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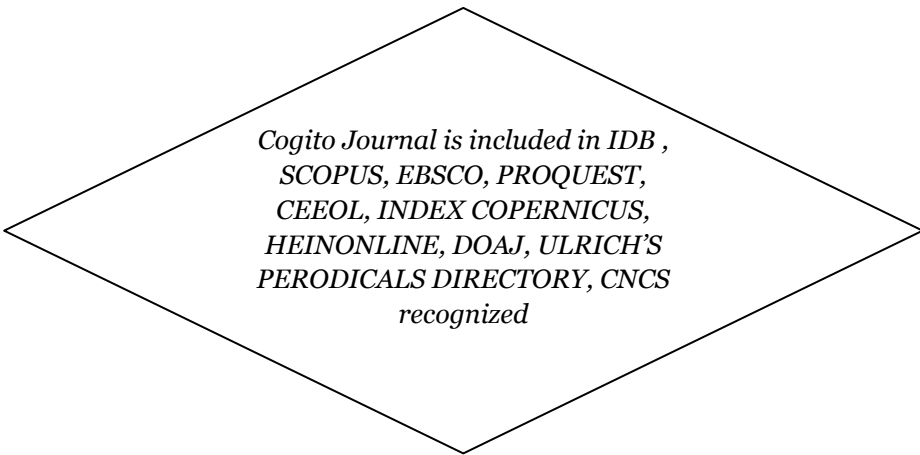
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DIGNITY, DEMOCRACY, DIVERSITY XXIX WORLD CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR PHILOSOPHY OF LAW & SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

Lucerne, Switzerland
7-12 July 2019

In July 2019, the University of Lucerne and the Institute for Interdisciplinary Legal Studies hosted *the 29th World Congress of the International Association for the Philosophy of Law and Social Philosophy*, focused on *Dignity, Democracy and Diversity*.

At a first sight analysis, we note the inter and transdisciplinary character of the issue of the Congress, very generous and up-to-date, which favored a wide participation of over 1,000 specialists in the field of legal sciences and philosophy of law, university professors, researchers, members of the associations of philosophy of all the countries represented in the International Association of the Philosophy of Law, presided by Professor PhD. Mortimer SELLERS. We mention only a few countries that have been represented by specialists in the field at this important scientific event: USA, Australia, Canada, Japan, China, Germany, Colombia, United Kingdom, Italy, Portugal, France, Switzerland, Poland, Romania, Hungary, etc.

We consider particularly significant the special theme of the 2019 Congress which was "*Dignity, Democracy, Diversity*". Why such a theme? Why have we chosen to write about these concepts? We intend to present the ideas that were the guideline of this international scientific event and which are specified in the Congress Program¹. The concept of human *dignity* has become a major aspect of current international discussions in today's legal and social philosophy – a debate that has been characterized by critical and deconstructive perspectives on the one hand, and more affirmative approaches on the other. The congress aimed to explore the intricacies of the idea of human dignity in the context of the theory of human rights, its conceptual history, content, justification, critiques and the various ways in which it has been articulated in different cultural contexts. In addition, we proposed to shed light on innovative and contentious approaches to dignity, referring in particular to the concept of dignity of animals and even of nature in general – a concept exemplified by the Swiss constitution's protection of the "dignity of living beings" alongside with human dignity.

¹ <https://www.ivr2019.org/programme>

At present, **democracy** faces several problems – from threats issued by new antidemocratic political forces to challenges posed by recently developed forms of political discourse and mobilization mediated by the Internet. Given such challenges – and in view of the long and specific tradition of democracy in Switzerland (both representative and direct) – we proposed to address questions of contemporary democracy as one of the main themes of the congress. In particular, we aimed to focus on the apparent crisis of the representative system and on the various challenges with which it has to contend at present – from populism to more participatory, direct forms of democracy that have been made possible by the advent of the digital era (e-democracy, liquid democracy).

The concept of **diversity** refers to the cultural and religious pluralism of the modern world and the questions such pluralism presents for political and legal systems. It embraces the variety of forms of life but also alludes to processes of distinction and differentiation that may conflict with the principle of equality. The congress addressed in particular the theoretical challenges implied by this pluralism for the concept of law and democratic citizenship: can the results of an ever-more globalized world be met with a politics of accommodation and/or integration, or do these challenges indicate that globalization is approaching its limits and that a new 'localization' is beginning to supersede it?

Within this overarching framework, we specifically encouraged research on the interplay between **dignity**, **democracy** and **diversity**. Numerous questions were raised in this respect, including – but by no means limited to – the following: Is human dignity of foundational importance for the conceptualization, legitimacy and normative structuring of democracy and political autonomy? Or is it rather dispensable for a theory of democracy? Are there limits of majoritarian decision making created by human rights? How can religious, cultural and linguistic diversity be accommodated in democratic structures? Does diversity conflict with the idea of universal human rights and of human dignity? Or is diversity best accommodated within the framework of these concepts? Are certain forms of democracy (e.g. direct vs. representative democracy, centralized vs. federal democratic systems) better or less suited to accommodate diversity?

The research on such topics is to be embedded in perspectives which focus on the international order and the effort of establishing the global rule of law. This outlook is productive for attempts to properly reconstruct and assess the structure of contemporary legal systems in a transnational perspective, taking account of both trends of further globalization and thrusts towards new forms of localization. The purpose was to focus on the international order and the effort of establishing the global rule of law. The

purpose of the Congress was to properly reconstruct and assess the structure of contemporary legal systems in a transnational perspective.

We can therefore appreciate that the aim of this scientific manifestation was to open a discursive space for reflection and discussion on pressing human rights concerns, on the contemporary challenges of realizing political autonomy, and on questions regarding cultural pluralism, citizenship and integration. It is worth mentioning, at the same time, that the issues at stake in the Congress debates, both the Plenary speeches and those submitted within the workshops were of interest not only to legal and social philosophers but also to policy-makers, NGO representatives, practicing lawyers and the general public, as well as academics from various disciplines, thus promoting a wide-ranging dialogue, open to diverse points of view, in tune with the cognitive-rational and critical perspectivism.

The selected topics of the Congress are not to be understood as exclusive. Proposals, observations and suggestions were made for all areas of legal philosophy, legal theory and jurisprudence. Valuable contributions that may open new perspectives on the interfaces of the law with other areas of human social activity were made.

The scientific **Agenda** of the Congress included the following activities: Plenary Lectures, Evening Plenaries, Evening Events, Special Workshops, Working Groups. Without going into the details of the program that can be viewed on the site dedicated to the event--**ivr2019.org**, we would like to note the topicality of the problems addressed in the Plenum of the Congress, the diversity of the approaches in the special workshops and working groups, thus noting the coherence of the approaches in the field, as well as the importance given to topics of great news and interest such as as immigrants, ecology, religion, gender etc., these being subordinated to understanding and respecting human rights everywhere, regardless of race, religion, sex, gender, culture etc.

In the **Plenum** of the Congress, papers focused on the topic of the Congress were presented, as follows: **Dignity: An Equality Analysis** - Catharine A. MacKinnon Elizabeth A. Long (Professor of Law, Michigan Law & James Barr Ames Visiting Professor of Law at Harvard Law School), **Human Rights Overreach** - John Tasioulas (Chair of Politics, Philosophy and Law and Director of the Yeoh Tiong Lay Centre for Politics, Philosophy and Law, King's College London), **The Islamic View of Humanity** - Azizah Y. al-Hibri (Professor Emerita of Law, Richmond School of Law & Founder and Chair, KARAMAH: Muslim Women Lawyers for Human Rights), **The Future of Human Rights: An Ecological - Experimentalist Approach** - César Rodríguez-Garavito (Executive Director of the Center for Law, Justice and Society, University of the

Andes, Colombia), **Rescuing Human Rights: Challenges of Identity and Pluralism in an Age of Globalisation** - Neus Torbisco-Casals (Visiting Professor in International Law & Senior Research Fellow, Hirschman Centre for Democracy, Graduate Institute, Geneva), **Natural Law, Cognitive Science and Human Rights** - John Mikhail, (Research Professor, Georgetown University), **Diversity: Importance and Relevance** - Yoshiki Wakamatsu (Professor of Law, Gakushuin University, Tokyo), **Human Dignity: Challenges, Controversies and Promise** -Heiner Bielefeldt (Professor of Human Rights & Human Rights Policy, University of Erlangen-Nuremberg and former UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief (2010-16), Peter Schaber (Professor of Applied Ethics, University of Zurich) and Simone Zurbuchen (Professor of Modern and Contemporary Philosophy, University of Lausanne).

There were **151 special workshops**, problematized and focused on debating extremely diverse issues of the philosophy of law, from the ***Theory of Legal Evidence. Evidence and Recognition in Law and Legal Theory*** up to ***Gender, Democracy and Human Rights, European Democracy in Crisis - the Uses and Abuses of Dignity***, from ***Re-Assessing Rights of Nature*** to ***Democracy and Globalization*** or ***Human Dignity in Europe***. There were also **28 Working Groups** envisaging primarily the theorization and epistemic delimitation of the fundamental concepts included in the Congress theme, but also adjacent issues such as the relationship between philosophy and jurisprudence, human rights, democracy, law, education and citizenship, current issues such as: Migration, Immigration and Refugeehood, Law, Sex and Gender, Conflict, Peace & Transition etc.

As we can see in the Program of the Congress (<https://www.ivr2019.org/programme>), Romania was represented by professors, researchers, specialists in legal sciences, philosophy, philosophy of law, who attended all the proceedings of the Congress, acting in the working groups, some presenting papers in the field of the philosophy of law. The Christian University "Dimitrie Cantemir" was represented by a team made up of: prof. PhD Corina Adriana Dumitrescu - President of the UCDC Senate - who submitted the paper ***"Achieving the Rule of Law - A Fundamental Objective, both for the Philosophy of Law and for Social Philosophy"***, (the text of this communication will be published in the *Cogito. Multidisciplinary Research Journal*, no.4 / December 2019), prof. PhD Ioan Craiovan, director of the International Institute for Human Rights within UCDC, President of the Association for the Philosophy of Law in Romania, who submitted the paper ***"On the Concept of Legal Culture within***

Transdisciplinarity”, dr. Bogdan Cuza, with the paper **“On National culture within Universality - the Romanian Case”**. The team also included: prof. PhD Cristiana Cristureanu, Rector of the UCDC, prof. PhD. Hab. Gabriela Pohoată, editor in-chief of the academic research journals Cogito & Euromentor, associate professor PhD Alexandru Ștefănescu, vice-rector for research activity, graduate of the Faculty of Law, PhD candidate Bogdan Astrid Isabela.

The conclusions drawn, both from the Plenary debates and from the workshops, are meant to emphasize that, today, all over the world, law has been disassociated from ethics, an aspect which reiterates the idea that the relationship between law and morality is the hardest problem of the philosophy of law.² Thus, the legal system must aim to serve justice, both in each country and internationally. Otherwise, it may affect the morality of a community and affect social harmony.³ From this perspective, a large body of opinions has been advocated for the intensification and recalibration of philosophy of law research to the current problems of justice, both nationally, at the level of each country, as well as internationally. The capitalization of the ideas in this field was proposed, in order to better understand and harmonize the social problems that every country and the world as a whole face nowadays.

It is a great honor and, at the same time, a huge responsibility to announce that the next Congress will be organized by the International Association of Philosophy of Law in Romania, at the Christian University "Dimitrie Cantemir" in collaboration with the Romanian Association of Philosophy of Law. The initiative of organizing this Congress, in Romania, belongs to the President of the UCDC Senate, Prof. PhD Corina Adriana Dumitrescu, also promoter of the International Conference of Philosophy of Law with the theme **The Philosophy of Law from Enlightenment to the Contemporary Period**, organized by UCDC, on May 17-19, 2018, Bucharest, Romania, both initiatives being supported by Professor PhD. Mortimer SELLERS, University of Baltimore, School of Law (USA), President of the International Association for the Philosophy of Law and Social Philosophy.

Prof. PhD. Hab. Gabriela Pohoată,
Editor in-chief Cogito & Euromentor

² Georgio Del Vechio *Lessons of Legal Philosophy*, with a foreword by Mircea Djuvara, trad. I.C. Drăgan, Bucharest, Europa Nova Publishing House, 1995, p.199.

³ Gabriela Pohoată, *Is there Law without Ethics?* In *Cogito. Multidisciplinary Research Journal*, vol. X, no.2/June 2018, p. 34-44.

NOMEN EST OMEN

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Abstract: *The problem of naming tradition in cross-cultural situations, caused by extensions of international matrimonies, is quite a new phenomenon. Earlier, it was prohibited due to cultural norms, cultural patterns, which controlled everything. It makes us realize, that our life, thanks to the process of globalization, is full of borderline's phenomena, which become not an exception, but a rule, because the clash of cultures is happening every second and makes us to think comprehensively. We endeavour to rethink all notions about the world and reality, this leads us in turn to use interdisciplinary methods, and bring together knowledge from different fields - in the case of this article, from linguistics, anthropology and philosophy. To observe the name, the anthroponym as a cultural code, people build up new ways of communication, overcoming their customs, traditions, national cultures for finding a path to the Other, and establishing meaningful relationships. That's the only one guarantee for saving our world.*

Keywords: *tradition, international matrimonies, cultural code, identity, onomastics, communication, national culture, Other.*

«And what is the name?

The name – is an appellation. A person. A distinction»¹

Merab Mamardashvili

Introduction

Cultural phenomena, their conditions and crises, were deeply analyzed by J. Ortega y Gasset:

Culture grows from the subjects' life roots and it is – I repeat it again intentionally – a life *sensu stricto*, it is spontaneity, „subjectivity“. Little by little sciences, ethics, arts, religion, juridical norms lost contact with the subject and gained their own solidity, independent signification, reputation, authority. That moment is coming, when the all-creating life itself bows down before its creations, obeys and serves them. The culture is objectified, it has put itself against that subjectivity, which gave it a life.

* PhD.Student, Philosophy, Russian Academy of Science, Institute of Philosophy, Moscow.

¹ Mamardashvili, Merab, *How do I understand philosophy?*, Moscow(Russia), «Progress» «Culture» Publishing Group, (in Russian), 1992, pp.356-364.

Object – *objectum*, *Gegen-stand* – means exactly standing-against, that is confirmed independently and standing before the subject as his law, rule, which drives him. In this point of movement culture triumphs. But this life confrontation, this distance to the subject, must be kept within certain limits. Culture is alive while getting an influx of life from the subject. When an influx is broken, culture becomes estranged, and dry, just becoming a religious rite. Culture has its own birth hour and priesthood time, a lyrical hour and an hour when ossification begins, the hour of completion. In the era of reform, we need to deny our confidence in a completed culture and we need to promote a nascent culture. It means that imperatives of culture are put off, and imperatives of life become dominant. Fidelity, spontaneity, vitality – against culture².

At the beginning of the XXIth century, the distance between person and culture becomes on one hand much shorter, and on the other hand much longer than it ever was, thanks to technological circumstances. Shorter - due to information, which is available from everywhere, and according to semiotic theories about cultures, all of them are built up from it. Longer - because of people, who lose a lot of knowledge parts in this «information torrent». We are also living in the era of reforms. That causes the birth of a new outlook toward everything in our life and new attempts to interpret our customs. During this action we can notice a lot of borderline phenomena that need new approaches for understanding.

The phenomenon of cultural code

The notion of «*cultural code*» was invented by Roland Barthes, who was a French literary theorist, philosopher and semiotician, in his work «*S/Z*». He defined cultural code as a citation from any kind of knowledge's type, like a «voice of knowledge»³, it has an authority, because it was “created” by a collective awareness and represented the universal human wisdom. Cultural code is a piece of ideology, which was produced by social group, and became a stereotype, a determined fact.

It represented a will, the demands of society towards the individual. Its base is a typical opinion of others, like a standard. And anybody is sure that it is an absolute truth, without which he is not able to live: «All cultural code is composed from a numerous citations, totality formed a small, oddly cut out code of encyclopedic knowledge, a kind of mixture:

² Ortega y Gasset, Jose, *El tema de nuestro tempo*, Madrid (Spain) translated by Rutkevich A.M. to Russian and published by Nauka Publishers in 1991, (in Russian), 1955, p.25.

³ Barthes, Roland, *S/Z*, Paris (France), Éditions du Seuil translated by Kosikova G.K. and Murat V.P. to Russian and published by Academic Project Publishers in Moscow, 2009, (in Russian), 1970, p. 67.

this mixture is forming an ordinary 'reality', to which an individual is adapted to. Imperfection of this encyclopedia, a hole in this cultural material, can make somebody to die»⁴.

What will be the fate of cultural code in a nearby future? R. Barthes described it not so optimistic. He thought that they will die out, or moving to another text at any rate. That is his absolute conclusion.

But in this case we have some questions: What will happen if differing cultural codes be crossing? Will it be a reorganization of them or a new essence of cultural code will be born? For finding answers to these questions, firstly we will turn to analyze can we recognize anthroponyms as a cultural codes, and secondly what kind of characteristics will have a new cultural code, that will be born on the crossroads of different cultures?

Antroponym as a cultural code

At the beginning, we need to understand «What it means to be proper names?», because anthroponyms (names of people) are just the subgroup of them, equally, for example, with geographical names (geonym, toponym), etc.

