and used with a focus on the educational context. Before this, I like to repeat some of the issues discussed in Chapter 5 concerning the method of phenomenology and how conclusions are drawn within this method.

Patterns and Phenomenology

Context is everything. Nothing is isolated, everything exists in relation to other things and the meaning of an object is built partly of the meaning of the objects surrounding it, both naturally and culturally. This means that it is not possible to isolate one variable and claim that this is the same in all situations. It might be the same at face value. I might call stale bread “bread” even if it is not edible. But the meaning of this bread is not the same as the meaning of a fresh-from-the-oven focaccia. The meaning of these two breads makes them the same in name only. When drawing conclusions, we need to understand that these conclusions are context-bound. We might aim to generalize, as we want to say something about what to expect of objects of this type, and therefore we look for patterns. To maximize their function these patterns should be absolute (e.g. be true for all the objects of that type). This is not possible however, absolute patterns do not exist, or rather, we can never be certain that they do exist. What we can hope for, however, is to find useful patterns. Patterns that fulfil a purpose, as in the current study where the patterns will hopefully help us to understand more about the moral non-conforming behaviour.

Even when we find patterns, this is not, by far, the end of the work. For several reasons: 1) Patterns change. Time is changing, and objects change with time, what was a pattern yesterday might not be a pattern tomorrow, therefore research on a subject must continue and change in method as well as in content. 2) New perspectives are discovered. No

matter from how many angles one sees the vase (see Chapter 5) it can never be an infinite number. It is therefore entirely possible that that small angle that I missed shows that the vase is, in fact, a chair. This might be unlikely, but what is sure is that that new small perspective will add something, however small, to the understanding of the vase. It might only look the same from that particular perspective as well. 3) The world is not made to please our need of patterns. In the beginning of Sir Terry Pratchett's book "Mort" he writes:

"He was determined to discover the underlying logic behind the universe. Which was going to be hard because there wasn't one. The Creator had a lot of remarkably good ideas when he put the world together, but to make it understandable hadn't been one of them."

(Sir Terry Pratchett, "Mort", 1987, p.12)

When I do research, I like to think about this quote. Patterns that I find are of my own creation, even if they are functional and fulfil a purpose. They are not there in order to be patterns, patterns are my summary of what is. The troublesome thing with the search for patterns is that you might find what you look for, even when it is not there. In the beginning of a study we should be open to the possibility that there are no patterns to be found, but in reality, we are investigating this particular object or area, because we believe there is a pattern. We are quite motivated to find them. The risk is that we find them even if they are not there, and that we hold on to them even when they are not applicable anymore. This said, I will present the patterns I have found. I have tried my best to let them emanate from the narratives of my respondents, and as little from my own preconceptions as possible.

Types of moral non-conformity

The motivators and ways to become a moral non-conformist seems to be unique for each respondent. However, some patterns have emerged during the analysis. These patterns might enhance our understanding of a moral non-conformer.

Type of moral non-conformism

The respondents have different ways in which their moral non-conformism has expressed itself. Here it is important to point out that the manner of finding the respondents have affected the different ways of moral non-conforming they represent, perhaps especially in Sweden where there was a purposive sampling directed toward certain groups which I had already classified as moral non-conformists. The sampling in China and France was of a more emergent character and gave greater opportunity for types of moral non-conforming which I might not previously have recognized. It is therefore probable that some types of moral non-conformism are not represented here, although the sample appears to be covering a wide spectrum of moral non-conforming behaviours.

I have divided the different types of moral non-conforming behaviour that appears in the narratives of the respondents into different categories of behaviours. Based on the results presented in the previous chapter. I have looked at the motivators and characteristics of the participants in each group to see if any commonalities emerge. The types of moral nonconformism found within this sample are: “intervening”, “activism”, “whistle-blowing”, “conscientious objectors”, “veganism” and “duty”.

Intervening

Intervening in acute situations with a potential risk and where no one else intervenes is one of the moral non-conforming behaviours found in this study. The respondents Chuck and Baozhai have both intervened in acute situations they witnessed in public places. Both

describe avoiding potential guilt as a motivator, as well as a disregard for possible negative consequences of their intervening. Both were risking something when intervening, Chuck was injured, and Baozhai ruined the seats of her new car, although she did not get into financial or legal troubles because of her intervening (which is a risk in China). To intervene is an immediate task. It needs an amount of impulsiveness and resolution to take control of, or at least get involved in, the situation. It needs a dose of confidence to know, or believe one knows, what to do and how to handle the situation. Their disregard for negative consequences might have facilitated this confidence.

Activism

Among the moral non-conformists there is a group which I call “activists”. They seek out causes that they feel strongly about, and they join groups which can help them work with these causes. Examples of activists among the respondents are: Simon, Frida, Lena, Britta, Claire, Pierre, and Lijuan. They display a smaller or larger degree of identification to the group which help them in their activism. Pierre seems to have a high identification with his activist group, while Simon, Frida, Claire and Lijuan use their groups more like tools to facilitate their activism rather than manifesting a sense of belongingness to a group by engaging in moral non-conformity. Britta and Lena provide mixed signals in this case. Both belong to a group, but the group that they belong to is a group that they have actively sought out to be able to do their moral non-conforming. They identify with, and feel close to this group, but the impression is that they might have identified with any group they had chosen to fit their purposes. Britta seem to be group-oriented and look at herself as an inseparable part of a social group. Her primary group is not, however, the activist group that she has chosen to belong to, but her family group, even in the context of moral non-conforming. Lena, on the other hand, identifies with many different groups. She needs groups in her life and the sense of belonging that these groups give her, but the impression is that there is no group that in

itself is important to Lena. Any group that she would have chosen to belong to would be important for her activism and her sense of self.

Whistle-blowing

The category “whistle-blowers” is in this study represented by David, Lars, Mia, Yong, and Louise. They act alone and with a risk for retaliation. They all say that they need to do the right thing, when something is wrong, they seem to have the need to speak up. Yong and David also have something else that they share. They seem to morally non-conform as a habit. They describe several situations (not only whistle-blowing) where they have morally non-conformed. Both feel like they do not necessary belong to their immediate society, something which might facilitate their reoccurring moral non-conforming.

The other three have something in common regarding the consequences of their moral non-conforming actions. Lars and Mia both say that they had no idea that the consequences would be so severe for them when they decided to blow the whistle, and Louise writes that she would probably not blow the whistle had the possible consequences been graver. Once again, the ability to disregard negative consequences of the moral non-conforming action seems to be facilitating this type of behaviour. Even if the ability to disregard these negative consequences comes from naivety or a lack of knowledge.

Conscientious objectors

Lei, Ying, and David belong to this group. As David has been engaged in more than one moral non-conforming action it also follows that he is categorized in more than one group. Lei, Ying, and David have all chosen not to join groups to which there has been great social pressure and repercussions not to join. They all describe themselves as independent (Lei and Ying emphasize this in their narratives, David describes himself as being a non-conformist). They describe their family situation as affecting their moral non-conformism, all three of them have some sort of family tradition of moral non-conforming in their

background. They are operating by themselves, not belonging to any group, and not particularly identifying with any group, once again showing their independence.

Veganism

Johanna and Klara are the obvious members of this group. They are both vegans, which means that they have chosen not to eat meat and dairy products. They have chosen to do so, not because of an allergy or some other physical restriction, but because they believe that the food industry treats animals inhumanely. They state that they need to be vegans because it would be impossible to be anything else when they “know what they know”. They both try to distance themselves from the group “vegans” although they both identify themselves as such. This group is interesting in this respect. It is a group that have chosen freely to belong to the group “vegans”, who are convinced that what they are doing is right, who does not risk any retaliation for their actions (more than perhaps some people wanting to discuss with them, or not inviting them for dinner), and yet they seem to be the group who are most uncomfortable with belonging to a moral non-conforming group. They both want to make it clear that they are not like “other” vegans. This entails that they do not nag other people about their eating habits or believe in unscientific things (as they claim “vegans” do) or believe in what Johanna calls “woho” (the antivaccine movement, alternative medicine etc.). Perhaps the lack of retaliation, and the individual (not group-based) commitment might make the decision to become vegan less definitive. Vegans are perhaps not very well liked by mainstream society, and by committing to the vegan group one is also committing to the stereotype about vegans. As there is no real pressure to commit to this group changing dietary practices is something one can easily do on an individual level, and there is no need for the group to protect you against retaliation. Perhaps the commitment to the group or the cause is less strong or ambivalent. This is contradicted by Klara’s support for the non-profit vegan organisation. She has committed, by supporting them monetary and with

volunteer work (putting up posters). And it is contradicted by their membership in the Facebook group of Vegans and Vegetarians in Sweden.

Another possibility is that they have not taken a big enough step outside the main group. Becoming a vegan might not be as stigmatised as, for instance, breaking the law. This might mean that the people belonging to this group can easily see themselves being within the main group. They are not separated enough. By saying that they are not “typical vegans” they might attempt to be moral non-conformists but without the negative consequences of exclusion from the main group. This might be an option that is not open to any of the other groups, and therefore there is less of a need to distance the self in the other acts of moral non-conformism.

Duty

Roumei forms a category of her own. She is hard to place as she does her moral non-conforming as an inseparable part of a family unit. I have therefore decided to call her type of moral non-conforming “duty”. She helps because she feels she needs to stay true to her family, and her ideals. She identifies strongly with her group, she feels like she must act according to the ideals of her group and she would feel guilty if she did not act accordingly.

Do high identifiers really non-conform?

Having a high identification and sense of belongingness with one’s group might, in a way, challenge the non-conforming part of the moral non-conforming. If a person identifies strongly with a group and act according to the norm of this group - is it not a conforming action? Some respondents have sought out their groups with the purpose of becoming moral non-conformers, and the identification seems to have come later, but once the identification has taken place is it then correct to talk about moral non-conformism? Taking this into consideration it might be easier to understand the ambivalence that the vegans have toward

their group. It seems like they are trying not to conform to the non-conformers (other vegans) as well as mainstream society. This type of behaviour (being in a small group who go against the larger group) has been classified as moral non-conforming because the small groups, know that the larger group does not act like them, and it is a non-conforming action to join these smaller non-conforming groups and/or to stay in them, but it is relevant to raise the question if it is moral non-conforming or just a different type of conforming.

Type of moral non-conformist

Other than looking at the type of action itself, it is also possible to look at how the respondents have morally non-conformed.

Impulsive moral non-conformers

Some moral non-conformers, like Chuck, Baozhai and Lars seem to be acting on impulse. They see something wrong and they set out to rectify it, without consciously taking a stance. They do what they believe needs to be done in the situation. Taking responsibility for the situation, without reflecting beforehand. They seem to have in common that they do their moral non-conforming alone and with confidence. They do not believe that they will suffer negative consequences for their actions, and they do not let potential negative consequences become obstacles for their actions. Even if their act is impulsive their main motivation for acting does not seem as impulsive. They are not acting on an empathic whim, they act because they think it is right to do so, consequently they must do so. Lars says that he knows his profession, he knows what is right, he also says that he has a sense of security which stems from his upbringing. Baozhai is also referring to a family history of helping behaviour, she merely continues her family's tradition. Chuck does not mention any family tradition, he instead mentions watching documentaries and thereby undergoing what he calls a "character

shift". All three of them act with a confidence, they do not doubt that they know what is right and wrong and they feel that they know what they need to do in the situation.