Proper names exactly outline the object, because these are given just for things which human being interested in. It is a unique lexical category, which is noted for enclosed volume of information. These have a direct connection with the object, in nominative-identify function. Proper names represent an individual action of name giving, in order to select an object from the class, as opposed to commons, which are given to the whole class.

The philosophical and culturological proper names overthinking, realized by Y.M. Lotman, a prominent literary scholar, semiotician and cultural historian, gave us that they indicate to the manifestation of human nature, as they are associated with «highlighting the individuality, identity of an individual as the basis of its value for the 'Other' and 'Others'»⁵. This highlighting means a conscious behavior, which is implemented only with the possibility of choice. Proper names turn out to be «catalysts» of tension between an individual (they separate from the team) and a common one (each having a proper name, being a human, has a nominal name too). The human consciousness itself and its existence are based on this dialectic. Without this relationship, the aspiration of man to knowledge, and the entire culture created by him, is impossible.

Culture has different functions, for example esthetics, cognitive, religious, technical and ethnic function. Communicative function is one

⁴ Ibidem, p. 273.

⁵ Lotman, Yuri, *Brain-text-culture-artificial intelligence*, Tallinn (Estonia), Aleksandra Publishers, (in Russian), 1992, p. 30.

type of technical functions. It is based on the symbolic nature of culture that guarantees communication between people.

The presence of such specific cultural information is described in some of her works by A.V. Superanskaya⁶, onomastics classic, in anthroponyms. Anthroponyms are proper names, that naming only people. These are connected with the history of culture, traditions, features of psychology. Personal names include the following forms⁷:

- Official (full) name form.
- Home (short) name form.
- Diminutive form.
- Magnifying form.
- Last name.
- The second names.
- Nicknames.
- Patronymic.

A.V. Superanskaya thinks that the name, being a subject of spiritual culture, has a cultural component. It means that the name reflects the epoch. We can it synonymously correlate to the cultural and historical tradition of people. This feature can explain the renaissance of almost forgotten, ancient names of our times. Like Bogumil (= mil bogu = nice to god), Mstislav (= let it be glorified by revenge over enemies) among male names, or Zlata (= gold), Miroslava (= glorifying the world) among female names. This is a kind of attempt to strengthen the national consciousness through the awakening of its mythological layer, turning to the past in order to oppose it to the objective processes of globalization, the coming future. In this case, ancient names becoming not so much an instrument for the preservation of national, cultural specifics of the people, as a tool for manipulating people, who allow themselves to be turned into an infinite mythologized past, miss their own present, and deprive themselves of the future, but an instrument for the well thought-out violence.

There is an anachronism that can lead to an existential crisis, a state of anxiety in which a person decides the question of the meaning of his own existence – for the cultural component, which reinforces the identity of a person, belongs to the past, while the person himself acts in the present, thus creating the future. The future, reliable knowledge about, which he simply in any form, by definition, cannot be available.

⁶ Superanskaja, Alexandra, 1973, *The general proper name theory*, Moscow (Russia), Nauka Publishers, (in Russian).

⁷ Madieva, Gulmira and Suprun, Vasiliy, „*Anthroponyms as a means of national culture expressing*”, Volgograd (Russia), Volgograd State Pedagogical University, №6, Vo.50., 2010, pp.96-102, (in Russian).

Identity was defined firstly by E. Ericson, a developmental psychologist: «A subjective inspired sense of identity and integrity, which I would call a sense of identity [...]»⁸. The cultural and the personal identity form unity, thanks to common beginning – the past of the people. Therefore, one of the main tasks for the older generation is to offer a young people strong ideals on the basis of which they could form. The individual always feels support in the form of cultural unity. It, according to Ericson, «confirms the authenticity of being»⁹.

These facts contribute to the awakening of the limitless creative abilities of a person, and not to his desire to immure himself in the past, no matter how great or distressful it is. For complete appeal only to the past, rather not even to itself, but to its idealized models, since real knowledge of it to person is also not fully available – this is the tragic funeral of the future.

The contemporary researchers of onomastics, G.B. Madieva and V. I. Suprun, who are doctors in philology, say that anthroponyms, like proper names, are historical and deeply national: «Those ideas (signs, symbols, myths, etc.) that a person puts on them, are in his mind, they are determined by thinking and those social circumstances in which he lives»¹⁰. It means that they reflect the unity of the worldview, the world perception of the people, with all the features of its spiritual, social and material culture.

The possibility of studying the name in the cultural aspect has already paid attention to V.N. Toporov, philologist, linguist, considering the name as a cultural factor. It secures free will for a person, because it can be like a conventional sign, i.e. created artificially, by agreement, and the carrier of higher meaning. It depends entirely on the person that the name will become a tool for sense-building or will be meaningless. But only with respect to the name as an instrument of sense-building is possible a life in the spirit that is born through an onomathetic act, given a name, and therefore its creation, which is culture: «The name is the impulse of culture, because it introduces man into sign space, but it is the result of it, because its meanings grow in the space of culture, it keeps and is

⁸ Erikson, Erik, *Identity: Youth and Crisis*, Moscow (Russia), Flinta and Progress Publishers, (in Russian), 2006, p.28.

⁹ Ibidem, p.40.

¹⁰ Madieva, Gulmira and Suprun, Vasilii, “*Anthroponyms as a means of national culture expressing*”, Volgograd (Russia), Volgograd State Pedagogical University, №6, Vo.50, 2010, pp.96-102, (in Russian).

controlled by it (these particular features make the name one of the most important indicators of the type of culture)»¹¹.

All these facts give us an opportunity to conclude that anthroponyms may be considered as a cultural code. Because, thanks to the cultural component, it is ideologically loaded, and the naming tradition is a determined fact.

Border cultural code: choosing name for bilingual - a child born in international family

In the current situation of globalization, when there is a desire for unity, multiculturalism becomes a reality, establishing equality of values of different cultures, and diversity of participants. Of particular interest is the modification to which established traditions of naming are exposed. What determines the choice of the name today?

This will allow us to see what are the features of the emerging new naming tradition, mainly in the situation of bilingualism, which may be characteristic of the society of the future, and become an organic part of emerging global culture.

According to V.A. Nikonov¹², the choice of a name is limited by such cultural and historical factors as:

- custom (the usual way of human behavior);
- fashion;
- language norms;
- public assessment of the carrier name, which is transferred and assigned to the name (historically specific);
- etymology (the substantive meaning, which was pre-anthroponymic).

We can consider these factors as universal. However, what happens in international families, which are now becoming the rule and not the exception? What should parents do? What to focus on? Or not look for landmarks at all, but to practice name-creativity?

Thus, today there is a risk situation, a clash of at least two, and maybe more, national cultures, which unites different ethnic cultures, forming a single cultural, communicative, informational, semantic, value, symbolic, semiotic, mental space based on compromise, cultural diversity, and

¹¹ Toporov, Vladimir, *Research of etymology and semantic*, V.1.: Theory and some of its private application, Moscow (Russia), LRC Publishing House, (in Russian), 2004, p.382.

¹² Nikonov, Vladimir, *The name and the society*, Moscow (Russia), Nauka Publishers, (in Russian), 1974.

cooperation¹³, if one of the parents is from a multi-ethnic family: «A certain set of names has always been a characteristic socio-ethnographic feature. What are the names of children in families, where the husband and wife belong to nations that in the past differed sharply in the composition of personal names?»¹⁴ We have to give a more exact definition for notion of «national culture». Referring to the initial definition of national culture and its features, to V.M. Mezhuev, whose research interests are following: culture, civilization, history, identity, freedom, dialog and etc.:

1. «National culture exists only in relation to other national culture, in comparison with them, that is, it realizes itself not in the singular, but in the plural form. If there were no other cultures, there would not be it»¹⁵.
2. The principle of the existence of national cultures is, therefore, a personality free in its self-expression and spiritual choice. If a nation can be defined as a collective person (here, as it were, one person for all), then a nation is a group of personalities, each of which has its own unique face¹⁶.
3. «You cannot change your ethnicity given by your parents, but nationality is possible: the first is not dependent on us, is not our personal merit, the second is the result of our choice and the culture we have learned»¹⁷.

There is a historical resolution to these problems, but how relevant are these solutions today? If we assume that cultures cannot be summed up, then the newborn should certainly be included in one of the proposed cultures, which, as a rule, occurs along the line of the father. But parents have another opportunity. They can show family tact – the desire for equality, respect, and oppose themselves to the centuries-old past, sometimes prohibiting their union altogether. As a result, there is a new type of nominal system – neutral. There is a huge weight of unusual names, as the naming traditions are overcome on both sides. By this, it reflects the complex process of restructuring of consciousness.

And during this process a new cultural code – a bordered one – is born.

¹³ Team of authors, *Culture at the turn of the XX-XXI centuries: globalization processes*, Saint-Petersburg(Russia), Nestor-History Publishers, (in Russian), 2009.

¹⁴ Nikonov, Vladimir, *The name and the society*, Moscow (Russia), Nauka Publishers, (in Russian), 1974, p.155.

¹⁵ Mezhuev, Vadim, *History, Civilization, Culture: the Experience of Philosophical Interpretation*, St. Petersburg(Russia), (in Russian), 2011, p.182.

¹⁶ Ibidem, p.186.

¹⁷ Ibidem, p.187.

Conclusion

The following paragraphs are concluded that we can consider name as a cultural code, and precisely it is caused some difficulties in international matrimonies.

The first, name, thanks to the cultural component, is ideologically loaded. Beliefs, ideas, historical aspects were saved in the cultural component. That is why, the naming tradition in one hand is a determined fact by culture and its history, and other hand, at the same time itself is the strongest impulse of culture.

The second, the choice of a name in an international, multicultural family is the situation of the code's birth on cultural border. Cultural border is a place, where people strive for compromise in the form of dialogue, because it is the guarantee of their existence.

The third, people have to tend to overcome their own traditions, and synthesize them with other traditions. That is why borders of culture are a place for creativity and freedom.

In this situation, a live search and construction of meanings is carried out. And in this new, emerging tradition, a person is given the opportunity to form his own independent identity.

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GENDER INEQUALITY IN AFRICA: A RE-EXAMINATION OF CULTURAL VALUES

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Abstract: *Most African societies operate a patriarchal system of male headship and female submission in social relations and marriage. This means male headship and women submission are both cultural and religious values within African society. Since these values define the position and role of sexes within African societies, they also present challenges to the gender equality championed by modernity. This paper attempts to show how some cultural and religious values in Africa contribute to the problem of gender inequality. This paper maintains that these values should be critically assessed, and those found to be inimical to the well-being and holistic development of society, be discarded. In such a way, African culture and values can have their relevance established and sustained in order to give credence to authentic African identity. The paper adopts a philosophical method of critical analysis and exposition.*

Keywords: *Values, African Culture, African Women, African Values, Gender Inequality.*

Introduction

Pilcher and Whelehan state that today's concept of gender came into common usage during the early 1970s¹. They further opined that it was used as an analytical category to draw a line between biological sex differences and the way these are used to inform behaviours and competencies, which are then assigned as either "masculine" or "feminine". The term gender is also applied to refer to social, cultural and psychological aspects of masculinity and femininity. Gender is defined as

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¹ Jane Pilcher & Imelda Whelehan, *Fifty key concepts in gender studies*, Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2011, p. 56

[a] constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, the knowledge that establishes meanings for bodily difference ... This extract emphasizes the social differences between female and male and it is this difference that prevents women and men from participating equally in social, political, economic and cultural life².

Gender is used as a group, and once people decide what you are, they infer everything you do in the light of that. Gender also means the socially defined attributes and capacities assigned to people on the basis of sexual characteristics. These gender attributions form the basis for understanding other aspects of gender such as gender roles (behaving like a male or female) and gender identity (feeling like a male or female)³.

The motivation for this study emanates from the persistent inequality regarding women's gender, particularly their statuses, roles, achievements, predicaments, and even well-being, in Africa. Until recently, owing to the gender role distinction in African traditional values, girls were kept away from school in the belief that education would become a hindrance to their ability to achieve "status" in society as wife and mother. So, traditional African values share the blame for keeping African women away from the type of education which makes the acquisition of skills for formal writing as a craft possible. Also, because of their role as 'submissive' as well as a 'weaker' gender, women are been looked down on.

Despite these considerable difficulties, African women, especially writers, are becoming a force to reckon with in their societies. They have always played significant roles as storytellers, warriors, nurturers, and healers besides the obvious ones as wife, mother, daughter, and sister. The fact that women writers like Flora Nwapa, Ama Ata Aidoo, Buchi Emecheta, Mariama Ba, Bessie Head, and Tsitsi Dangarembga have been writing and reflecting women's special concerns makes a case for gender equality in Africa. The works of these women offer insight into various dimensions of African women's perception of themselves, their roles, and communities. This research joins the voice of these women to challenge the stereotypical image and inequalities expressed towards African women in African societies through the values held within the society.

² Ruspini, Elisabetta, "Gender, Defined." *Encyclopedia of Women in Today's World*. N.p., 2013. Web.

³ Ibid, p.31.

African cultural values

The culture of a people is what marks them out distinctively from other human societies⁴. The study of culture in all its vastness and dimensions belongs to the discipline known as anthropology, which studies human beings and takes time to examine their characteristics and their relationship to their environments. Culture, as it is usually understood, entails a totality of traits and characters that are peculiar to a people to the extent that it marks them out from other peoples or societies. According to Bassey and Okpe, these peculiar traits go on to include the people's language, dressing, music, work, arts, religion, dancing and so on. It also goes on to include people's social norms, taboos, and values⁵. Values here are to be understood as beliefs that are held about what is right and wrong and what is important in life. This is why, a philosophical assessment of African values and culture is not only timely and apt but also proper. Moreover, the centrality of the place of values in African culture as a heritage that is passed down from one generation should be a matter of concern. This paper will try to show some values and cultural practices Africans hold in high esteem and how they contribute to gender inequalities. Having identified some of these values, this research avers that negative dimensions of African culture values have to be dropped in order to promote a more progressive and dynamic society.

The Patriarchal Nature of African Societies.

According to Jewkes, African societies are patriarchal. Patriarchy is a hierarchical social system in which dominant males have controls over females, children and other "weaker" and marginalized people⁶ (1423). In a patriarchal society, this kind of social control penetrates all levels of society and all social institutions, including the institution of marriage. The control of males over females specifically has been linked to one major social issue, namely gender-based violence. In this regard, most African governments have passed laws in an attempt to curb gender-based violence. According to Ngena, in 2006, for example, the government of Zimbabwe passed the Domestic Violence Act (DVA). A newspaper, the Herald, reports that the purpose of the DVA is "to allow maximum protection for survivors of domestic violence, provide relief to survivors

⁴ Akpan, Bassey Samuel, and Timothy Adie. "Eco-Communitarianism: An African Perspective." *Research & Reviews: Journal of Ecology* 7.3, 2019, p.15.

⁵ Samuel, Bassey And Okpe Adie, Eco-Communitarianism: An African Perspective. *Research & Reviews: Journal Of Ecology*, 7(3), 2019, p. 16.

⁶ Rachel Jewkes, "Intimate Partner Violence: Causes and Prevention. Violence Against Women" Iii. *The Lancet*, 359, 2002.

and long-term measures for the prevention of domestic violence”⁷. The introduction of the DVA draws attention to the reality and effect of power imbalances in African marriages. According to Mungwini, surprisingly, The Domestic Violence Act of 2007 was even opposed by a group of married Shona Christian women. This they did through the media⁸. Mungwini further claimed that these Christian women aimed at “protecting their marriages” against those “who claimed to champion women’s rights” but “were not genuine at all but wanted to destroy families and marriages”⁹.

Attitudes such as these serve to reinforce patriarchy in society. It illustrates how women are socialized into accepting “the way things are”, namely that men are superior to women and are entitled to total freedom and to women’s dedicated unquestioning service. These socialized views contribute to women not daring to challenge men and their behaviour, irrespective of how damaging and unjust that may be. The reason for this is articulated by Baloyi as that the “headship of man in the house has been of greater importance”¹⁰ than fairness or the well-being of women. The man’s role is to be honoured and supported as it is. This affects African Christians as well and due to culturally defined customs and principles that govern male-female relations, some Christian men and women find it aberrant to challenge the status quo. Even in some Christian homes, marital relationships are defined mostly by culture. To oppose these roles is to oppose culture and cultural structures. That, for many, is unthinkable.

It is important to state that cultural elements that impinge on people’s lives in the way that patriarchy imposes on the relationship between the sexes, are essentialist. Outcalt avers that: “Essentialism refers to the existence of fixed characteristics, given attributes and ahistorical functions that limit the possibilities of change and of social organisation”¹¹. According to Bourdillon, a renowned researcher of African culture, “a man’s character to an extent lies in the traditions in which he was brought up and the experiences he has undergone, but anyone can change, especially under the influences of outside pressures”¹². Two noteworthy

⁷ Usdin, Shereen, Nicola Christofides, Lebo Malepe, And Aadielah Maker, ‘The Value of Advocacy in Promoting Social Change: Implementing The New Domestic Violence Act In South Africa’, *Reproductive Health Matters*, 8 (2000), pp.55–65

⁸ Ibid p. 53.

⁹ Ibid p. 59.

¹⁰ Elijah, Baloyi, *Patriarchal Structures: A Hindrance To Women’s Rights*. Unpublished Master’s Dissertation, University Of Pretoria, 2007, p.107.

¹¹ Outcalt, Linda, ‘Book Review: The Becoming of Age: Cinematic Visions of Mind, Body and Identity in Later Life’, *Canadian Journal on Aging*, 34 (2015), p.22.

¹² Michael, Bourdillon, *The Shona people*, Revised Edition. Gweru: Mambo Press. 2004, p.3.

aspects are, firstly, that people's character is, to a great extent, affected by the way in which they were raised and, secondly, that a different environment can lead to a new paradigm since people can become detached from the customs learned in childhood. With regard to African Christians, both of these aspects are relevant. Also, some Africans live and work in urban areas, while at the same time they also possess a home in a rural area where they have relatives with whom they have close ties. Even though this group of persons has often become urbanized, a close association with relatives who adhere to traditional culture can lead to the perpetuation of a cultural mindset and cultural customs.

The sexes in the African context: From early childhood to adulthood

Traditional African culture values have specific perceptions regarding headship and submission in marriage. Owomoyela puts it as follows: "In traditional African society, and in those across Africa as a whole, men and women had well-defined roles and obligations that were specific and exclusive to their respective genders"¹³. This means that there are clear boundaries with regard to male and female roles and tasks. A transgression of the boundaries is taboo and people who do not adhere to the rules would face serious consequences. This perceived "proper way" is taught to children from an early age by means of the oral tradition, which is the way in which important information is passed on from generation to generation.

Owomoyela avers that African societies socialize boys and girls in the gender roles expected of them. This is done by means of, for example, circumcision and other initiation ceremonies, as well as fire-stories¹⁴ (89). Regarding this, Mutasa, Nyota and Mapara put it as follows:

folktale has been used and is still being used for didactic purposes ... [It] contain[s] lessons for life, which are applicable to real life situations that are not lesson specific, but like proverbs, they are general and can be applied to most themes as long as the storyteller picks an appropriate Ngano for the situation¹⁵ (36).

'Ngano' in *Shona* culture can therefore be referred to as a "curriculum for life," which teaches children morality and socially acceptable behaviour,

¹³ Oyekan Owomoyela, *Culture and Customs of Zimbabwe*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002, p.9

¹⁴ Mutasa et al. Ngano: Teaching environmental education using the Shona folktale. *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 2,3, 2008, p.89

¹⁵ Mutasa et al, Ngano: Teaching environmental education using the Shona folktale. *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 2, 3, 2008, p.35.

thus preparing them for adult life. Gelfand posits that Africans value these teachings and this training since they ensure that children grow up “well trained and ... ready to accept responsibilities of marriage”¹⁶.

Gelfand describes the value of stories as follows: “Stories go before us, to get us ready for the journey that is about to come into our lives”¹⁷. According to Otiso these stories functioned to socialize young people into a certain mindset in how they “glorified desirable behaviours or moral traits and disparaged the undesirable ones”¹⁸. The result is that, within the traditional African context, boys and girls grow up knowing clearly what is expected of them and how to perform their duties. There is no possibility of role confusion or encroaching on the other’s role. Otiso further puts it as follows: “Grandparents were integral and effective agents because they combined personal life experiences and heroics with freedom to broach sensitive subjects such as sex”¹⁹. Life lessons are learnt in this way.

Gender Status and Roles. Son Preference as a Tradition in African Cultures

This is one of the values Africans hold in high esteem. In many African societies, the birth of a baby boy is received with great joy. According to Baloyi, the rituals are more elaborate with the mother receiving compliments for producing a male child. The father enjoys great delight and pride with the reassurance of continuity of the family line and the protection of his property. The birth of a girl, however, has less ritual with the reduced value attributed to the mother. The reception ceremony is minimal and less colorful²⁰.

Socialization into gender roles

The way in which young people are trained for their respective gender roles in traditional African societies shows that a clear distinction is made between the sexes. Boys and girls perform different roles in the home and outside. In the South African cultural context, for example, young girls are specifically taught to perform motherly roles whereas young boys taught to herd cattle, sheep and goats, and later on as adults, to provide security for their aged parents. Salm and Falola point out those roles in the family “are determined in large by age, gender, and status. Traditional household relationships revolve around rules of family etiquette that demand certain

¹⁶ Gelfand, Michael, *Ukama, reflections on Shona and western cultures in Zimbabwe* Gweru: Mambo Press, 1981, p.313.

¹⁷ Ibid p. p.274.

¹⁸ Kefa, Otiso, *Culture and customs of Uganda*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006, p. 96.

¹⁹ Ibid p.96.

²⁰ Elijah, Baloyi, *Patriarchal Structures: A Hindrance To Women’s Rights* p. 54.

patterns of interaction and determine behaviour models”²¹. The assumption is that such a scenario eliminates all confusion. African boys and girls know exactly what roles and responsibilities await them later in life when (not “if”) they get married. According to Chapman, the idea that a couple should take time before marriage “to discuss and agree upon responsibilities”²² (77) is a Western approach, which is largely rejected by African people.

African males and females are taught their duties, roles, responsibilities, and positions, both in the home and in society. These are prescribed by cultural values in which women are known to be second class citizens. Accordingly, African men and women’s experiences and perceptions of headship and submission in marriage are influenced by their social values in their cultural society. All of this has to be taken into account if gender inequality is to be effectively be eradicated in African societies.

Status and roles of males

According to Mukonyora, in African societies, males are the official guardians of the land and lineage²³ (277). African societies in sub-Saharan Africa are patrilineal, in other words, according to Bourdillon “kinship through males is stressed over kinship through females”²⁴. It is therefore customary that the wife adopts the husband’s surname and belongs with his family rather than with her own biological family of origin. This is viewed as a sign of her submitting to his leadership. Should she not do so, it would be regarded with suspicion in the culture. As part of his duty as the head of his wife and family, the man fosters discipline, not only to his children but also to his wife. Holleman describes it as follows:

A husband is entitled to beat his wife moderately when circumstances warrant such a punishment. Occasional disciplinary actions of this kind are, in fact regarded as normal incidents of married life to which a woman will not seriously object²⁵ (277).

Since husbands in the traditional African cultures are generally allowed to beat their wives, according to Tevoedjre “violence is seen as an

²¹ Salm et al, *Culture and customs of Ghana*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002, p.138.

²² Gary, Chapman, *The marriage you’ve always wanted*. (Chicago, IL: Moody) 2005, p.77.

²³ Isabel, Mukonyora, *Wandering a gendered wilderness: Suffering and healing in an African initiated church*. New York: Peter Lang, 2007, p.2.

²⁴ Michael, Bourdillon, *The Shona people*, p.2.

²⁵ Johan, Holleman, *Shona customary law*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1952, p.277.

acceptable way to settle disputes and exercise control within marriage”²⁶. Females within the traditional African culture are therefore vulnerable to abuse and violence. This cultural justification of force and violence against women is a facet of the subjugation of African women in marriage, including Christian women in Christian marriages.

In the African traditional culture, the husband is seen as the sole provider of his family and the head of the household. This is an aspect taught and ingrained in every male child. It affects their behaviour, and how they view themselves. If an African man fails to provide for his family, he feels inferior or insignificant and insecure as the authority figure in the household. On the other hand, being a provider makes the man feel superior and conscious of the fact that his wife is dependent on him. The extent to which this patriarchal order of control affects females and limits them to the domestic sphere manifests in the attitudes of most African women after their husband has died or after a divorce. A group of African women who were seeking government grants was asked why they should be given the grants. As documented by Charvet, their reasons were: “My husband died so I have no-one to look after me” or “I was deserted by my husband”, or “I do not have a husband”²⁷. This shows how the idea that an African man is the head and sole provider of the family results in “controlling” and disempowering women even after the man is gone.

Status and role of females

European colonialism only reinforced a system of patriarchal control that was already in place within African culture. In African cultures, male dominance and female subordination still prevail to this day. Females have traditionally played a passive role. Females were regarded as the keepers of the home and their roles and responsibilities mainly centered on the home. According to Charvet women in traditional African society are “taught to be obedient and submissive housekeepers”²⁸. The common notion is that women belong in the kitchen, which expresses that their domain does not go beyond household responsibilities, especially cooking and providing food. Women are therefore not in any way involved in crucial decision making. Furthermore, the failure on the part of women to perform their prescribed duties in the home, including performing conjugal duties, taking care of children and doing the cooking, can result in their being punished by the husband. In some cases, it is culturally

²⁶ Tevoedjre, Isabelle, “Violence and the Child in the Adult World in Africa.” *Child Abuse and Neglect* 5.4 (1981), p. 498

²⁷ John Charvet, *Modern ideologies: Feminism*. London: J.M. Dent and Sons Limited, 1982, p.2.

²⁸ Idem, p. 73.

sanctioned that the husband could beat his wife if he deems her inadequate in her role as wife and mother. Also, Messer avers that, with regard to sex, women are at all times expected to satisfy the sexual desires of the husband²⁹. When a man demands sex, the wife must comply without fail. The Zimbabwe Ministry of Education describes the historical situation as follows:

Under the pure African law, a woman was under perpetual tutelage. Before marriage, she belonged to her father or guardian. Upon her marriage, the guardianship passed to her husband and upon dissolution of her marriage, the guardianship passed back to her father³⁰.

The message from culture to women is that they are inadequate as separate human beings and never come of age. They remain dependent as children and are punished as children for “unseemly” behaviour. Traditional African females are socialized to find true meaning for their lives only as people dependent on and subordinate to males. This results in their defining themselves only in relation to men.

Traditional African marriage. Bride Price

In African societies, marriage is considered of the utmost social importance for a number of reasons. According to Salm and Falola, one reason is that marriage serves to establish alliances between families and between communities³¹. Therefore, extended families are involved from the beginning when marriage is initiated. They preside over the *Bride Price* negotiations. This has an impact on the conduct of the wife. According to Auret, “she is still regarded as being subordinate to all her husband’s relatives”³². Female submission is not only about her deferring to the husband, but also to the husband’s relatives. Though there are various forms of marriage contract in African cultures, a marriage contract only comes into effect after the bride-exchange (*Bride Price*) has been done. According to Mvududu *Bride Price* refers to the custom of a man paying

²⁹ Messer, D.E., *Breaking the conspiracy of silence: Christian churches and the global AIDS crisis*. Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress, 2004. p.4

³⁰ Zimbabwe Ministry of Education, *The man and his ways*. Harare: Government Printers, 1970, p.41.

³¹ Salm, S.T. and T. Falola, *Culture and customs of Ghana*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002, p.138.

³² Auret, D., *Females among rural Shona: An anthropological study with reference to kinship and economy*. Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 1985, p. 164.

some form of property, such as for example cattle or goods, for the right or privilege to marry a woman³³.

Today, money is commonly used to pay *Bride Price*. Radcliffe-Brown views the custom of *Bride Price* as some form of compensation given by the bridegroom and his family to the bride's family for the "loss" of their daughter and the investment they had already made in her. After the *Bride Price* has been paid and blessings received from both families, the couple is regarded as married³⁴. It is only after having paid *Bride Price* that the man can claim possession of the wife. According to Mahara, the wife then becomes subject not only to him, but also to his entire family³⁵. The paying of *Bride Price* for her implies that by right she is obligated to meet her husband's needs and to take care of the children. Household tasks, including cooking for the husband, are now her responsibility. Bourdillon describes it as follows: "An inability to cook on the part of a wife is a serious shortcoming, which may lead to the break-up of the marriage ... if she cannot cook she is useless to him"³⁶. In this case, the husband has the right to divorce her, or to send her back to her family to be taught how to cook well.

According to Ngundu, *Bride Price* plays a significant role within the African cultures. Without *Bride Price* a marriage does not officially exist³⁷. According to Stoneman and Cliffe, nearly all traditional marriages in Zimbabwe were and are still expected to involve the ritual with regard to *Bride Price*, "a traditional custom that has endured for centuries"³⁸. This custom has both a positive and negative effect on male-female relations. From an Afro-centric perspective, *Bride Price* is perceived positively according to Gelfand as "an outward manifestation of a young man's love for his wife and it is a safeguard for groundless divorce"³⁹. Gelfand's also expresses a positive regard for *Bride Price* and its effect on the people involved: "I personally would look on the payment of bride wealth as having the effect of giving the woman a value in the eyes of all especially the man. Here is a person who has value; someone who cannot just be

³³ Mvududu, S., *Lobola: It's implications for women's reproductive rights*. Harare: Weaver Press, 2002, p.32.

³⁴ Alfred Radcliffe-Brown, Social sanction, in *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences Vol 13*, 1934 p.531.

³⁵ Mary Mahara, Equality in marriage, in Verry, T.D. (ed.), *Church and marriage in modern Africa*, 158-199. Johannesburg: Zenith Printers. 2001, p.162.

³⁶ Michael Bourdillon, *The Shona people*, p. 49.

³⁷ Onesimus Ngundu, *Mission churches and African customary marriage*. Saarbrücken: LAP Lambert Academic Publishing, 2010, p.42.

³⁸ Stoneman Colin and Cliffe Lione, *Zimbabwe politics, economics and society*. London: Printer Publishers, 1989, p.3.

³⁹ Gelfand, Michael, *Ukama, reflections on Shona and western cultures in Zimbabwe* p.28.

taken”⁴⁰. According to Gelfand, the involvement of this custom signifies how couples and families take marriage seriously and also provides protection for the rights of both men and women⁴¹. More so, *Bride Price* unifies the family of the wife and family of the husband⁴². *Bride Price* furthermore conveys appreciation to the bride’s family for having brought her up well⁴³. The payment of *Bride Price* can be seen as the guarantee for the woman and the children of their right to resources in the husband’s kin group and a place in the kinship structure⁴⁴. This gives women and children a sense of belonging in both the husband’s family and the woman’s father’s family.

Wiley avers that, on the negative side the practice of *Bride Price* is considered by others to be oppressive to women for various reasons. The payment of *Bride Price* is equated with “buying a wife”⁴⁵. Gelfand elaborates as follows: “The fact that a man has paid *Bride Price* for his wife bestows upon him the right to regard her and his children as his property and she knows this”⁴⁶. Bourdillon sees it as the foundation for the husband’s sense of entitlement: “The husband feels that, after all his sacrifices, he has a right to everything that the wife produces”⁴⁷. The result is that the payment of *Bride Price* can be seen as rendering the wife powerless and giving the husband the right to do as he wishes. He paid for her, which means that she is his property, which he can keep or dispose of as he sees fit. It is but a short step to various forms of abuse. According to Ashraf the escalation of violence against women has to do with the large sums of money African men pay for *Bride Price*⁴⁸. The assumption is that this contributes overtly to the control over women by their husbands. Should he judge her to be “under- performing” considering the amount of money he had paid for her *Bride Price*, he has the right to punish or discard her⁴⁹.

From “discipline” and “punishment” to abuse and sexual abuse, is another short step. Married men’s absolute control over all matters sexual does not only infringe women rights and human dignity, but also exposes

⁴⁰ Gelfand, Michael, *Ukama, reflections on Shona and western cultures in Zimbabwe* p.28.

⁴¹ Ibid p.140.

⁴² Ibid p.94.

⁴³ Ibid p.130.

⁴⁴ Ibid p.121.

⁴⁵ Ibid p.363.

⁴⁶ Ibid p.14.

⁴⁷ Michael, Bourdillon, *The Shona people* p.39.

⁴⁸ Ashraf, Nava et al. “Bride Price and Female Education.” *Journal of Political Economy* (2019): n. pag. <http://doi.org/10.1086/704572>.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

them to HIV infection. Chabata puts it as follows: “Some married women find it very hard to negotiate safe sex since their husbands simply say ‘*Dzakaenda dzakapfeka macondom here?*’ (Did the cattle we paid go with condoms on?)”⁵⁰. Again the perception is that if *Bride Price* has been paid, a woman has been bought and could therefore be used as the husband wishes. The implication is that if *Bride Price* had not been paid, the woman would be free to walk away should conflict ensue in the marriage. If there were no *Bride Price*, the woman would not be bound by anything. In other words, her commitment to marriage is determined and controlled by the payment or non-payment of *Bride Price*. This affects the power relationship of headship and submission in the marriage. Without payment she would owe an abusive husband nothing.

African women, for whom *Bride Price* has been paid, face exceptional challenges with regard to solving marital conflict as well as with how to deal with oppressive and abusive husbands. When faced with conflict, African married women in general approach their aunts (usually the father’s sisters) for advice. According to Chabata the kind of cultural advice the aunts generally give amount to: “*Chingotsungirira mwana wehanzvadzi yangu, yeuka kuti murume wako akabvisa pfuma. Kana ukamuramba tinoiwanepi mari yekumudzorerwa?*”⁵¹ (You just have to endure my niece, remember your husband paid *Bride Price*. If you divorce him, how are we going to repay the *Bride Price* he has paid?).⁵² As a result, African women tend to endure marriage, not because they love the husband but because they protect their family of origin from shame and ridicule for failing to repay the *Bride Price*. Should the husband choose to use excessive force, she has to bear it.