The alienated non-conformers

Another group of the respondents have in common that they feel different from the people around them. They are (or at least feel) alienated in one way or another. This group includes Pierre, Lijuan, Lei, Yong, and David.

Pierre does not feel like, and does not want to be, a part of the French mainstream society, instead he identifies as an outsider, and moral non-conformer living his alternative lifestyle in his commune. Lijuan expresses that she does not feel "normal". Lei describes himself as different. He feels a stronger need for independence than his peers and therefore he quarrels with them. Yong believes himself being very competent in his profession, but he is also describing himself as "the worst student" as he could not just do like everyone else but formed demands and stood up for his causes. He currently feels different than the people around him because he comes from another province, a province he claims have shaped him into a rebellious person. David expresses that he feels misunderstood by his groups in several situations. He feels like he is different from others because he always gets into these types of situations. In that regard he is like Yong. Unlike Yong, however, David almost always does his moral non-conforming alone, whereas Yong has had the support of people around him, even though they might not have helped him by being moral non-conformers.

The moral non-conforming nature

Britta and Roumei form a group which I would like to describe as having moral non-conforming nature, or perhaps role. Neither of them has reflected upon their behaviour, it just is something they do, something ongoing, and a role they have. Britta claims that this role was hers from her childhood when she "became a helper" when her father died. A role which she

has retained during her whole life. Roumei might not have an individual “helper”-role, but it seems like her family has, and as Roumei identifies with her family she, too, has taken on this role of helping.

The intellectuals

The last group is the largest. This consists of Lena, Claire, Ying, Frida, Johanna, Louise, Mia, Simon, and Klara. They have all, in different used an intellectual process to become moral non-conformers. Sometimes, as in Simon, Mia, Klara, and Lena’s cases the process was instigated by a catalyst. For others, like Frida, Johanna, and Claire it was a part of a conscious intellectual process, searching for a moral stance or guideline. Some, like Claire and Ying, had their processes spurred by a non-conformist family background. All of them have carefully thought about their moral stances and choices in life and this has made them able to take the step to become moral non-conformists.

Family support

Parental support and family tradition seem to be important for some of the respondents in their process of becoming moral non-conformists. The support can take different forms. It can consist of building a safe environment where there is a respect, room for independence, and a non-authoritarian parenting style (examples of this is Lei, Roumei, Lars, and Ying). It could also be a different type of support, of implementing a tradition, a family culture which says that “we are people who stand up for our beliefs”, examples of this is David, Louise, Yong, and Baozhai. I have classified Yong as part of this group, he does not talk about family tradition, but the character of his province might be seen as a type of family tradition.

Motivators

Different types of moral non-conforming behaviour might need different types of motivators. When a person is actively seeking an outlet for a moral cause, the intellectual

process might be more important, whereas in an acute situation the impulsiveness or ability to disregard risks might be more important. Therefore, there might be a greater need for an intellectual process for an activist or a vegan than for an intervener. Family culture and support seem to be especially important for the conscientious objectors, and perhaps less so for the activists. Whistle-blowers display a strong commitment to what is right and what they must do. This sometimes comes from an intellectual process, sometimes from a series of experiences that led them to this strong commitment. Few of the respondents indicate one sole reason for their moral non-conforming behaviour, it seems like one reason by itself is not enough. There might be a need for a combination of a supporting family, a catalyst, a job which needs a strong ethical commitment etc., which is needed to instigate a moral non-conforming behaviour. For most respondents more than one of these potential motivators are present. The interveners seem to rely on their own capability and their impulsiveness. They believe themselves capable of handling situations, they are not afraid and do not dwell on possible negative consequences for intervening, instead they focus on the negative consequences of not intervening. For the one respondent who had a moral non-conforming act that was classified as “duty” her family and group belonging seems to have been the most important motivator, but there is also an element of avoidance of guilt. Feeling that she is a part of a group and that this group is an inseparable part of her entity. It is worth noting that it then becomes extremely important which type of morality this group has, as Roumei might perhaps as easily behave immorally if this was the family culture.

Empathy

Previous research on subjects close to moral non-conforming often highlights empathy as a motivator (see chapter 4). In the current study I have seen that there is an empathic component connected to moral non-conforming, but it seems more like an underlying trait that many of the moral non-conformers have (although a large portion does

not mention anything about empathy and/or empathic motivation at all). People having empathy is not surprising, experience have shown that most people do. It is therefore not surprising that moral non-conformers also show empathy.

De-motivation

Some of the respondents bring up consequences of moral non-conforming behaviour as problematic and potentially de-motivating. They have different solutions to deal with this problem sometimes it includes not thinking about these negative consequences and other times not understanding that there are such. In combination with thinking about the negative consequences of *not* intervening such as cognitive dissonance or feeling of guilt seem to be ways that the de-motivating aspects of the negative consequences might be handled.