In spite of the negative impact of *Bride Price* payment, the custom is still held as essential to the solemnization of African marriages and as an essential aspect of cultural value. It is a value to which both men and women adhere. For women, Possel, Rudwick and Casale posit that it could represent “a sense of commitment and love for the man”⁵³. Christian churches in Zimbabwe tend to support the custom of *Bride Price* without being critical of the possible negatives aspects and abuses that could accompany it. Cultural customs, including *Bride Price*, should be scrutinized critically in the light of the Gospel message of love. No amount

⁵⁰ *ibid*

⁵¹ Chiweshe, Manase Kudzai. “Wives at the Market Place: Commercialisation of Lobola and Commodification of Womens Bodies in Zimbabwe.” *The Oriental Anthropologist: A Bi-Annual International Journal of the Science of Man*, vol. 16, no. 2, 2016, p.222.

⁵² *Ibid* p.13.

⁵³ Possel et al. Is marriage a dying institution in South Africa? Exploring changes in marriage in the context of ilobolo payments. *Agenda* 25(1), 2011, p.102.

of money or wealth can be equated with the value of a human being. As such women should be treated with human dignity at all times, regardless of whether *Bride Price* was paid or not.

Conclusion

Michel Foucault had seen power not necessarily as domination or coercion, but rather as dispersed and pervasive, being everywhere and coming from everywhere⁵⁴, however, in this case, the findings show that the power of males over females in African society, more often than not, is the power of domination and coercion. Due to this, violence and abuse are prevalent. This kind of systemically entrenched power imbalances can be termed “structural evil”. Its effects are seen in the oppressive attitudes and behaviour towards women who are forced into submissive roles and denied the opportunity of personhood and to develop and grow as a person. These rights are generally limited to males. There was a time when it was generally believed in African society that women education endeavor is useless because a woman ultimately ends in a Man’s kitchen. Even though this kind of mindset has now been relaxed, many Africans still hold that despite a woman's educational exploit she possesses no much significance without a man, or if she is not married. Foucault, in his analysis of power, sees the functions of power among others as fulfilling society's need for discipline and control in order that people will conform to set rules and norms throughout society. African cultures, as all other cultures and societies have such set norms and rules. In the case of men and women, these norms and rules include the idea of male headship and female submission in marriage. Women are forced to abide by these norms and rules. In this case, the power is coercive and negative because it serves the interests of one group at the expense of the other. Though the oppressive nature of the power of males over females in marriage seems clear and unmistakable, however, many women endorse the practice of male headship and female submission because they have been indoctrinated through childhood as such it is difficult to curtail this “structural evil”. Also, most African women find themselves in a position where they are dependent on their husbands. Their economic position, their status in society, their quality of life and ability to support themselves and their children are affected, sometimes severely, when the husband leaves, dies or divorces them. This is a result of the mindset of the husband as the sole provider.

Due to this, most African women fear being divorced by their husbands, and would rather remain in and defend their oppressive

⁵⁴ Chiweshe, Manase Kudzai. “Wives at the Market Place: Commercialisation of Lobola and Commodification of Womens Bodies in Zimbabwe,” p.23.

marriages in order to enjoy the pretentious securities and ostensible benefits thereof. The costs with regard to their human dignity and freedom tend to be either overlooked or dismissed because the price that will have to be paid is seen as too high. By means of structural consensus theory, the study has demonstrated that both African males and females find it difficult, even as Christians, to go against the dictates of the culture.

The study however concludes that traditional African marital practices are similar to patriarchal practices reflected in Scripture, but they do not intersect with love, which is the very spirit of the gospel. The study therefore suggests that if a power balance in social relations as well as marriage can be attained, the word of the God who is love, should be allowed to speak into the lives of the African men and women in order to transform their lives. A transformed life will comprehend that humanity was not created so that people should oppress one another but to love one another. The African husband will understand that women are not to be treated with contempt but should be loved and treated as treasured creation – that they should do unto the other as they would want to be done unto them. African culture, as all cultures and cultural practices, can and should be transformed in the light of the gospel.

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FACETS OF POVERTY IN ROMANIA

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Abstract: *Poverty is one of the most important problems of the world, Romania being one of the EU member states that still confronts with a high level of it, many people having an unacceptable standard of living. In this respect, this article aims to capture the different facets of this complex and actual phenomenon, providing a perspective of what it is, how is measured and what represents poverty in Romania. There is a division of the development regions in terms of poverty indicators but also in perceptions that highlights some inequalities regarding opportunities and resources. In fact, inequality is the quintessence of poverty. Regions and countries with high levels of inequality have also high levels of poverty and people at risk of poverty are facing multiple disadvantages like unemployment, low income, poor housing, inadequate health, low access to education, economic, social and cultural activities.*

Keywords: *poverty, development regions, perceptions, inequality.*

Introduction

Poverty still remains one of the most important challenges within societies (World Values Survey). We are convinced by the fact that poverty is a subject of actual interest, intensely debated not only today, but over centuries. This happens in the context of observing different studies from a wide range of fields that discuss either separately, depending on their own area of expertise, either together, on the ways of defining, measuring, determining factors, national and regional differences etc., but also political positions highlighted by a wide and colorful palette of similar, integrated or even contradictory measures that assume the goal of poverty reduction. Is this assumption fully aware? Or, moreover, does the

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assumption take place? Acemoglu and Robinson¹ mention that studying poverty is useful because only in this way some better ideas can be generated for improving the poor's life. We do not assume such a difficult objective, but we aim to better understand its particularities especially at the national and regional level for offering a better perspective of the phenomenon and its amplitude in the Romanian context.

First of all, it is important to understand what does poverty represents, as a large part of the world's population is confronting with it. Is it natural to be so? The answer to this question may be contradictory since neither individuals nor societies are equal. It is even stated that precisely this inequality is the one that, to some extent, contributes to economic growth, especially because wealth accumulates in the hands of a small part of the population, capable of investing and contributing to wellbeing². On the other hand, Sen³ states that development requires the removal of major sources of unfreedom, including poverty between them. Thus, is it possible to discuss about progress in a society where people are divided between rich and poor, favored and disadvantaged, excluded and socially adapted? Do these categorizations conform to a complex, ambiguous reality, dependent on punctual contexts and as specific as the people who make it are? More, it is remarked within the literature that poverty has the potential of a terrible contamination agent: it cannot be isolated, and the peace and the prosperity depend, in the long run, on the welfare of all⁴. Regarding this debate, Galbraith⁵ concludes that the evidences do not make it possible to say if inequality is beneficial or harmful to growth, but they clearly show that, within reasonable limits, a decreasing level of inequality contributes to improving economic performance. Thus, concentrating on poverty reduction has to be beneficial for the entire society, not only for the ones affected by it. More, pointing out these problems seems to be important as, according to Valentine⁶, the inequality represent the essence of poverty, its basic

¹ Daren Acemoglu and James Robinson, *Why Nations Fail. The Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty/De ce eșuează națiunile. Originile puterii, ale prosperității și ale sărăciei*, (Bucharest: Litera), 2018, p. 60.

² Joseph Alois Schumpeter, *Capitalism, socialism and democracy (1942)*, (London and New York: Routledge), 2003, p. 179.

³ Amartya Sen, *Development as freedom*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1999, Introduction, p. 3.

⁴ David Landes, *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations. Why Some Are So Rich and Some So Poor/Avuția și sărăcia națiunilor*, (Iasi: Polirom), 2013, p. 17.

⁵ James K. Galbraith, *Despre inegalitate. Teoria inegalității economice pe înțelesul tuturor/Inequality: What Everyone Needs to Know*, (Bucharest: Publica), Trad. Dobre, R., 2016, p. 177.

⁶ Charles A. Valentine, *Culture and Poverty; Critique and Counter-Proposals*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 1968.

meaning being relative deprivation⁷. It also implies the fact that the evaluation of poverty will be “different at different times and in different societies”⁸.

Defining poverty

The most common used definition of poverty is the one stated by Townsend⁹ that describes it as the incapacity of a person to participate in the activities and to have the living conditions and amenities which are customary or at least widely encouraged or approved in the belonging society. Atkinson¹⁰ makes a clear distinction between the conception of poverty related to standard of living and the one based on minimum rights to resources. So, according to normal usage poverty, it is “the state of one who lacks a usual or socially acceptable amount of money or material possessions”¹¹. From a wider perspective, Callan, Nolan and Whelan¹² define poverty as exclusion due to the lack of resources at a level that represents a state of generalized deprivation, characterized by both a low standard of consumption and a low level of income. This kind of personal incapacity enables “the process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy”¹³. In other words, poverty deprives people of food, shelter, sanitation, health, income, assets and education, but it also affects them on a deeper level, such as their fundamental rights, social protections and basic dignity¹⁴. Kanbur and Squire¹⁵ also offer a very profound and concludent perspective of poverty, mentioning the “living in intolerable

⁷ Ted K. Bradshaw, „Theories of poverty and anti-poverty programs in community development”, *Community Development*, 38(1), 2007: 7-25, p. 9.

⁸ Ravi Kanbur and Lyn Squire, „The evolution of thinking about poverty: exploring the interactions”, *Frontiers of development economics: The future in perspective*, 2001:183-226, p. 186.

⁹ Peter Townsend, *Poverty in the United Kingdom*, (Penguin, Harmondsworth), 1979, p. 31.

¹⁰ Anthony B. Atkinson, „On the measurement of poverty”, 1987, *Econometrica*, 55:4, p. 749-64.

¹¹ Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, 10th ed. Springfield, (MA: Merriam-Webster), 1995.

¹² Tim Callan, Brian Nolan and Cristopher T. Whelan, „Resources, deprivation and the measurement of poverty”, *Journal of Social Policy*, 1993, 22(2), p. 141-172, p. 142.

¹³ Amartya Sen, *Development as freedom*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1999, Introduction, p. 3.

¹⁴ Melinda Gates, „Getting a clearer picture of poverty” (Special Issues) in Jahan, S. et al. (2016), *Human Development Report 2016*, UNDP, New York, USA, 2016, p. 57.

¹⁵ Ravi Kanbur and Lyn Squire, „The evolution of thinking about poverty: exploring the interactions”, *Frontiers of development economics: The future in perspective*, 2001, p. 183.

circumstances where starvation is a constant threat, sickness is a familiar companion, and oppression is a fact of life”.

More, people are frequently aware of the vicious circle caused by the complexity of problems generated by the lack of resources, and, as Samuel *et al.*¹⁶ concluded, those who fall into it define their own poverty largely, including the components related to education, health, employment and personal security.

Measuring poverty

Starting from these definitions, it is easier to understand the different ways of measuring poverty. As far back as 1979, Sen¹⁷ clarified that the “direct method” and the “income method” are not “two alternative ways of measuring the same thing”, emphasizing two facets of poverty concept both with focus on minimum needs and the people’s capacity to meet them, but evaluating the personal state of fact regarding this capacity in a complementary manner. In this way, Callan *et al.*¹⁸ mentions that while the “direct method” identifies those whose actual consumption fails to meet minimum needs, the latter identifies those with no ability to accomplish those needs within some certain behavioral constraints. Defining and measuring poverty have to be understood and discussed because they are responsible for driving the choices of policies adopted in a certain context¹⁹.

Addressing the problem of poverty imposes a large discussion on the most important causes that determine it. The simplest approach is the one that groups the factors in two categories: (1) individual or dependent on personal context of life, the most common being: education (Kanbur and Squire²⁰; Layte *et. al.*²¹; Paraschiv²²; Dercon²³; Galbraith²⁴; UN²⁵; Ulman *et*

¹⁶ Kim Samuel, Sabina Alkire, Diego Zavaleta, China Mills and John Hammock, „Social isolation and its relationship to multidimensional poverty”, *Oxford Development Studies*, 2018, 46.1: 83-97.

¹⁷ Amartya Sen (1979), „Equality of what?”, *The Tanner lecture on human values*, The Stanford University, p. 291.

¹⁸ Tim Callan, Brian Nolan and Cristopher T. Whelan, „Resources, deprivation and the measurement of poverty”, *Journal of Social Policy*, 1993, 22(2), p. 141-172, p. 144.

¹⁹ Ravi Kanbur and Lyn Squire, „The evolution of thinking about poverty: exploring the interactions”, *Frontiers of development economics: The future in perspective*, 2001:183-226, p. 183.

²⁰ Ravi Kanbur and Lyn Squire, *op.cit.*

²¹ Richard Layte, Cristopher T. Whelan, Bertrand Maître and Brian Nolan, „Explaining levels of deprivation in the European Union”, *Acta Sociologica*, 44(2), 2001, p. 105-121.

²² Elisa Paraschiv, „Problema sărăciei în comunitățile urbane și rurale din România”, *Revista Română de Sociologie*, serie nouă, anul XIX/*Romanian Sociology Journal, new series, year XIX*, (3-4), 2008, p. 423-451.

al.²⁶), health (Kanbur and Squire²⁷; Green and Hulme²⁸; Dercon²⁹), age (Kanbur and Squire³⁰; Whelan *et al.*³¹), number of children (Layte *et al.*³²; Zamfir³³; Berevoescu³⁴; Gerovska-Mitev³⁵; Galbraith³⁶), employment status (Layte *et al.*³⁷; Stănculescu și Berevoescu³⁸; Mărginean³⁹;

²³ Ștefan Dercon, *Rural Poverty: Old Challenges in New Contexts*, The World Bank, Oxford University Press on the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 2009.

²⁴ James K. Galbraith, *Despre inegalitate. Teoria inegalității economice pe înțelesul tuturor/Inequality: What Everyone Needs to Know*, (Bucharest: Publica), Trad. Dobre, R., 2016, p. 177.

²⁵ UN, *Report of the Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights on his mission to Romania*. 2016, A/HRC/32/31/Add.2.

²⁶ Simona Roxana Ulman, Vasile Ișan, Costică Mihai and Mihaela Ifrim, „The Responsiveness of the Rural Area to the Related-Decreasing Poverty Measures of the Sustainable Development Policy: The Case of North-East Region of Romania”, *Transformations in Business & Economics*, Vol. 17, No 2B (44B), p. 42-59.

²⁷ Ravi Kanbur and Lyn Squire, *op.cit.*

²⁸ Maia Green and David Hulme, „From correlates and characteristics to causes: thinking about poverty from a chronic poverty perspective”, *World Development*, 33(6), 2005, p. 867-879.

²⁹ Ștefan Dercon, *Rural Poverty: Old Challenges in New Contexts*, The World Bank, Oxford University Press on the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 2009.

³⁰ Ravi Kanbur and Lyn Squire, *op.cit.*

³¹ Cristopher T. Whelan, Brian Nolan and Bertrand Maitre, „Multidimensional poverty measurement in Europe: An application of the adjusted headcount approach”, *Journal of European Social Policy*, 2014, 24(2), p. 183-197.

³² Richard Layte, Cristopher T. Whelan, Bertrand Maître and Brian Nolan, „Explaining levels of deprivation in the European Union”, *Acta Sociologica*, 44(2), 2001, p. 105-121.

³³ Cătălin Zamfir, „Cuvânt înainte”/Foreword, in Stănculescu, Manuela Sofia, and Berevoescu, Ionica. (Eds.) (2004), *Sărac lipit, caut altă viață! Fenomenul sărăciei extreme și al zonelor sărace în România 2001/ Poor glued, I'm looking for another life! The phenomenon of extreme poverty and poor areas in Romania 2001*, (Bucharest: Nemira Publishing House), 2004, p. 1-3.

³⁴ Ionica Berevoescu, „Zone sărace, model atipic demografic”/„Poor areas, atypical demographic model”, in Stănculescu, Manuela Sofia and Berevoescu, Ionica (Eds.) (2004). *Sărac lipit, caut altă viață! Fenomenul sărăciei extreme și al zonelor sărace în România 2001/Poor glued, I'm looking for another life! The phenomenon of extreme poverty and poor areas in Romania 2001*, (Bucharest: Nemira Publishing House), 2004, p. 70-98.

³⁵ Maja Gerovska-Mitev, „Poverty and social exclusion in Macedonia, Serbia and Croatia: Status and policy responses”, *Revija za socijalnu politiku*, 2015, 22(1), p. 81-94.

³⁶ James K. Galbraith, *op.cit.*

³⁷ Richard Layte, Cristopher T. Whelan, Bertrand Maître and Brian Nolan, *op.cit.*

³⁸ Eds. Manuela Sofia Stănculescu and Ionica Berevoescu, *Sărac lipit, caut altă viață! Fenomenul sărăciei extreme și al zonelor sărace în România 2001/Poor glued, I'm looking for another life! The phenomenon of extreme poverty and poor areas in Romania 2001*, (Bucharest: Nemira), 2004.

Paraschiv⁴⁰; Ulman *et al.*⁴¹), psychological particularities (Hulme⁴²; Bertrand, Mullainathan and Shafir⁴³; Mihalache⁴⁴; Landes⁴⁵; Lorenz⁴⁶) and (2) specific to national, regional and community level, i.e. external factors, like: social, economic and political institutions (Stănculescu and Berevoescu⁴⁷; Rank⁴⁸; Green and Hulme⁴⁹; Green⁵⁰; Paraschiv⁵¹; Landes⁵²; Gerovska-Mitev⁵³; UN⁵⁴; Acemoglu and Robinson⁵⁵); local development (Stănculescu and Berevoescu⁵⁶; Green and Hulme⁵⁷), public utilities (Mărginean⁵⁸; Paraschiv⁵⁹; Dercon⁶⁰), environment (Mărginean⁶¹; Paraschiv⁶²; Landes⁶³).

³⁹ Ioan Mărginean, „Condițiile de viață ale populației din mediul rural”/ Living conditions of the rural population, *Calitatea vieții*, 2006, 17(1-2), p. 153-170.

⁴⁰ Elisa Paraschiv, „Problema sărăciei în comunitățile urbane și rurale din România”, *Revista Română de Sociologie*, serie nouă, anul XIX/*Romanian Sociology Journal*, new series, year XIX, (3-4), 2008, p. 423-451.

⁴¹ Simona Roxana Ulman *et al.*, *op. cit.*

⁴² David Hulme, „Chronic poverty and development policy: an introduction”, *World Development*, 31(3), 2003, p. 399-402.

⁴³ Marianne Bertrand, Sendhil Mullainathan and Eldar Shafir, „A behavioral-economics view of poverty”, *American Economic Review*, 94(2), 2004, p. 419-423.

⁴⁴ Nina Mihaela Mihalache, *Sărăcia: responsabilitate individuală și nivel de trai/Poverty: individual responsibility and living standards*, (Iași: Institutul European/Iasi: European Institute), 2013.

⁴⁵ David, Landes, *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations. Why Some Are So Rich and Some So Poor/Avuția și sărăcia națiunilor*, (Iasi: Polirom), 2013.

⁴⁶ Konrad Lorenz, *Cele opt păcate capitale ale omenirii civilizate/The eight principal sins of civilized mankind*, (București: Humanitas), 2017.

⁴⁷ Eds. Manuela Sofia Stănculescu and Ionica Berevoescu, *op.cit.*

⁴⁸ Mark Robert Rank, *One nation, underprivileged: Why American poverty affects us all*, (Oxford University Press), 2004.

⁴⁹ Maia Green and David Hulme, *op.cit.*

⁵⁰ Maia Green, „Representing poverty and attacking representations: Perspectives on poverty from social anthropology”, *The Journal of Development Studies*, 2006, 42(7), p. 1108-1129.

⁵¹ Elisa Paraschiv, *op.cit.*

⁵² David Landes, *op.cit.*

⁵³ Maja Gerovska-Mitev, *op.cit.*

⁵⁴ United Nations, 2016, *op.cit.*

⁵⁵ Daren Acemoglu and James Robinson, *op.cit.*

⁵⁶ Eds. Manuela Sofia Stănculescu and Ionica Berevoescu, *op.cit.*

⁵⁷ Maia Green and David Hulme, *op.cit.*

⁵⁸ Ioan Mărginean, *op.cit.*

⁵⁹ Elisa Paraschiv, *op.cit.*

⁶⁰ Stefan Dercon, *op.cit.*

⁶¹ Ioan Mărginean, *op.cit.*

⁶² Elisa Paraschiv, *op.cit.*

⁶³ David Landes, *op.cit.*

Bradshaw⁶⁴ integrates them into five theories of poverty and analyses this phenomena starting from (1) the causes of poverty according to each theory, then (2) the mechanisms of these variables determining it, (3) the political strategies that can be addressed in response to poverty and its specific causes, and, in the end, (4) offering community-based examples of how anti-poverty programs based on that particular theory are implemented. According to these five theories, poverty origin is placed from: 1) individual deficiencies; 2) cultural belief systems that support subcultures in poverty; 3) political-economic distortions; 4) geographical disparities; 5) cumulative and circumstantial origins⁶⁵.

Initially, poverty was measured only in relation to the income dimension because it was considered to have the capacity of reaching minimum thresholds for various aspects of a decent living standard such as diet, clothing, housing and living conditions (Alkire and Santos⁶⁶). As the boundaries of this approach have become evident, a multidimensional perspective has proven to be more practical and capable of providing a clearer image of individual poverty. Even so, as Samuel *et al.*⁶⁷ concluded, those who fall into this disadvantaged group define their own poverty more largely, including the components related to education, health, employment and personal security. Starting from these findings, two important aspects could be taken into account for a pertinent analysis of the phenomenon: 1) the integrated approach of poverty's multiple facets and 2) the importance of development context (regional, national) for a deeper understanding of the significance level of each component.

Therefore, the assessment of poverty can be achieved considering different aspects taken into account. The main approaches in the literature are those related to the assessment of monetary component (Alkire și Santos⁶⁸; Guio⁶⁹; Beduk⁷⁰; Ulman and Dobay⁷¹; Ulman *et. al.*⁷²),

⁶⁴ Ted K. Bradshaw, „Theories of poverty and anti-poverty programs in community development”, *Community Development*, 2007, 38(1), p. 7-10.

⁶⁵ *Idem*, p. 7.

⁶⁶ Sabina Alkire and Maria Emma Santos, „A multidimensional approach: poverty measurement & beyond”, *Social indicators research*, 2013, Vol. 112, No 2, p. 239.

⁶⁷ Kim Samuel, Sabina Alkire, Diego Zavaleta, China Mills and John Hammock, *op. cit.*

⁶⁸ Sabina Alkire and Maria Emma Santos, *op.cit.*

⁶⁹ Anne Catherine Guio, *What can be learned from deprivation indicators in Europe?*, (Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities), 2009.

⁷⁰ Selcuk Beduk, „Missing the Unhealthy? Examining Empirical Validity of Material Deprivation Indices (MDIs) Using a Partial Criterion Variable”, *Social indicators research*, 2018, 135(1), p. 91-115.

⁷¹ Simona Roxana Ulman and Krisztina Melinda Dobay, *Perspective temporale de*

capabilities (Sen⁷³; Deneulin and Shahani⁷⁴), social exclusion (Sen⁷⁵, 2002, Stiglitz⁷⁶, Samuel *et al.*⁷⁷) and human rights (UN OHCHR⁷⁸, Deaton⁷⁹).

Starting from these general assumptions, we call for a return to simplicity and to the idea of Adam Smith⁸⁰, who was also convinced that the work done in own interest, without harming the others, with the existence of conscience and respecting the moral rules and principles on which is based the good order of society, is the main driver of human development.

Poverty in Romania

According to Teșliuc, Grigoraș and Stănculescu⁸¹ there is no single, generally accepted, methodology for measuring poverty, each of the many existing methods starting from different premises and having consequently different outcomes.

The most common used indicators of poverty are: 1) Relative at-risk-of-poverty rate⁸², 2) AROPE-at risk of poverty or social exclusion⁸³, and 3) Severe material deprivation rate⁸⁴.

gen privind riscul de sărăcie și excluziune socială în România/Gender-related Perspectives on the Risk of Poverty and Social Exclusion in Romania, Presentation, Iasi Academic Days, Issue XXXII, 2017.

⁷² Simona Roxana Ulman *et. al*, *op.cit.*

⁷³ Amartya Sen, 1997, 1999, *op.cit.*

⁷⁴ Eds. Severine Deneulin and Lila Shahani, *An Introduction to the Human Development and Capability Approach*, (London: Earthscan. Publishing for a sustainable future), Human Development and Capability Association, 2009.

⁷⁵ Amartya Sen, „Globalization, Inequality and Global Protest”, *Development*, 2002, 45:2, p. 11-16.

⁷⁶ Joseph E. Stiglitz, *The Price of Inequality: How Today's Divided Society Endangers Our Future*, (Bucharest: Publica), 2013.

⁷⁷ Kim Samuel, Sabina Alkire, Diego Zavaleta, China Mills and John Hammock, *op.cit.*

⁷⁸ United Nations, Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, *Human Rights and Poverty Reduction: A Conceptual Framework*, New York and Geneva, 2004, <http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu6/2/povertyE.pdf>.

⁷⁹ Angus Deaton, *Measuring Poverty in a Growing World (or Measuring Growth in a Poor World)*, 2004, http://www.wws.princeton.edu/%7Erpds/downloads/deaton_measuringpoverty_204.pdf.

⁸⁰ Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations/Avuția națiunilor*, (Bucharest: Publica), 2011.

⁸¹ Teșliuc Emil, Grigoraș Vlad, Stănculescu, Manuela Sofia (coordinators) (2015), *Studiu de fundamentare pentru Strategia națională privind incluziunea socială și reducerea sărăciei 2015-2020/Fundamental study for the National Strategy on Social Inclusion and Poverty Reduction 2015-2020*, Bucharest, World Bank Group.

⁸² Relative at-risk-of-poverty rate represent the share of poor people (who have an adult disposable income lower than the threshold set at 60% of the median of

The level of poverty in Romania is high⁸⁵, nearby other indicators of the Social Scoreboard, which support the European Social Rights Pillar⁸⁶ and that show a critical situation. In 2016, after 3 years of downward trend, the risk of poverty or social exclusion registered on increase of 1.4% compared to 2015. However, in 2017, it again fell to 35.7%. At the same time, Romania's development regions show significant differences between the levels of official poverty indicators. According to this findings, the Eurofund⁸⁷ points out that, although the financial burden and material deprivation have begun to diminish among Europeans, there are still segments of the population that do not benefit equally from the current improvement trend, remaining in the same state of poverty. The European Commission in the Country Report⁸⁸ also emphasizes on the high disparities between rural and urban areas, but also on the low capacity of social transfers to reduce poverty⁸⁹. Teșliuc, Grigoraș and Stănculescu⁹⁰ highlight the fact that the risk of poverty is three times higher in rural

available income) in the total population - National Institute of Statistics National Institute of Statistics, *Dimensiuni ale incluziunii sociale în România în anul 2017/ Dimensions of social inclusion in Romania in 2017, 2018*, p. 13.

⁸³ AROPE-at risk of poverty or social exclusion is the share of those who are either at risk of relative poverty or living in households with very low work intensity (members aged 18-59 in the household who have worked less than 20% of their work potential in reference year) or are exposed to severe material deprivation - Ministry of Labor, Family, Social Protection and the Elderly, *Strategia națională privind incluziunea socială și reducerea sărăciei pentru perioada 2015-2020/ National Strategy on Social Inclusion and Poverty Reduction for the period 2015-2020*, Appendix 1, 2014, p. 17.

⁸⁴ The rate of severe material deprivation is the proportion of people who can be classified in at least four of the following nine categories: persons who do not afford to pay rent, loan rates or invoices to utilities; people who can not afford to maintain their adequately heated home; can not cope with their own resources with unforeseen expenses; do not allow themselves to consume meat or protein once every two days; they can not afford to spend annual weekly vacations away from home; no color television; no washing machine; do not have a car; they do not have a phone - Ministry of Labor, Family, Social Protection and the Elderly, *idem*.

⁸⁵ European Commission, *Country Report*, 27.2.2019 SWD (2019) 1022 final, Bruxelles, https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/file_import/2019-european-semester-country-report-romania_ro.pdf.

⁸⁶ European Commission, *Country Report*, 7.3.2018 SWD (2018) 221 final, Bruxelles, p. 24, <https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/2018-european-semester-country-report-romania-ro.pdf>.

⁸⁷ Eurofound, *European Quality of Life Survey 2016: Quality of life, quality of public services, and quality of society*, (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union), 2017.

⁸⁸ European Commission, *op.cit.*, p. 2.

⁸⁹ European Commission, *op.cit.*, p. 11.

⁹⁰ Teșliuc Emil, Grigoraș Vlad, Stănculescu, Manuela Sofia, *op.cit.*, p. 34.

areas than in urban areas. They argue that, in large part, the different impacts of poverty can easily be explained by the structural characteristics of a typical rural locality in Romania today, such as the fact that the share of older workers is lower in the rural population than in urban areas, where the poverty rate tends to be significantly lower than in the case of the total population. Also, rural areas tend to have a predominantly aging population with few sources of monetary income. In addition, the percentage of self-employed in agriculture is much higher in rural areas than in urban areas, generally self-employed being one of the groups at greatest risk of poverty⁹¹.

Analyzing the poverty indicators for Romania⁹², it can be noticed that there is an uneven distribution within the regions. In 2017, for instance, the North-East and South-West Oltenia regions register the highest values of the indicator Relative at-risk-of-poverty rate (33.4%) compared to the other regions of Romania (South-East 29.6%, South-Muntenia 24.9%, West 21.4%, North-West 19%, Center 17.3%, Bucharest-Ilfov 6.1%) or to the national level (23.6%). Regarding the AROPE-at risk of poverty or social exclusion, the South-East Oltenia and North-East regions have the highest levels, followed by the South-East and South-Muntenia regions. The lowest levels of this indicator are found in Bucharest-Ilfov Region and the Center Region, (6.1% and 17.3% respectively in 2017). Regarding the Severe material deprivation rate, the worst situation is recorded in the South-East and South-Muntenia regions (25.8%), then in the North-East Region (22.4%), followed by the regions with a lower level (23.6%): South-West Oltenia (22%), Bucharest-Ilfov (19.1%), West (13.8%), Center (13.2%) and the North-West (11.9%)⁹³ (Fig. 1).

In monetary components, the figures provided by the National Institute of Statistics⁹⁴ show also inequalities between the regions. For 2017, the monthly averages of total income per household varied between 2845.69 lei in the North-East Region and 4797.79 lei in Bucharest-Ilfov Region (Fig. 2). The lowest total income monthly per person was in the North-East Region (1071.77 lei) followed by the South-West Oltenia Region (1157.67 lei) and the South-East Region (1183.40 lei).

According to the World Values Survey⁹⁵, in terms of perceptions (Fig. 3), the percentage of individuals satisfied with their financial situation is

⁹¹ Teșliuc Emil, Grigoraș Vlad, Stănculescu, Manuela Sofia, *op.cit.*, p. 34.

⁹² National Institute of Statistics, *Dimensions of Social inclusion in Romania. Year 2017*, 2018.

⁹³ *Idem*, p. 38.

⁹⁴ Tempo online, INSSE.

⁹⁵ World Values Survey, Wave 6, 2010-2014, Official Aggregate v.20150418, World Values Survey Association (www.worldvaluessurvey.org), Aggregate File Producer: Asep/JDS, Madrid, Spain.

highest, surprisingly, in the South-East Region (60.6%) despite the fact that is a very poor region and in Bucharest-Ilfov Region (60.3%), as it was expected. The lowest level is registered in the North-East Region (50.8%), which also has a precarious situation in terms of specific indicators of poverty. Moreover, the Central, North-East and West regions register the highest percentages of those who consider themselves happy or rather happy, while the lowest percentage is found in South-West Oltenia. Poverty is considered to be the most important global problem, especially in the South-East and South-West Oltenia regions, where the highest percentages are registered. On the other hand, the lowest percentage is found in the West Region⁹⁶ only 43.2% of the subjects considering that people living in poverty and need is one of the most serious problem of the world. Analysing the levels of six variables for the development regions of Romania (Relative at-risk-of-poverty rate, AROPE-at risk of poverty or social exclusion rate, Severe material deprivation rate, Satisfaction with financial situation of household, Feeling of happiness: Very and rather happy, Most serious problem of the world: People living in poverty and need), using the Principal Component Analysis⁹⁷, we observed that the most pessimists are the people from the South-Muntenia Region, where all the variables regarding perceptions reveal low percentages of people declaring happy or rather happy (equal to the national average) and, also, declaring satisfied with their financial household situation. There is also registered a high concern regarding the people living in poverty and need. In South-West Oltenia and South-East regions, although the poverty indicators show a bad situation, people appear to be quite satisfied with their financial situation, at least in a higher percentage more satisfied as the national average. Unexpectedly, the North-East Region of Romania registers lower levels of severe material deprivation than the average national rate, lower than the levels of the South-East and South-Muntenia regions. It is not appreciated in a high percentage that people in poverty and need is the major problem of the world, but the respondents declare themselves in high percentages as being rather or very unhappy and, also, dissatisfied with their household financial situation (Fig. 4 and Fig. 5)⁹⁸.

⁹⁶ Simona Roxana Ulman and Krisztina Melinda Dobay, *Particularități regionale ale sărăciei rurale în România/Regional peculiarities of rural poverty in Romania*, Presentation, Agricultural Research and Rural Development, 23rd edition, International Conference on „Agricultural markets and rural areas in the context of modernization and simplification of the Common Agricultural Policy”, Institute of Agricultural Economics, Bucharest, 2018.

⁹⁷ Carmen Pintilescu, *Analiza statistică multivariată/Multivariate statistical analysis*, (Iasi: „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University’s Publishing House), 2007.

⁹⁸ Simona Roxana Ulman and Krisztina Melinda Dobay, 2018, *op.cit.*

But is the risk of poverty the same for all the people from a development region or country? If we analyze for 2017 the poverty indicators by gender, we notice that there is a slight differentiation between men and women, the last one being more affected (Fig. 6)⁹⁹. Also, as we already mentioned, it is well known that the risk of poverty is higher in rural areas than in urban areas. Children in rural areas are especially exposed to the risk of poverty. The World Bank estimated in 2012 that the rate of child poverty is over three times higher in rural areas in Romania than in urban zones¹⁰⁰.

In other studies conducted in Romania¹⁰¹ it was revealed that women from marginalized communities are facing higher risks of poverty and social exclusion, as a result of restricted access to education, health services and social assistance.

Conclusions:

This paper reveals the complexity of the different facets of poverty and the need to carefully analyze the local and regional specificities that can play essential roles in combating this serious phenomenon that deeply affects a significant part of the population in Romania. Poverty, analyzed in terms of relative poverty rates, poverty risk or social exclusion, and severe material deprivation rate is unevenly distributed regionally, with the most worrisome values being in the South-East, North-East and South-West.