Conclusions in relation to previous research on moral non-conformity

This thesis is exploratory, as there is little research about moral non-conformers. The studies I have presented in Chapter 4 do not concern moral non-conforming in the broad sense like I have defined it. but rather a specific type of moral non-conforming in a specific context and in a specific time. Of the two main studies presented Tec (1986), and Oliner and Oliner (1988). Tec's study is the one that comes closest to my study, by using mostly open and emergent approaches. Even so, Tec and Oliner and Oliner exclude people that I would include in my definition of moral non-conforming such as people who did not help Jews but protested the Nazi regime in other ways. It is therefore hard to draw any conclusions applicable on moral non-conforming from their research. If we also add the hypothesis-testing approach of Oliner and Oliner (1988), who test hypothesizes without, as far as I can see, any previous research supporting the choices of these specific hypothesis, I believe it is likely that their research is skewed by preconceptions. It is, non-the-less worth noticing that there have

been no major discrepancies between my results and theirs. Some of the moral non-conformers of my study are also, in various ways, discussing the importance of internalized norms, just as Tec (1986) found. Empathy seems to be somewhat important to some of the moral non-conformers in my study but does not seem to play as mayor role as Oliner and Oliner (1988) and Tec (1986) found in their research. Religion does not seem to have played any direct role for the respondents in my study, this is similar to Tec's (1986) conclusions, but Oliner and Oliner (1988) found religion relevant (perhaps because they asked specifically about this). Family values and traditions have shown to be important to some of the moral non-conformers in my study, and this is in accordance with the previous research, but here there might be a confirmation bias. Most of us expect our upbringing and family values to form us as adults, and we might therefore put extra emphasize on this when we think about our own motivation or ask about others'.

Opportunity makes the moral non-conformer

It is important to remember that not all people will encounter situations where a moral non-conforming stance is needed. This means that there might be moral non-conformers out there who are not morally non-conforming, simply because they have never been in a situation which require them to do so. The reverse might also be true, there might be people who have been moral non-conformers but are not anymore, although the situation has not presented itself where they would have performed a moral non-conforming action, had they still been moral non-conformers.

What was not there

I have now discussed the findings in the narratives. But it is also important to see what was not there.

School

For the purpose of this thesis it is interesting to note that none of the respondents brought up school, a class, or a teacher as the source of their moral convictions or capacity. None of the respondents mentioned schools, teachers, or specific subjects as something that influenced their moral non-conforming. All four nations represented in the sample have, to some extent, moral and values written into their school curriculum. Even so, none of the respondents mentioned this at all. It seems to have been inconsequential to them. This is interesting from a societal perspective, when deciding if a society invest in time and money in such classes if they make no difference in people's moral behaviour. A fair point here is to remark that it might be inconsequential to the moral non-conforming behaviour, not to all moral behaviours. While this is possible, one might also think that people that turn up to become moral non-conformers would be more interested in morals, and would therefore have discussed it, being good or bad. They might have said "they taught us moral in school, but I didn't care because I follow my own moral". Instead they do not mention it. On the other hand, it might be possible that they do not mention it because their mind is somewhere else, and they do not reflect about school at all. This is contradicted by the fact that many of the respondents talked about their school, and their identity as students, but said nothing about being taught morals. The only exception seems to be Baozhai. She says that she learned the teachings of Confucius, but she did not mention where she learned this. It might have been in school, but as she discusses the family tradition in relation to this is as likely that she was taught this at home.

Regret

In order to understand if the moral non-conforming behaviour is something that they only engaged in once and will not engage in again, or if this type of behaviour is likely to occur again in their life, I have also looked for entities and predicates tied to "regret". To

regret something might indicate that one will not do it again or do it in another manner. I found very little in form of meaning tied to regret. What this entails is hard to say, but it seems that regret is not an important state for the respondents in this study. Perhaps they do not regret their actions, perhaps this regret has not influenced their actions, or perhaps it is not something that they have reflected upon as something they should do.

National culture

In the beginning of this thesis it was suggested that culture should have an impact on moral non-conforming. I have not found any evidence for a difference in meaning constitution based on which national cultural identity the respondents have, apart from one, the issue of the catalyst. It seems that the Swedish respondents have been in greater need for a catalytic event for them to take the step to become moral non-conformers than the rest of the respondents. What this means remains unclear. It might be something in the Swedish culture that makes Swedes more sensitive to catalytic events, or insensitive to other moral non-conforming cues in their environment making them in greater need for a catalytic event. It might be a result of the sampling procedure that differed in Sweden to the other nations, or it might have to do with a difference in language and in language comprehension as the Swedish respondents are the only ones that I have interviewed in my mother tongue. It might be a result of different ways to tell a narrative, or even different ways to understand the implicit cultural code as the Swedes are the only respondents who come from my own national culture. Either one, all, or none of these explanations seem plausible to me, and I suggest further studies on the matter.

As I have not, apart from the catalyst, found any pattern tied to national culture there might be reason to ask oneself if there is another cultural context than nationality that influences the respondents. Some of them seem to be in the middle of two cultures, they are Chinese but wants to live abroad (Lijuan, Lei), or they have a minority background in some

way (Ying, Louise, David). Being in a minority in society might facilitate a moral non-conforming behaviour as one is already feeling different and separated from the majority, the next step might not be that hard. All respondents mentioned above, apart from Lei, also have a religious background which is not of the majority religion, this might have contributed to a feeling of being different, as they all live in countries where their religion is not the norm.

Differences between retaliation and no retaliation

Following my master thesis, I had divided the respondents into groups, considering if they did something with the risk of retaliation or no risk of retaliation. In the present study I found no patterns tied to these groups. It does not look as if risk for retaliation or no risk for retaliation is important to the respondents moral non-conforming, even if the way they chose to moral non-conform seems to be tied to some patterns, and the type of moral non-conforming in its turn is tied to retribution or not.

Teaching moral non-conformity

To return to one of the objectives of this thesis; Is it possible to teach people to become moral non-conformers? Another question is if it is in our interest to do so, but I will address this issue later.

Whistle-blowing, activism and intervening seem to be facilitated by an intellectual process, to have thought about moral issues and dilemmas, to feel that one has competence enough to deal with the issues, and a measure of impulsiveness, internalized norms. For activists and whistle-blowers an important aspect, which is also possible for schools to incorporate in their curriculum, is the intellectual process of moral non-conformity. The experience of thinking about one's own moral stance and actions, to debate and discuss moral dilemmas and moral viewpoints would probably make for an environment that facilitates moral non-conforming. This is possible to do in a classroom. For a teacher in any

subject to debate ethical and moral issues, and make the students reflect on their own stances. It is important for teachers encourage this debate, and to show that taking a stance matter. Teachers should not shy away from moral discussions.