Paradoxically, when analyzing the perceptions of poverty in some poor regions, residents are happy with the financial situation of their households (for example, those in the South-East Region). Moreover, there was a division of the development regions in terms of poverty and perception of the inhabitants related to their well-being, the West, Central and North-West regions being the ones with optimal levels for both aspects, on the one hand, lower than the national average for poverty indicators, and positive perceptions of the financial situation of their own household, but also of their own happiness. They are joined by the Bucharest-Ilfov Region, differentiated mainly by the less positive perception of the inhabitants here on their personal well-being. The other regions are characterized by over-average levels of poverty, but each differentiated by different perceptions of their own situation or the

⁹⁹ Tempo online, INSSE.

¹⁰⁰ RENASIS, *Poverty watch 2017 – Romania*, The European Anti-Poverty Network Romania (EAPN RO), 2018, p. 7.

¹⁰¹ Krisztina Melinda Dobay and Simona Roxana Ulman, „Gender dimension in marginalized rural communities”, *International Journal of Communication Research*, 2017, volume 7, Issue 3, July/September, p. 169.

importance attached to global poverty-related issues. However, the most pessimistic view is held by respondents in South-Muntenia Region.

We also can conclude that there are different inequalities as the resources (and the access to them) are distributed unevenly across the whole society. Unfortunately, Romania encounters one of the largest shares of people at risk of poverty in the EU and overcoming poverty should become one of the main priorities of the government.

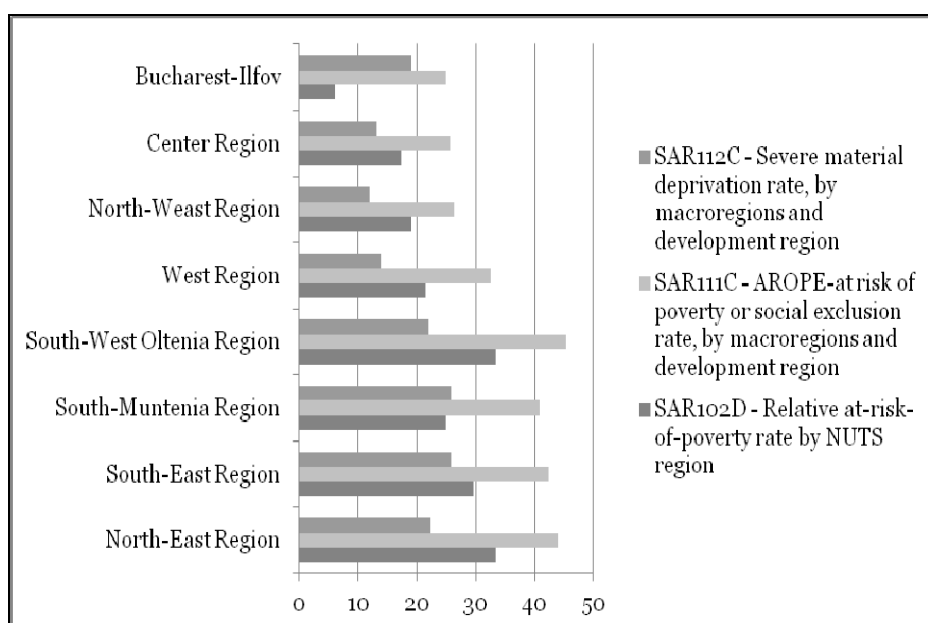


Fig. 1 Poverty indicators in the development regions of Romania¹⁰²

¹⁰² TEMPO online, INSSE, cited in Simona Roxana Ulman and Krisztina Melinda Dobay, *Particularități regionale ale sărăciei rurale în România/Regional peculiarities of rural poverty in Romania*, Presentation, Agricultural Research and Rural Development, 23rd edition, International Conference on „Agricultural markets and rural areas in the context of modernization and simplification of the Common Agricultural Policy”, Institute of Agricultural Economics, Bucharest, 2018.

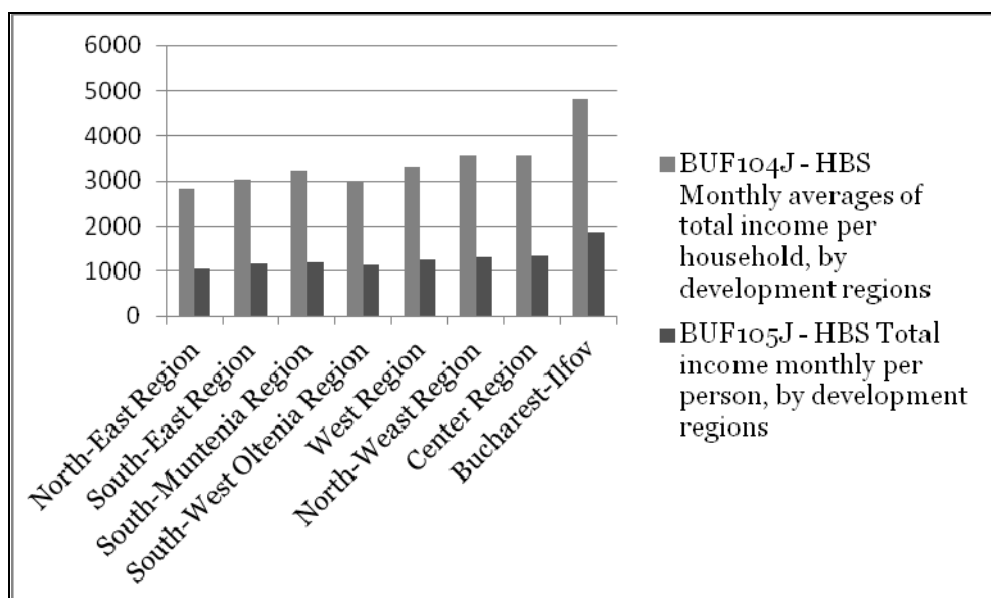


Fig. 2 Monthly averages of income per household and per person in the regions¹⁰³

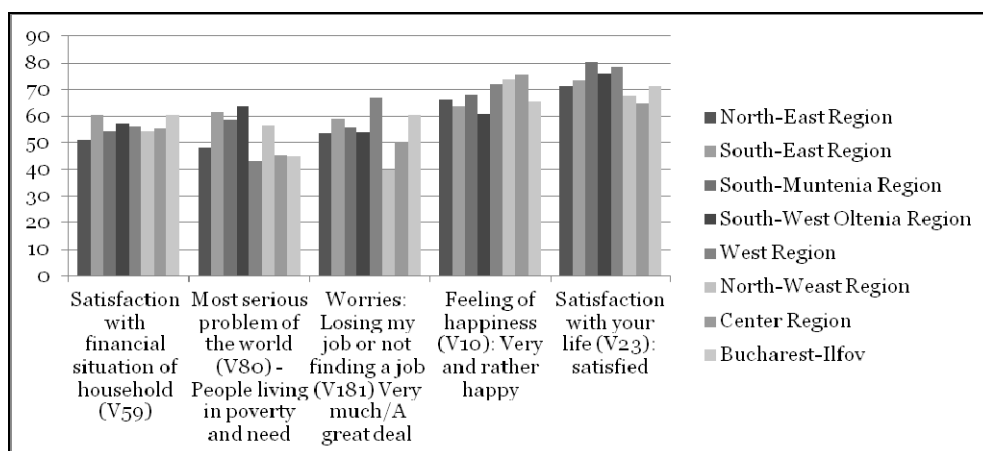


Fig. 3 Perceptions of poverty in the development regions of Romania¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ Tempo online, INSSE

¹⁰⁴ World Values Survey, Wave 6, 2010-2014, Official Aggregate v.20150418, World Values Survey Association (www.worldvaluessurvey.org), Aggregate File Producer: Asep/JDS, Madrid, Spain cited in Simona Roxana Ulman and Krisztina Melinda Dobay, *Particularități regionale ale sărăciei rurale în România/Regional peculiarities of rural poverty in Romania*, Presentation, Agricultural Research and Rural Development, 23rd edition, International Conference on „Agricultural markets and rural areas in the context of modernization and simplification of the Common Agricultural Policy”, Institute of

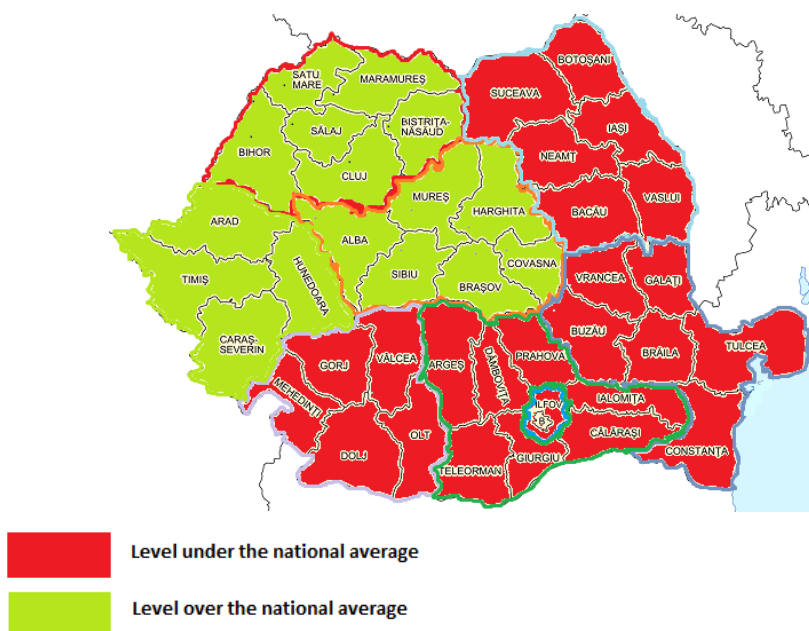


Fig. 4 Satisfaction with financial situation of household and perceptions on personal happiness¹⁰⁵

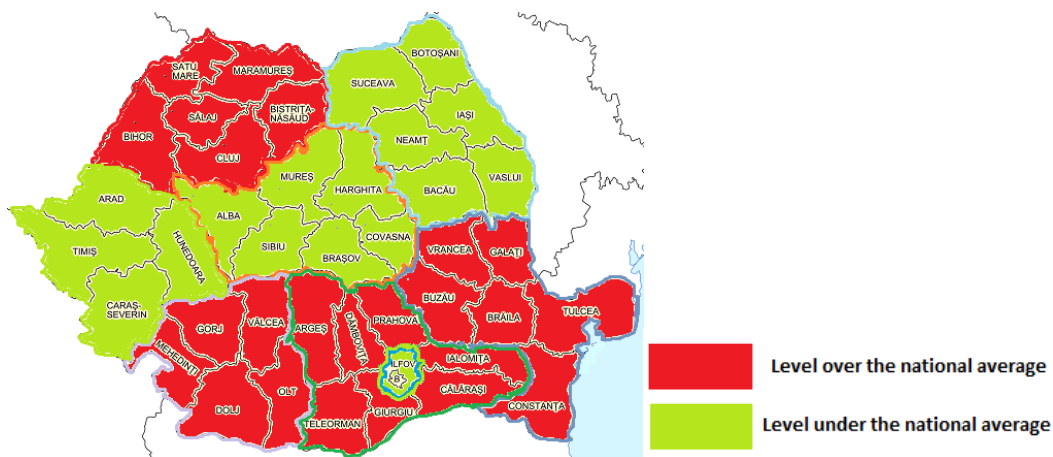


Fig. 5 Most serious problem of the world: People living in poverty and need¹⁰⁶

Agricultural Economics, Bucharest, 2018.

¹⁰⁵ Simona Roxana Ulman and Krisztina Melinda Dobay, 2018, *op.cit.*

¹⁰⁶ Simona Roxana Ulman and Krisztina Melinda Dobay, 2018, *op.cit.*

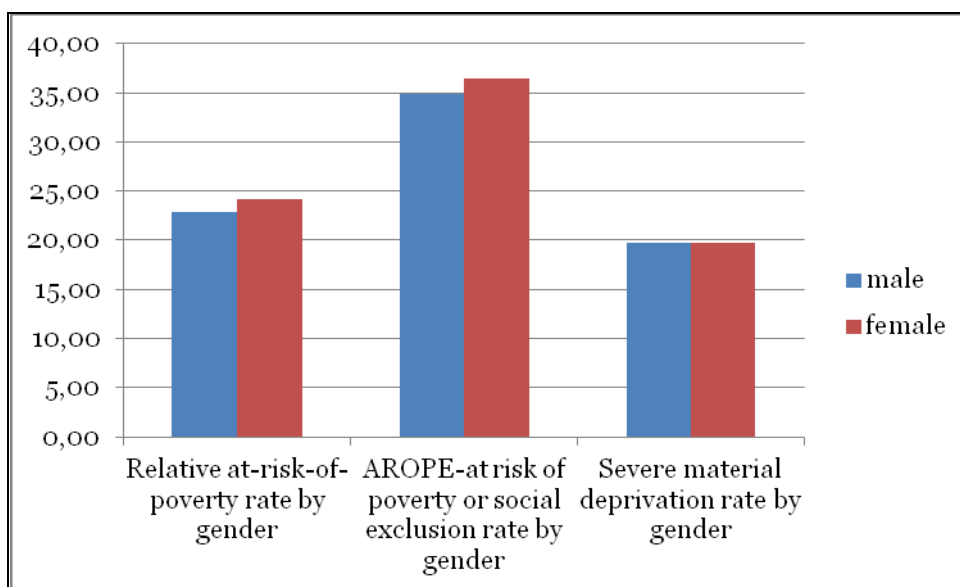


Fig. 6 Poverty indicators by gender in Romania (2017)¹⁰⁷

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¹⁰⁷ Tempo on line, INSSE.

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ILLOGICAL MANIFESTATIONS IN ROMANIAN TRANSITION

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Abstract. *Our purpose is to unfold a logical analysis of the Romanian transition since 1989. Both the processes of macro-social changes and of individual decision making are followed in their connection with the universal human values, and at the same time with the national landmark values, within an integrating vision. The damaging manner of the institutional decision making and action, no less that of individuals – on the ground of cognitive, psychological, sociological, axiological reasons – are obvious causes for the long term evolution of the people of Romania in its movement from totalitarianism toward democracy. Such a context makes us to focus upon the great significance of the improvement of human quality as a national priority.*

Our approach underlies the necessity of education in the frame of a national programme representing even a categorical imperative for Romanian transition to overcoming the illogical manifestations of a sick education system we had to face in the past 29 years.

Keywords: *transition, logics, education, national, EU integration*

We do not challenge the importance of the great changes, and their positive consequences, which happened in Romania, during the transition from a centralized economy to a competition based economy. We follow the dysfunctions of this period, as effects of human decision and action, from the perspective of the social as a whole.

At the level of the Romanian transition, from a totalitarian regime, to democracy, with the adjacent transformations in the essential levels of socio-cultural existence, we will consider as incoherences the inconsistencies in the decisions, actions and consequences regarding the human relations with oneself, with others and with nature, in relation to the favorable direction of human development in general, and national development in particular. The sources of these inconsistencies are cognitive, psychological, praxiological, axiological, manifested in a given context, European and mondial.

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Given that EU integration is a complex *process* of economic, social, political, institutional, cultural, etc. convergence, Romania's integration deficit can be diagnosed in stages, with consequences on multiple levels.

The structural economic differences between the members of the EU have been felt in the efficiency of this integration, without them being the only ones responsible. Unlike some other countries that had private areas and for which the accommodation was faster, for Romania the exercise of transition to a competitive economy was more difficult. Considering the complexity of the economic changes in which it was involved, but also the inefficiency of many reforms in the transition years, it can be said that, economically, Romania's accession to the EU in 2007 was predominantly formal.

The significant economic gap between Romania and some EU states was the objective substrate, generating a deficiency of integration. This deficit can also be the source of the crises inside the functioning of the Union, but also the weak ground of the crises generated by external factors, such as "unregulated financial markets that have transformed into an embedded destabilizer" of the Union. Thus, economically, the integration deficit in the EU is structural and different, depending on the starting point of each country, being diminished or amplified, over its course, by other correlative, objective and subjective factors.

The novelty of the transition from socialism to capitalism is realized in the European and international context, as compelling factors for the countries in transition. From this perspective, the transition, for the former socialist countries, "represents primarily an international process and only after that a national one."¹

Without neglecting the relationship between national factors and context, the power of context in the given situation, we will insist on the role of the quality of the national decision maker in orienting or not the community in a favorable development direction.

On the economic level, the initial lack of knowledge, but also the absence of attention of thorough documentation, made the transition unfold with losses in multiple levels. Eager to break with the past, the Romanians tried to erase their material achievements. On the whole, the direction followed was to destroy the national economy. There was no question of continuity, of harnessing and making more effective what already existed. This rush resulted in the rapid privatization of the industry, the liberalization of prices, the liberalization of international trade, without protecting the internal market, the abolition of trade

¹ Cătălin Zamfir, *A critical analysis of the transition: what will be "after"?*, Iași, Polirom Publishing House, 2004, p. 29.

associations, the state abandoning its ownership and responsibility of its administration too early.

As wisdom of the economic action, in the beginning years of the transition, after consulting Romanian specialists from abroad, organizing thematic debates, the big decision was taken: to start with the end. Thus, the first measure was the alignment of prices with the western economy, in order to "be in line with the world". Through the existential chaos created, this pattern was appreciated and transferred to other fields. In education it was started, similarly, with the evaluation, spending money and time with the training of inspectors at a national level, on this subject, done with foreign specialists, amplified and branched then at national level, the last step being the schools. In other words, the funding source was external, the money reaching foreigners, the instructors, Romania being the only market where a useless activity was invented, just to justify the bill.