Empathy seem to be more important for interveners than for the other groups. As does the ability to ignore possible negative consequences and to feel guilt. Making students reflect about other people's situations might help the students in their perspective-taking and might promote intervening as a moral behaviour. At least it might encourage understanding for other people in these situations. In these cases, some kind of previous engagement such as volunteering might facilitate helping. Schools might encourage volunteering by providing opportunities for this, as well as encouraging students by taking an interest in things that they are already interested in, thus showing them that they can make a difference in these areas. Perhaps schools should invite organisations who work with these issues to the school and thereby promoting activism.

Family support and tradition in schools

Many of the respondents report a family tradition where moral is important and moral non-conformity is a part of life, this seems especially important for the conscientious objectors. Sometimes they follow the same morals displayed by their family, but in other cases, such as for Ying and David they choose another moral direction, but the upbringing and family tradition facilitated for them to take this step. A school can never be a family, but as in the case with Yong, the culture of his province became the equivalent of a moral family tradition and perhaps teachers and schools can become a surrogate. By taking a stance, by adopting moral codes and values as teachers and school personnel (such as always interrupt bullying, to teach moral values such as solidarity etc.) they might form a good base for cultivating moral non-conformers. Combining this with the intellectual process of discussing and teaching morals and ethics might render the students to feel like competent moral agents

who know what they stand for, so that when a situation with an opportunity for moral non-conforming takes place they will already be prepared and know what to do. Something that for example Mia said was very important for her. For the impulsive moral non-conformers, the talking about moral might affect their impulsive actions to become moral, through priming or perhaps a change in character.

Teaching morals

To teach a “moral tradition” should not be confused with teaching moral as a set of rules or principles. The respondents who have mentioned a moral tradition in their families do not necessarily follow the same moral rules as their families, but they seem to believe that it is important to uphold their moral. They have not been taught what moral they should have, but that it is important to maintain their moral principles, which ever these might be. To teach moral non-conformism is like saying “you should eat when you are hungry” but not telling the person what to eat (“you should stand up for your moral, but we will not decide what moral is yours”). I suggest that schools do the same, by discussing and implementing a culture of moral tradition.

Professional moral

Mia and Lars are both examples of people who have a high professional moral. This is might be something that a school can teach, perhaps in particular as part of the curriculum in specialized education such as nurses-programs or in the police academy. Mia teaches such a class at the Swedish Police Academy, and she says that she would have wanted something similar during her own training. Teaching students how to handle the moral dilemmas and situations that they might encounter in their future profession might be a way to enforce a professional moral in the students, while also giving them the instruments to handle the situations.

Teaching morals as a set of rules

Most nations have a moral component in their education, the teaching of moral in school is an old tradition in both Western and Asian philosophy and education (Althof & Berkowitz, 2006; Yu-Lan, 1948). Moral education is not unproblematic however, as it is often set out, not to let the students themselves find a personal moral, but to teach the “correct” moral of the society.

Even if all the nations represented have moral in one form or another in the mandatory curriculum, none of the respondents mentioned school as a place where they had learned to become moral non-conformers. The reason for this might be: a) the programs are useless, they do not teach morals at all, b) the programs focuses on other type of moral situations, not the moral non-conforming behaviour, c) the programs are so effective that everything in them is so evident for the respondents that they do not feel the need to explain it, it is just the way things are.

To teach a moral set of rules or “national values” is not only unfruitful for the process to create moral non-conformists, it is possible that it does the opposite. The state teaches the “right” moral rules (i.e. the moral values of the state) and by doing so it marginalizes people with values that differs from the state sanctioned ones. If the purpose of such classes is to make sure that everyone follows the same moral values it might not be the right approach, simply knowing what is “right” does not equal agreeing with it or acting accordingly. Furthermore, teaching morals in schools as a set of “national values” is an authoritative approach. Looking at the respondents of the present study, it seems that open discussions and encouragement of independent thought and behaviour seem to have been a more fruitful way to create moral non-conformers.

Reviews of moral educational programs have shown that teaching morals requires a dialogical effort. Simply saying which moral is good and which moral is bad does not make students more inclined to act morally. There is a high risk that it is the moral of the state that is taught when moral is taught as learned facts, and not as a discussion or a process. As long as the state moral is working for everybody that might be fine, but the problem is that state moral is not always good, and it is hard to adapt to unforeseen situations. There is also a trust issue. The state, or perhaps the teacher who here represents the state, does not always behave according to the principles taught. For example, if moral education states that everybody should be treated like equals and the teacher is having favourites, or the state does not give healthcare to illegal immigrants, it is easy for the students to treat the moral education as lip service. Then the school is teaching lip service, not moral behaviour (Cooley, 2008).

Dialogic teaching

One technique which has been suggested as a way of developing moral competence in students is the dialogic teaching (English, 2016), which closely resembles collaborative inquiry (Cam, 2014). Here the two techniques will be treated as one and called dialogic teaching. This technique centres around the teacher engaging in a teaching dialogue with her/his students, subjects are discussed, and the teacher needs to be open to new experiences and directions. It is done with a combination of the teacher steering the dialogue so that the topics and facts necessary to understand the subject form a natural part of the dialogue, and a discussion-based exchange of experiences and problem solving where the teacher act as a moderator but should equally be open to new experiences. This type of teaching has been suggested to be especially good for encouraging moral development in students. The results from this thesis seem to support this. Although no respondents brought up school as a place where they learned, or formed, their moral foundation, some respondents

brought up their home environment as a place where they learned how to act in moral situations. In this environment it seems to have been important that their parents listened to them and treated their life-choices and opinions with respect, although perhaps not always with approval.

Dialogic teaching gives the students room to make mistakes, and to look at a problem from different angles making their own choices (Cam, 2014; English, 2016). This pedagogy resembles the way that Louise, Lars and Ying describe their parents treating them as children. To teach children to use their own judgement and to train them in critical thinking might develop children's moral competence (Cam, 2014) and be one of the ways which we can promote a moral non-conforming behaviour in a situation where such is needed. The dialogic teaching does not only strengthen moral and thinking, but also a sense of community and empathy as the students are forced to listen and reflect on other people's ideas and thoughts without prejudging or lapse into personal attacks or acts of aggression (Cam, 2014; English, 2016). A possible drawback with the dialogic pedagogy and method is that it might be hard to implement in some educational cultures such as China (Cheung & Lee, 2010) where the pedagogic tradition is more authoritative and lecturing.

Volunteering as part of the curriculum

Another possibility arises, perhaps it is not within the school and the classroom itself where moral is taught, but in real life situations. In that case schools should aim to get their students to volunteer for social causes in order to gain the real-life experience which might turn them into future moral non-conformers. This could be one way to give students their own version of a catalyst, without having them go through a painful process.

This is preferably done by letting the students decide how, where, and with what they are interested in engaging. It is important that it is not the teachers who decide what the

students should engage in. It should be emphasized that it is the students' moral choices that counts. To support the students in taking a moral responsibility and respecting their own moral. This might give the students confidence and a feeling of moral competence. "I am capable to engage in moral activities".

Supporting parents

Perhaps moral education should not be given in schools at all. Perhaps it is better taught in families (just as we have seen in this study). If an open climate, without physical punishments and dogmatism paired with examples of moral non-conformism encourages moral non-conformism in children, we might put the responsibility of teaching this on the parents. With guidance, and perhaps laws prohibiting physical punishments, we might teach parents how to raise moral non-conformers. This is possible to do parallel to working with this in schools, perhaps the whole society should be engaged in form in moral non-conformers. The state should set a good example, not to say one thing and do another. This is, however, problematic in another way. To be a moral non-conformer can be dangerous, and if we encourage parents to make their children moral non-conformers it might be argued that we are teaching parents how to put their children in danger.

Confidence and Skill

Yong discusses how he is the best student but also the worst, something he seems to be proud of. He believes himself very talented in his profession, and the subject he is studying, but he also believes himself a troublemaker, something he believes he can afford to be because of his talents. Being best at what he does gives a moral superiority. Lijuan is saying similar things, she also believes that she can "afford" being a moral non-conformist as she is good at what she does, she is a good student and she is talented in her profession which, in itself is a moral thing to be. This makes it easier for her to become a moral non-conformist.

Lei is also saying similar things, he has a high academic performance which makes it easier for him to make decisions according to his moral, as he can cover for the social stigma that this might bring by being very good in his subject. The same notion is present in Lars' narrative, he also says that he is very good at his profession, but he does not use this as a basis for having the moral foreground, but instead to explain why he knew he was right when he blew the whistle. Simon believes himself to be smarter than other people (a "type-A person") and able to see things other people do not. It seems important for the respondents to feel competent at what they do before they go out and become moral non-conformers, or at least feel more talented or smarter than others. It seems that they need first to fulfil the moral duty of being the best at what they do, before they have earned the moral capital to go against the group. Thus, a sense of competence might be a good motivator for any of the moral non-conformists. Teaching skills, a sense of pride in what one does, and a feeling of competence might, in this way of looking at teaching moral non-conformism, be as effective as teaching moral to create moral non-conformists. If a person feels secure in her/his role, competent, and skilled, then he/she has a good platform from where he/she can become a moral non-conformer. He/she can afford to disagree with the group on this, as he/she knows that he/she is more than qualified within her/his role. Seeing it from this perspective would render the conclusion that schools should focus on teaching their subjects well and nurturing a sense of competence and confidence in their students.

Where does this lead us?

Becoming a moral non-conformer takes confidence. Confidence in one's own skills and abilities, a professional and personal moral, and a disregard for the negative consequences, or at least a sense of knowing one can handle them. Teaching confidence in schools should therefore be a high priority if we want to achieve more moral non-conformers. Confidence is often achieved by success. Helping our students to overcome difficulties,

giving them challenging, yet not impossible tasks, and guiding them through the process of doing these tasks might be one of the ways we can achieve confidence in our students. The intellectual process also seems to be important to many moral non-conformers. Giving students the opportunity to think about moral situations and dilemmas, listening to them, and perhaps employing a dialogic teaching where there is an encouragement of presenting ideas, being open to new ideas, and critical thinking should therefore increase the number of moral non-conformers. Students need to learn by example as well. Seeing teachers and other representatives for authority and society stand up for their beliefs and not succumbing to group pressure might make them more prone to moral non-conforming. To employ a strategy where this is the school culture, that there is room to stand up for one's beliefs, that there is no harsh punishment for this, and where teacher and other staff show students how to do it is important. Combining this with experience, perhaps in form of encouraging activism and volunteering. Listen to the students and help them to get engaged in causes important to them, thus forming experiences that might lead them to become moral non-conformers. To take personal responsibility for a situation seems to encourage moral non-conforming, perhaps especially in intervening and whistle-blowing situations. The feeling of guilt is connected to responsibility (we seldom feel guilty for things we do not feel responsible for). Teaching students to earn up to their mistakes, apologize to each other, and trying to teach them to put themselves in another person's situation might encourage them to take personal responsibility. When it comes to independence the results point in two directions. To have an independent sense of self seems to facilitate a moral non-conforming behaviour, but so does a high identification with a non-conforming subgroup.