These behaviors, initially based on ignorance and social patterns, continued even after the disastrous effects became visible on a national scale, for the average man. In other words, they were continued and exploited personally, knowingly. This was made possible by introducing the role of the political decision maker, as an individual psychological profile. The fact is confirmed not only by the endless repetition of the contracts harmful to the Romanian state, in relation to the foreigners or to the Romanian clients (provided we have an inflation of well-trained lawyers and economists), by the ostentatious absence of appropriate laws for key areas, by the absence of adequate laws to stop thefts and corruption, etc., but is also confirmed by famous cases of corruption, proven, in the case of the decision-makers, with great damages to the state, but with minimal material and moral recoveries. Regardless of its own wealth, the state not only withdrew its supervision and control, but gave no vital signs of recovery, even when consistent fraud was proven. Thus, after the first ten years of European cooperation and supervision, it is not surprising that Romania did not "exceed the status of economic periphery of the EU"².

An owner without responsibility, the state is indifferent to its own national resources. Romania's economy becomes an easy prey in the competitive context of Europe, which is well developed. The erosion occurs both from the inside and the outside, simultaneously. Through Romania, the European context has opportunities, while the Romanian economy dissolves in context. Transition managers of state property, through commercial companies and autonomous administrations, are rapidly adapting to the lack of control over national resources. The result:

² Daniel Dăianu, *The great impasse in Europe. What can Romania do?*, Iași, Polirom Publishing House, 2015, p. 261.

“maximizing personal gains through the bankruptcy of state companies”³, thus the state being “the first victim of the generalized robbery of the economy”⁴.

Privatization had to be done at any price, meaning no concern for the nation. The enterprises were given to foreigners as a gift. Treated as strategic investors, without customary contractual constraints, they acted according to the competition, making a profit from the dismantling of the Romanian industry, something that the Romanian state could have done. As such, the generalized national goods control deficit becomes a source of corruption⁵.

At the institutional level, incoherences of adaptation and efficiency are manifested, naturally up to a certain degree, given the long process of transformations. And in this sector the form was chosen first, without creating conditions for the content. As such, in many respects, the institutional adaptation to the new requirements is mimicked or realized on the superficial, possibly harmful side. Not infrequently, the political decision-makers, in order to justify the fabulous privileges and the excess of public expenses in relation to the country, have invoked the materialistic model of the Western.

The institutional transformations were not fulfilled with a perspective, each government coming with other measures, without well constituted projects, the lack of continuity being the major incoherence of the Romanian transition policy making: economically we totally broke away from the past, destroying what was good, but we have also broken away from the present of this transition, with each change of office. After many years lost in disorder, we modestly set out to redo the beginning of the change, step by step. The effects are not yet edifying. The optimal conditioning between interest and result, at the political level, still has a status to be desired: “the less the public policies are dominated by narrow interest groups, the more efficient they will be”⁶.

The institutional reform has not benefited from any hierarchization on national priorities. Priorities have changed according to the immediate constraints of European integration. There was no hurry in instituting the possibility of accessing European funds, given that this would have been a great advantage of entering the EU, and later, when they started to be accessed, they were wasted on unnecessary investments, neglecting the major emergencies of schools, hospitals, and infrastructure.

³ Cătălin Zamfir, *op.cit.*, p. 110.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 41

⁵ *Ibidem*, p.182

⁶ Daniel Dăianu, *op.cit.*, p. 369.

The analysis of this institutional reform can retain significant attention in terms of duration and volume. Education reform, for example, had just as many beginnings as it had ministers, with this sector holding the record. After 30 years of transition, financial education is in the stage of painted trees, from the communist regime: The law on national education has not yet been activated, on the financing side, although many years have passed, and no one has noticed, although at the head of the country is a teacher, and university teachers have been ministers, and prime ministers and finance ministers are trained by the school. The 6% of GDP for education is only for the eyes of the world, for Europe's statistics.

The decision-makers did not notice the violation of the law, nor the lack of education funding. However, children who did not have access to schools, did not have textbooks, did not have the opportunity to choose the right high school, students who did not have qualified teachers, free transportation, etc., all who have not benefited from free education and learning appropriate to the time we are living in. Given that during the communist period, with the help of a scholarship, eminent high school pupils and students had access to any elite school, we can only remark that the education funding during the transition period is not even at the level provided by a regime that we wanted to overcome. A law is broken and no one in charge was held accountable.

The incoherences in education during the transition period are based on the importance of the domain and, implicitly, of the consequences produced in human training. The list is long and desolate in its content. What could the major and prospective priority of a nation that has abandoned its children be, since it has abandoned its own life resources, through ignorance, indifference and destructive policies? A society that allows its forests to be slaughtered, its water, air and land degraded, to die slowly by aging or, accelerated, by poison from market shelves, while the very few children are traded as objects or humiliated, what else can it be dreamed of? Why would demographic policies be needed, since everything can be exhausted in one episode: after us, the flood!

In this context of self-destruction, of the lack of an existential horizon, the problem of educational policies becomes a minor one: it does not matter whether or not they are adequate policies, whether they are in favor of human development or not. However, the child has the horizon of hope that the mature generation must honor. Those who waited in vain are already 30 years old and can correct this situation, through attitude and action.

For now, the student works, on average, 7 hours a day, on the school plantation, directly, and another 4-5 hours, indirectly, carrying the burden of books equivalent to his own weight, surpassing his anonymous master.

Is there of any importance if the textbooks are full of mistakes, if the student is evaluated nationally every two years, whether or not he/she has qualified teachers, if he/she needs meditators for the 4th grade, if the primary education has been extended with another useless year and the university education that prepares specialists shortened, etc.? Does the lack of finality in the case of education matter, the fact that the state spends resources on education, but does not have policies to harness well-trained young people? On a wrong foundation, all this and many others do not matter anymore, which is why, just electoral, "in Romania education is a national priority"⁷.

We have to deal with the "irresponsible indifference"⁸ of the legislature and of the executive concerning education, the inadequacy of the school requirements to the student's powers. The diagnosis is unforgiving: for the pupil, "the Romanian education has gradually transformed into a school of failure and into a cemetery of the poor in which the most beautiful years form the life of the children and young people of this country are thrown into common pits."⁹

In this formative context, we can ask ourselves, how can the *Law on national education* go beyond the efforts of the Romanian politicians who tire drawing highways on the map and spending unnecessarily on these drawings' documentation. The answer is visionary: "the mission assumed by this law is to train, through education, the *mental infrastructure* of the Romanian society". To this ambitious project there is much to be corrected concerning education.

No other institutions seem to have benefited from a coherent efficiency program. The idea of health reform seems an empty notion, if not a counter-reform made on hard money; the judicial reform has been fueling for many years media wars, and, where little progress has been made, it is not applied consistently, remaining only as a testimony of good intentions; the reform in the press brought us, on a non-stop program, the politicians and the electoral campaign, on the screen; the media also brought an insistent educational exercise on *kitsch*, suburban culture and the degradation of human quality, on multiple levels.

In recent years, we are also witnessing the bankruptcy of the institutions responsible for the physical safety of the citizen, as a result of the faulty policies of training and promoting human resources. The illustrations of institutional pathology could continue consistently. All

⁷ *The law on national education*, nr.1/5 January, 2011, art. 2 (7).

⁸ Petru Lisievici, *The standstill. Elements of pathology of transition*, Bucharest, VOX Publishing House, 2000, p. 26.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 52.

these are deficits that impede the integration into the humanism of the species, Europe not being at fault this time.

On a psychological level, the deficit of adaptation to the new socio-economic context has its source in the attitude deficit. Regardless of the objective conditions, favorable or not to its development, human subjectivity is the actor who intervenes or not. As such, the psychological profile outlined by education, exercises, faiths, beliefs, mentalities, etc. is embodied in fundamental attitudes towards oneself, towards society and its values, towards the environment, towards work, etc.

Psychologically, the inferiority complex with which we came out into the world, as a nation and individuals, after the communist isolation, caused great national and individual damage, through inappropriate behaviors, economically, socially, culturally, but also in diplomatic relations, including in the ones aimed at negotiating EU accession. Psychologically, Romania dreamed of the EU as a virtual reality, to which it does not have access. As such, she was willing to be received, regardless of conditions, as if she had no right to claim anything and had nothing to offer. The result of the negotiations was tailor-made: in particular, Romania ended up with a *deficit of equality* of accession conditions, compared to other member states.

The attitudinal deficit has its source at least in the culture of the Romanian people, the individual traits and the collective attitudes induced on the basis of the inherited communist mentalities or the mentalities formed because of a precarious education. The latter is the field of massive and successful manipulation, with the help of which the essential reforms have been omitted, postponed, partially and uncorrelated implemented, only formally enforced, and prejudicial against the public interest. Trying to explain the failures of the transition through the “negative traits of the Romanian people” is a cheap excuse for politicians, an exercise in denigration and manipulation.

Although this behavior is the result of the context, of exercises through education, regardless of the source, this behavior in turn creates the context for the training of others, it creates models, both for children, as social beginners, and for adults who are subjected to a more intense process of adapting, in transitional periods. The effect of behavioral contagion was visible in the case of foreign companies that, once arrived on Romanian soil, adapted perfectly, sometimes outperforming Romanians, in terms of the attitudes discussed above. Domestically, the inferiority complex played a decisive role in the vulnerability of the decisions regarding the national economy and the destruction or selling of strategic resources, at least in the first part of the transition.

Synthetically, attitudes harmful for the individual and for the society, which, as a result, are found in the deficit of adaptation to the new socio-economic context are essentially concerned with: the attitude towards the natural environment, towards resources as a vital support of the nation; the attitude towards society as a unitary environment of individual and collective evolution, as a specific entity having a meaning in the world; the attitude towards the self as a specific structure, subject to progress, for itself and for the community.

From this relativity of assuming a direction at the individual level, two correlative certainties are born: the feeling of absolute freedom and that of absolute ownership. These are embodied in actions and attitudes without horizon, of the type: *it is my life and I do what I want with it*. This man of transition thus departs from his essence, his purpose, his collectivity and nature. Against this background, the need for a new educational policy is becoming more compelling than ever.

On a methodological level, the adaptation deficit is manifested by the *action deficit*. It is manifested both by the lack, delay or damaging dilation of the action, and by its quality. The psychological deficit shows the direction of orientation in relation to something and results in a methodological deficit. The deficit of action, in its most serious, national form, is manifested by passing the redeeming action, to the foreigners. This is based on the inferiority complex, mentioned above. The idea that foreigners are better, more skilled, more honest, more correct, more diligent, more disciplined, etc. than the Romanians and, correlatively, what we have is not good and we cannot improve ourselves, this was the basis of the destruction of the previous economic accumulations. In record time, the industry has become scrap iron, on its own, directly or through mediation, through privatizations insulting for the people; agriculture was removed from the circuit by the unregulated invasion of European products, but also by the epidemic abolition of the zootechnical sector, bankrupting the peasant and the country; strategic resources were sold to foreigners for nothing or with great favors for some; the land has ended up in a worrying proportion in the hands of strangers who understood that this is life's gold mine.

During the transition period, the lack of continuity, lack of knowledge or deliberate avoidance of specialists, lack of action or its postponement in emergencies, incoherence of action, on the same level, in the same field, between domains, at national level, in the direction of a purpose favorable to the community and the individual, over-dimensioning of personal interests in public activities, over-dimensioning the external factor, lack of attachment to national values, etc. make the activity at a national level a Brownian movement, without direction and without result, reducing

everything to chance. The nation does not come forward as a social whole, but is dissolved by wasting in disordered activities, unnecessary or harmful to the whole.

After 30 years of practicing the transition, although the balance sheet is not commendable, the political decision maker continues his suicidal path. While the countries that have a considerable economic and structural advance in relation to Romania use the *growth oriented model*, the Romanian political decision makers choose the *populist model*, based on consumption, without perspective. As any national economic action produces community effects, supervision of compliance with the common rules is self-imposed. It is understandable that the EU is concerned about Romania's economic policies. Correction can only come through education: "the degree of civilization of a society is determined by the degree of involvement of the decision-makers in the education of the young generation"¹⁰.

On a social level, the efficiency of this new regime is illustrated by the standard of living. The economic transition has been doubled by the social polarization and the deepening of poverty. At least for the first part, the economic paradox of the transition is given by the "increase of profits simultaneously with the fall of the economy"¹¹ and the impoverishment of the population, that is to say the increase of the individual incomes on account of the decrease of the national wealth. The consequences of the types of internal attitudes and actions described above, as well as the consequences of trying to honor the requirements of harmonization with the values and structures of the community, are materialized in the life of the ordinary man, that is the one who pays for the political decision makers to work efficiently. Income per capita, expenditure on health, education, population education, access to school, life expectancy, disease dynamics after 1990, investments as an element of economic progress, etc. speak for themselves about the efficiency of the new regime and, in particular, about the individual efficiency as a schooling effect.

Overcoming the annoying situation of the old regime in which, regardless of work, the earnings were equal, after three decades of transition, the economic and social costs are appreciable, and work ethics is illustrated by the principle of "equal work, unequal wages and pensions", in other words "it is fair that the one who steals to have everything he wants"¹².

¹⁰ Carmen Gabriela Bostan, *Education and European integration from a transdisciplinary perspective*, Bucharest, Sigma Publishing House, 2012, p. 13.

¹¹ Cătălin Zamfir, *op.cit.*, p. 177.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 142.

Public policies are poorly oriented. Through the social assistance policy applied without rigor, the man was removed from the rhythm of meaningful existence. A fictional guaranteed income has abolished the village larder. The peasant, the man of the country, is replaced by one dependent of the locally elected, who manages or not, on the blizzard, to bring him bread. Although the phenomenon of the imaginary ill has increased, proven by compelling statistics, and reports from the scene, the authorities have not changed any of the benefits of their voters.

Even if sufficient time has passed for the knowledge of the phenomena specific to the transition, not much attention is paid to the policies for the prevention of negative phenomena, on economic, social, health, education, etc. levels. After it was found out that every hour 3 ha of forest disappear and time and resources were consumed for the elaboration of all kinds of sophisticated strategies for tracking the criminals, finally the penalties were reduced even tenfold, in some cases, for theft of wood, and the harmful contracts for the country have become immortalized, a kind of heir certificate.

The patent is successfully used in all fields. Journalistic investigations with evidence of VAT refunds for fictitious export activities remained without consequences, as were many other crimes, although the proven damages were appreciable. Surveys on the quality of consumer products, of food products, first and foremost, with direct consequences for the population's health, have not yet produced administrative effects, as even the worrying statistics on childhood obesity did not hinge the authorities on taking a stance of prevention. Children are systematically stolen, and the authorities have not yet activated their coherence in thought and action. The ease with which locals and foreigners have access to particularly serious crimes makes Romania a lordless household, the deciding factors appearing as useless puppets.

In the face of abuses with their source in corruption that is protected and encouraged, *consumer protection* is a form without content, since the serious, proven situations, not only repeat themselves incessantly, but even amplify. We are dealing with the lack of a clear responsibility in the field of consumer policy¹³. Consumer protection "should include market monitoring", for product safety, and its education being necessary as well: "both the Romanian consumer and the producer show too much passivity, a resignation"¹⁴ in the face of said abuse.

¹³ Adriana Zaiț, *The Romanian consumer, between the resignation of the mioritic area and the action according to the acquis communautaire*, in: Daniel Dăianu, Mugur Isărescu (coord.), *The new economists on the transition in Romania*, Bucharest, Enciclopedică Publishing House, 2003, p. 540.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 547.

This incoherence both in thought and action, which manifests in all the institutions and in all the essential registers of life, biological and social, has already produced harmful effects, in the long term, the most drastic being the alienation/destruction of natural resources and the degradation of human quality.

After many years of transition, the initial diagnosis is more credible than ever: "for the moment we remain the country with a democracy in the middle of the road, East-West, a place where all the dangers lurk"¹⁵. They stalk us from within, and salvation comes through education.

On an *axiological level*, the adaptation deficit shown in the face of this new situation is supported by the deficit of essential human values. The transition was accompanied by the abandonment, in part, of national values, of the attachment to the country, of the ancestors, of the traditional values, etc., but also by the abandonment of basic human values: love, altruism, modesty, the good, the beautiful, truth and so on. Materialism, despised as a communist theory, has become, in a free society, a landmark of value. In association with primary instincts, it has led to an obvious degradation of human behavior, a proof of educational failure.

During the period of Romanian transition, against the background of the *absolutization* of the feelings of freedom and of property, there is a constant exercise, publicly directed, of *relativizing* the values, of diluting the borders between good and evil, between what is permitted and what is prohibited, value and non-values etc.: nothing is serious enough for someone, in a public office or in an important social position, to be held accountable. On the other hand, parliamentary immunity makes equality before the law impossible, some living undisturbed, for decades, at its shelter or at the shelter of the slow pace of investigations: "we have come out of time."¹⁶ Changing social values and attitudes is caused by the aging of the individual, the population structure and contextual factors.¹⁷ The attitude towards values indicates "a lack of sense of value in some individuals", and bagatelization as a "social illness" brings "a touch of the living spirit of a nation"¹⁸.