As a sense of competence seems to be important as well, schools could foster this by doing their job. Teach skills, do it well, so that the students come out feeling competent in their subjects and professions. This promotes the process of becoming a moral

non-conformer. We should change moral curriculums in schools to teach these things: competence, confidence, critical thinking, independence and responsibility. These things seem to be much more important to moral behaviour than teaching moral itself.

Do we want it?

Now is the time to ask the obvious question: do we want moral non-conformers? They go against society and mainstream culture, is it in our interest to encourage this type of behaviour? In the examples of this thesis the respondents have chosen causes that are relatively easy to agree with. There are other possible moral non-conformers who have ideologies which are less easy to sympathize with, such as militant Neo- Nazis. It all depends what moral one believes is right. If we teach moral non-conforming it is possible that these types of violent moral non-conformists also grow in numbers, not only the moral non-conformers with an agreeable moral agenda.

It is possible to ask if moral non-conformity is even moral. As many of the Chinese people I talked to in the process of this study pointed out the mere action of going against the group, to be disloyal or breaking the harmony might be considered immoral. Haidt and his colleagues (Haidt & Graham, 2007a; Graham et al., 2011; Graham, Haidt, & Nosek, 2009) have found a five-factor theory of moral, one of these factors are in-group loyalty and another is respect for authority. It might then, be considered immoral to be a whistle-blower or a vegan even if the cause is just. The mere notion of not acting according to group norm or obedience to authority might be considered immoral.

The next question is; Is it even possible for a society to encourage non-conforming behaviour as it then becomes the conforming norm? As soon as we start teaching it, moral non-conformism becomes the norm (provided we succeed), ergo it is not non-conforming anymore.

It is also possible to ask if we need moral non-conformers. Do they have an important role to play within a society or are they only to be seen as disruptive forces? This might vary from culture to culture. It is perhaps, possible that we need moral non-conformers in one culture, but that they are redundant or even dangerous in another. It is also important to ask ourselves if we are willing to take the risk of “bad” moral non-conformers (i.e. people who have a violent, racist etc. agenda), is worth the possible gain from fostering the good moral non-conformers. “The road to hell is paved with good intentions” as the proverb goes.

Limitations

This study presents potential ways to increase or motivate moral non-conforming behaviour. It is important to understand that this is only providing an environment where we make the possibility for the moral non-conformism to thrive, not a guarantee that this might happen. Nothing is what it is without its context, and each context is unique as a unity. I cannot, and do not aim to, generalize, or talk about causal relationships. What I can say is that this seems to be how these moral non-conformers constitute their life-worlds.

Possible problems with the study

As in all research this study has its problems. First, I would like to mention language and cultural issues, richness of the material, my preconception, and the social background of the participants.

Language

The data analysed in this study is language-based. Language is a marvellous tool for communication, but it is far from flawless. Few words have one, exact meaning, most meanings of words (like everything) is determined by their contexts. This is very convenient. Languages needs to be inexact and context-bound. Some misunderstandings are important, or rather, it is often, in social situations important to leave the door open for different

interpretations in order to avoid unnecessary conflicts and misunderstandings. Unfortunately, this wonderful trait of human language can become a problem within the frame of research. Especially when more than one language and different levels of knowledge of that language is involved. As the people I have spoken with, as well as the interpreters I have worked with, and myself have different proficiency in the languages used for the data gathering, there might be misunderstandings and problems with misinterpretations in the sample due to language and cultural barriers.

Knowledge of the context is important to understand what someone is saying and when interviewing people with whom you share no previous context it is easy to misunderstand, overexplain, or take non-evident things for granted. The distance in context between me and my respondents have been different from person to person, but it has always influenced my possible interpretations of their narratives. Adding a language barrier to this distance, and perhaps even an interpreter, will further distort the analysis, and it is impossible to know how much and in which direction.

Language has also influenced the criteria by which I have selected my respondents. As I have no proficiency in the Chinese language, I have been dependent on translators or interviewing respondents who speak English. English speaking people in China are almost always from the middle class or the wealthy class. They almost always have a university education, and most of them have the experience of meeting many foreigners either as exchange students or because they are working for international corporations or have a general interest in meeting foreigners and foreign culture, sometimes because they dream about moving abroad. This is not the norm in China, most people do not speak any English, and have limited experience with foreigners. Many of the people I have had the possibility to interview might therefore already be different from the societal norm, or at least feeling

different from it as they have sought connections outside their immediate society or have a dream about doing so.

Method, analysis, and culture

During the process of this thesis I have learned about the challenges of gathering data in different cultures. I started out with a Swedish sample, which is relatively easy for me as we share a common understanding and language. In the textbooks covering qualitative methods and interview techniques I had not come across anything about the difficulties I was going to experience once I went to China to continue the data gathering. I shared my experiences with two other researchers, Alice Blanchin, a French researcher who had similar experiences, and Li Sihong a Chinese professor who I asked to help me understand the difficulties. The result became an article which I will refer to for further details (Gustafsson Jertfelt, Blanchin, & Li, 2016). The consequence of these difficulties was that I had to adapt my way of data gathering. This is one of the reasons that the sampling procedure differ between China, Sweden, and France. It has also affected how I have made the interviews. In Sweden I used the classic open-ended interview where I am alone with the respondent, giving her/him the opportunity to speak freely without anyone else overhearing. This method proved to be difficult in China. Some of the interviews I made there such as with Lijuan, Yong, and Lei, were conducted in this manner, but in other cases this was not possible. Some of my respondents did not want to participate by themselves but wanted a friend present. In many cases I needed to share some personal information, perhaps by having lunch with the respondent beforehand, in order to make them comfortable enough to open up. I often had to start the interview with a more thorough explanation of the subject, and it was harder to ask open questions as it often led to some confusement as to what I wanted to know. As the notion of moral no-conforming is somewhat alien to many Chinese I had to use an emergent design when finding respondents. I therefore made many interviews on the subject, with all sort of

people, not just known moral non-conformers, but everyone who was willing. During the interview some turned out to be moral non-conformers and therefore relevant to my study. It was also hard to find secluded places to make interviews. China is a crowded country. People tend to live in small apartments where it is hard to make room for guests, and if they might, it is impossible to find a private area of the apartment. I therefore interviewed many in semi-public places, or in the presence of their families.

The inside perspective and the outside perspective of culture

There are many possible perspectives of culture, as we saw in Chapter 2. Some of the perspectives maintain that there is a need for an inside perspective to understand culture, some say it is possible, and even preferable to have an outside perspective as it is easier to find the implicit cultural meaning when using such a perspective. If I and the respondent do not share the same culture, then it is easier to see what a culture specific behaviour is. We do not question our fundamental cultural beliefs until they conflict with another persons' practice.

It is therefore hard to say if it is positive or negative to be of another culture than the respondents. I might see things that they overlook because they take it for granted, or they might explain thing to me that they would not explain to a person from the same culture, because they believe it to be evident for them. Apart from this it is also possible that I have missed some of the significance in what they say, I might also put too big emphasis on things that they just told me in order for me to understand the cultural context.

The richness of the material

This is a twofold problem. First, there is a difference in the richness of the narratives collected from the different respondents. Some narratives are very long, some are quite short. It follows that a longer narrative has the possibility to contain more information than a short (note that it does not always have to be the case, the content of the longer

narrative does not automatically have more relevant content than the shorter). This might influence the analysis somewhat. Perhaps there is too much information in the longer ones, drowning what they really want to say or perhaps I have overlooked relevant information in the shorter ones because it is only mentioned once. The second problem is the vast amount of material I have gathered. I have more than 20 hours of interviews, not only from moral non-conformists but also from other people that I have interviewed in the course of the data gathering. In an in-depth analysis like this it is impossible to use all this data, and to present an analysis of all the possible perspectives of such a large amount of data. I have tried my best to make a good selection, but in doing a selection I have already let my preconceptions of what is important influence my analysis.

Preconceptions and patterns

In the beginning of this chapter I write that I have found some patterns. Patterns are always problematic. My motivation for writing this thesis is that I believe that there might be some patterns uniting moral non-conformists, other than being moral non-conformists. Had I not believed thus there would not have been much purpose to my study. The problem is that we often find what we are looking for. I have tried to stay open when it comes to which types of patterns to discover, but I have looked for patterns none-the-less. There is therefore a risk, as it is in all studies, that I have found patterns where there might be none, or weak, just because I was motivated to find them. This problem can come from the other direction as well, my respondents know (or suspect) that I am looking for a pattern, so they might present things that are “pattern like” in order to help me.

I have, of course had, some preconceptions about what I might find and the moral non-conforming in general. First, I work after the assumption that moral non-conforming is a desirable trait. This is far from granted. My personal viewpoint that it is good to stand up for your personal moral in an immoral environment might have influenced the

way I have selected respondents, conducted interviews, and analysed their answers. Secondly, I have a western left-liberal moral framework. This means that I believe that harm reduction takes priority over group harmony, I believe in fundamental human rights, I believe in equality and equal opportunities for all etc. My values and morals have most likely influenced all the steps of my research, from choosing the topic to the analyse. They have probably also affected my respondents. Even if I have not explicitly said anything about which type of moral that I believe in, I might have given implicit signs when people have said something I do not agree with, which might have skewed my sample so that most of the respondents have discussed moral behaviours that I agree with.

The social background of the participants

Most of the participants in this study have been found through contacts within or close to universities. Some are students, some are teachers, some hold other qualified jobs, but they are mostly middle class and educated. There are some exceptions, and I would also like to add that I, in China interviewed several people from working class environments although none of them were classified as moral non-conformists. It is possible that this skewness in my selection process has affected the results.

Suggestions for future research

I think we should look at how confidence, competence, critical thinking and responsibility is taught in schools today. There is a need for more studies concerning if the moral courses that we teach make a difference, and if the motivators that I have found in this research might be incorporated into the curriculum. Additionally, we should look at the “dark side” of moral non-conforming. Do the people with more violent and non-humanistic agendas show similar motivation, and put similar meaning into their moral non-conformism?

I also believe we should explore more types of moral non-conforming and look at the situations. Are there many potential moral non-conformers out there who have not found their “trigger”? In that case, can we change the situation or people’s view of situations to facilitate moral non-conforming?

Furthermore, it would also be interesting to look at how moral non-conformers are viewed by other people in their societies, and to look at this in different cultures and contexts. Is moral non-conforming considered good in some instances, and not in some? How do we judge these instances? We might also look at the consequences of moral non-conforming for a society to investigate if we do, indeed, need them. A longitudinal study of the benefits of moral non-conforming would also be advisable. Does it affect society in the long run?

Last Words

I have had the privilege to work with a subject that touches most people. To search for an explanation, a meaning of moral non-conformism, of the ones who say “No, I won’t stand for this” has been incredible. First, I have met courageous and dedicated people who have graciously given me their time and pieces of their life for me to explore. I owe each and every one of them sincere thanks. It has been truly inspiring. Secondly, I have had the privilege to have a good and understandable answer when people have asked me “So, what is your thesis about?”. The subject is complicated and multifaceted, but it is at the same time easy to understand. We have all heard of them, most of us wish we had their courage, and some of us have. The rest of us wants to learn. How do we the right thing when it is so hard to do it?

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