In a country where, "criminals stir greater interest on television stations than people of genuine value"¹⁹, in which any harmful action is widely publicized, and vulgarity is constantly promoted in certain

¹⁵ Stelian Tănase, *Shocks and crises* [Bucharest: STAFF Publishing House, 1993, p. 152.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p., 199.

¹⁷ Mălina Voicu, *Social values of the post-communist transition*, Iași, Lumen Publishing House, 2010, p. 15.

¹⁸ Ștefan Ion Ghilimescu, *The transition of politics. The politics of transition*, Târgoviște, Cetatea de Scaun Publishing House, 2005, pp. 19 - 20.

¹⁹ Petru Lisievici, *op.cit.*, p. 31.

television shows, it is obvious the public exercise of training the human being on the darker side of its manifestation. Nor can it be laudable that "although Romania has no shortage of wise men, the public is bored with their words and hungrily gobbles up the flawed rhetoric of tricksters"²⁰.

This is the natural consequence of a poor education, but also of the context of this education, that is, the perpetuation of this deficit. The educational system itself suffered the shock of the relativization of values. It is necessary to reorient the educational process to improve the human quality, and at an institutional level, to impose unity and coherence in the molding of the young generation. If the school will improve its results, one day we will have better decision makers as well. The providential man who will reform Romania will start with education.

Finally, „a generation that claims to be mature has to ask, at some point, what is its purpose, what historical ideal is going to approach, where is it heading to“²¹. Has that time come?

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²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 43.

²¹ Ștefan Ion Ghilimescu, *op.cit.*, p. 17

Zamfir, Cătălin, (2004), *A critical analysis of the transition: what will be "after"?*, Polirom Publishing House.

*** *The law on national education*, nr.1/5 January, 2011.

GENDER IDENTITIES IN RURAL ROMANIA. PART II: WOMEN PASSING THEIR LEGACY

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Abstract: *The study is grounded on an extended research project, concerning the trends in recovery and transmission of cultural memory of women living in rural Romania, reinvention of the peasant identities being discussed both in terms of socialist and post-communist transformations. The second part of the research address the mechanisms for production and transmission of gender memory within Romanian plain villages, with a peculiar focus on the complex interdependencies arose nowadays amid landownership, social identity and women's autonomy. By narrowing the research frame to a study case disclosing a complex historical legacy, it is intended to highlight the influences exerted by culture in reconstructing the discourses upon identity of several generations of women, living or returning on rural grounds.*

Keywords: *gender identities, rural space, women's narratives, memory orders.*

Introduction. Defining the research landscape

The very existence of rural communities of the Wallachian Plain was influenced by specific structural burdens. In the same time, silent survival of "marginal agricultural households"¹ engraved the southern rural communities of Romania with contradictory modernity shades, often contributing to ascent of tensional feminine ethnographies of post-socialism².

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¹ A.L. Cartwright, *The Return of the Peasant. Land Reform in Post-Communist Romania*, (London: Routledge), 2017, p. 68.

² Eds. Ruth Mandel, Caroline Humphrey, *Markets and Moralities: Ethnographies of Postsocialism*, (Oxford and NY: Berg), 2002, p. 30.

Moreover, exit from communism accentuated the fault lines and representational cleavages of the rural communities, exposed to a set of irreversible transformations. Most influential phenomena crossed by more than 10 000 villages of the Wallachian plain refers to a revival of survival agriculture, accompanied by a tendency in favour of rural feminization³. Women returned to their native communities or cease their activity within local cooperatives or collective farms, even detach from urban professions, and began to reconstruct a gender contract that could disclose yet some unexpected modern clauses. More important, restitution of gender memory and severance from communist past was not followed always by birth of a contestation culture. Most of the post-communist discourses upon women's place(s) and identities within new open society were gliding amid ephemeral and antagonistic landmarks. Trapped between a consumerist lure and the new invented traditions, rural women were meant to reconcile with their own fragmented identity⁴. In this context, voices and discourses of Romanian women were recovering in fact an extended historical legacy, intergenerational memory of gender mixing sometimes the shadows of the factory with those of the barn.

The experience of regime change and the reception of gendered socio-cultural determinants of the transition phase supported an interesting evolution in case of Chiscani village, situated in the near vicinity of Brăila Harbour, Southern region of Romania (Fig. 1). Herein, land restitution process determined a peculiar development of social and cultural status of women, engaged since the interwar into a unique modernization scenario.

The leading theme of the research concerned the women's land rights and the cultural impact of women's land ownership in Chiscani village, Brăila County, during long time span of Romania's transition. Land ownership it is considered to be responsible for substantial changes occurred within women's familial status, personal identity, cultural memory and social opportunities. The interviews followed three main axes, inspired from classical sociological approach of Jean-Claude Kaufmann⁵ and concentrated on: consequences of post-communist land reform upon women's lifestyles and social perception, influence of cultural patterns in establishing women's inheritance and property rights and role

³ Eds. Ivan Szelenyi, Rebecca Jean Emight, Poverty, *Ethnicity, and Gender in Eastern Europe During the Market Transition*, Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2001, p. 27.

⁴ Denise Roman, *Fragmented Identities: Popular Culture, Sex, and Everyday Life in Postcommunist Romania*, Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2007, p. 4.

⁵ Francois De Singly, Alain Blanchet, Anne Gotman, Jean - Claude Kaufmann, *Ancheta si metodele ei. Chestionarul, interviul de productie a datelor, interviul comprehensiv*, (Iași: Polirom), 1998, p. 186.

of family networks in promoting women's empowerment an independent use of land resources.

The exploratory interviews focused both on the material aspects of women's land rights (entrepreneurial initiatives, agency, resources, consolidation of property or transfer of decision by argument of masculine hegemony) and cultural ritualization associated to women's land ownership (division of labour, gender discourses and symbolism of land, feminine duties as regards the preservation of parents household). The interviews and group discussions carried in 2018 favoured a familial matrix approach, the main objectives of the research being related to the idea of intergenerational transfer of identities and renegotiation of founding narratives of the clan. The selection of the participants was made through familial interactions and kinship networks, further recruitment of the subjects being based on recommendations and snowball sample technique.

Due the fact that present applied research is grounded on an extended study project, including participant observation and group discussions, recent semi-structured discussions were corroborated with leads identified during previous in-depth interviews and focus groups, from 2016. Presence of multiple layers of testimonies and direct and indirect recollections, offered also the opportunity of comparative exercises, regarding different reflections of the same cycles of events occurred within the bounds of a familial unit. Peculiarly interesting proved to be the topics of land succession and authority conflicts amid consecutive generations (mother versus daughter or daughter-in-law and mother-in-law) and the overpassing of the inheritance cycle by intervention of alternative inheritance trees (grandparents deciding to settle their legacy in favour of nephews, excluding the direct decedents due to sanction or protective behaviour). Another preliminary conclusion arose from the study refers to the differentiations occurred between plough-land inheritance model and the transmission of property as concerns the parents or grandparents households. The research main findings resulted from data obtained from interviews with residents and former residents of the village, the interviews being conducted between November 2018 and January 2019. The study assumes an anthropological perspective, focusing on discourse analysis⁶ and identification of leading themes, followed by isolation of key expressions and socio-cultural determinants (community attitudes, beliefs, values, language structures) in describing the patterns in narrating rural women identities connected to land ownership. The interviews were coordinated by the first author, using furthermore personal experience as

⁶ Eds. Janet Holmes, Miriam Meyerhoff, *The Handbook of Language and Gender*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing), 2003, p. 306.

former village resident, and typically lasted 90 minutes, distributed in two sessions.

Chiscani village is a part of Chiscani commune, reuniting also villages of Lacu Sărat and Vărsătura, and it is located in Brăila County, in Romania's South-Est region, census data from 2002 mentioning a population of 5383 of inhabitants⁷ and 5340 in 2011⁸. At the 2011 census, the gender structure of the population, although balanced by total (2667 male and 2673 female), by age group revealed that the female population is more numerous, especially after 65 years, while men dominate in other age categories (Fig. 2). According to the 2010 General Agricultural Census, there are 2238 agricultural holdings in the commune of Chiscani, with an average agricultural area of 2.32 hectares⁹. Of the total number of holdings, 1969 are mixed, 223 have only agricultural areas and 46 have only livestock¹⁰. The structure of agricultural holdings, as regards the utilised agricultural surface (Fig. 3) reveals the dominance of small property parcels, under 0.1 hectares. Chiscani is a periurban commune which has benefited from its location in the immediate vicinity of Braila municipality so that, on the whole, we can say that it is little exposed to socio-economic inequalities (such as land use, demo-social dimension, social infrastructure, economic size and investment) characteristic of deep rural spaces¹¹.

The village socio-cultural dynamics proves to be relevant due to presence of several interesting features: dominance of vestigial forms of rituals and language, inherited from Ottoman age (1554-1829), hybridization of village economic and cultural configurations with urbanity parameters, due to city's proximity (15 km), rise during communist era of one of the larger chemical factory in its near vicinities and not lastly, due to recent tendency of the village to become a secondary and week-end residence for Brăila city inhabitants. The limitations of the research design are those characteristics of qualitative and mixed approaches, which may result in narrowed and extremely customized perspective of the

⁷ National Institute of Statistics, *Recensământul populației și al locuințelor/Census of population and housing*, 2002.

⁸ National Institute of Statistics, *Recensământul populației și al locuințelor/ Census of population and housing*, 2011.

⁹ Direcția Regională de Statistică Brăila/Regional Directorate of Statistics Brăila, *Recensământul General Agricol 2010/ General Agricultural Census*, 2010, <http://www.rga2010.djsct.ro>, Table 2.

¹⁰ *Idem*, Table 1.

¹¹ Krisztina Melinda Dobay, Valentin Mihai Bohateret (coord.), *Orientări privind posibilitatea atenuării inegalităților economico-sociale din mediul rural în Regiunea de Dezvoltare Sud-Est a României*, Iași: Terra Nostra, 2011, p. 72.

phenomena, all the more the cultural perceptions may be distorted by persistence of tensional gender history.

A village by the river. Rural women passing the legacy

Traditional cultures in general and rural landscapes mostly tend to define identities in land ownership terms. The dominance of a property oriented perspective, governing the community contracts and cultural orders, may influence thus other exclusion borders as gender, genealogy or even clan or birth stigma. An interesting casuistry it is offered in this case by Romania's early XIX century traditions, surviving in sublimated forms even during modern times, claiming that thieves should be expelled from the villages of origin, the same treatment being suggested for other out-laws or deviant individuals. By buying a new piece of land within a different village and accepting the anathema of relegation, the person could start a new life.

In Chiscani we had a neighbour called Radu, the Thief. It was in the 60th. We knew that he came 20 years ago from a near village, Tibănești, because the peasants menaced him to set fire to his household, if he did not agree to move. They caught him stealing and that was his fate. In our village he had a normal life (former village resident, male, 66, November 2018).

A similar treatment was identified in case of women confronted with community sanctions, due to illegitimate births or divorce, runaway daughters and wives being liberated once they left the community shelter. In this very context, the ethical strings and compelling power of Romanian southern village ended at the fringe of its lands. This essential correlations persisting amid locative memory, land ownership and women's autonomy are confirmed by the perceptions and discourses resulted from interview materials, most detailed contributions concerning the familial memory and the experience of regime change.

We couldn't find our place within the community. My mother came from a different village and always thought the life was harder here. I remember my father's mother, because she was living with us in the same yard. But she still kept a small house too live separately (her and her husband). We respected her, but the involvement within the house, cooking and eating together or talking was not so strong. The family was about marriage. I grew up without knowing too much about the family history, there were difficult times. We were persecuted as wealthy peasants (former village resident, female, 65, November 2018).

The starting point of family's memory is often connected to the idea of moving into the village. Few recollections of anterior life were maintained and most of kinship relations were severed. The marriage was marking the beginning of new identity cycle, women's nomination within the village social life being made under formula of "x, married by". However, women's mobility and autonomy was higher for those who came into the village after marriage, in comparison with ones living in both spheres of authority represented by origin family and the parents-in-law. The main vectors for expressing the family's messages in social space were the women, open conflicts bursting rarely and ending in violent physical confrontations.

I was accustomed with the tensions amid them (the relatives) since childhood. My grandmother was giving me no explanations, just saying "we don't speak to them". Small thefts within same family were the norm, especially crop theft. What I found peculiarly interesting was that the conflicts were led by women. They (the men) never said straight "you are the thief". Still, there were some limits. It was something like small theft, for grains or small supplies from the household and grievous robbery. The limits were quite thin, but when the line was crossed, there was no way back (former village resident, female 34, November 2018).

The feminine authority was transmitted on both sides, paternal and maternal, the women's influence within the clan being established sometimes in relation with land administration and family survival. Women's social mobility and small entrepreneurial initiatives were accepted, even if in most cases the interactions with the city were made by older women as grandmothers and mothers-in-law.

My grandmother told me a lot of tales about war. They were already poor at the end of the '30. She was going twice a week to the city (Brăila), walking more than two hours on Danube's shore, to sell cow milk for Greeks families living next to the harbour. She had her own clientele and left me the impression of a strong authority. During the war (World War II) she rented some rooms for the officers and took care of the household. All her sons were obeying her. The old man wasn't that popular (former village resident, male, 66, November 2018).

Women's traditions within the community and their roles as message carriers between clans and neighbours survived the communist and post-communist transformations, the presence of coherent gender orders being proved by vestigial use of native vocabulary and pre-modern rituals. The

segregation of gender discursive patterns was not irreversible, since during transition years there were again commonly use, mostly as a restorative measure, archaic terms as Turkish *ciair* (grass land) or *odaie* (guest room). Recovery of older generations' vocabulary was made in direct correlation with locative and territorial phrases as *Raia* (administrative unity used under Ottoman domination) or hierarchical or authority terms as *Baba* (oldest women in the clan, also Turkish term).

I have a distant remembrance of my great grandmother. She lived in a small house, almost a hovel, neighbouring my father's parents yard. She was born in 1903 and she still used some archaic terms, as chiler, Turkish term for storehouse. During holydays, when women were expected to celebrate the deaths' souls, she was cooking also a Turkish dish, pillaf (boiled rice). It was in the early 90th and for me seemed quite exotic, the way she was wearing her kerchief, with a big knot on the back head. At that time I asked my father's mother about the food they use to cook for Christmas and Easter or their anniversaries. She told that until the 1950, the pillaf was their food for special occasions. After that they started to do more modern dishes. Only very old women were still making sweet or salty rice as a ritual food in the '90 (former village resident, 34, female, November 2018).

Collectivization of agriculture within the pale of vernacular community did not change profoundly the discourses upon women's role, their participation in factory's workforce or state agricultural production unit (CAP – Cooperative of Agricultural Production) being preceded by other independent work activities. Chiscani women's were used to sell fruits, vegetables or cow milk to the city since the interwar, their small commerce opening interesting autonomy perspectives, recovered as survival strategies during the '50.

I was free to choose who to marry. We were friends for more than two years and my parents had nothing to do with my choice. It was not important, at least they didn't told me anything about that. We got married in January 13, 1952. We went to Church and after that we settled our party in a small saloon in the village. Because he (my husband) was the son of a wealthy peasant, they cancelled our party. The village mayor came and threaten us and we were sitting outside in the snow with all our guests. My father-in-law already had lost his land and was marginalized, but after the wedding they came to our house and confiscated everything. Flour sacks, cornmeal, even our pickle barrels they throw it away in the yard. It was a bitter winter.

Days after, I heard my mother-in-law saying that “She will run away to her parents, because there is no food left”. I gave no answer and we survived only because we manage to keep the two cows. My mother-in-law was going every day to the city (Brăila), on foot, just to sell the milk and to buy bread (village resident, female, 86, December 2018).

Communist era recollections differ under angle of property confiscation experience and partial emancipation from the household obtained after enrolment within paid labour force. Yet, local women accumulated already previous autonomy steps, mostly after World War II, when their small trade with the city granted a minimal independence. Communist emancipation was perceived dominantly in negative terms, also due several migration waves within the community, during the ‘50 and the ‘60, when near chemical factory attracted new workforce from north-eastern counties of Moldova region. Gender discourses on the new inhabitants revolved around critical terms, the new comers being labelled as “strangers”, usual women’s social nomination, “X, married with” being replaced by formula “X, outlander, wife of”. The cultural divide embodied also a territorial form, the new inhabitants quarter being named succinctly the “the other village”.

I cried when they took us the horses (during the communist collectivization of agriculture). I saw them at the collective farm and they were ill-treated and I was furious because I felt like they were still mine. I suffered much for the land. Even I had little inheritance from my parents. He (my husband) was a very good carpenter, born here, and we still manage to raise some money. He worked at home in defiance to their rules. Yet we were paying a price and were forced to make a lot of presents (for communist nomenclatura). I worked only in the household. We had another small parcel, on the other part of the village. They (the communists) didn’t touch it because it was a „house plot”. We had a small vineyard there and we were known for our red wine. I was in charge with family’s finances and decided what to do. When the new comers started to move into the village, we had new clientele. They worked in the factory and (had) enough money to pay (village resident, female, 88, May 2016)

However, the exclusion borders remained connected to the clause of landownership. The legitimate path to enter the collective body and the community network was represented by land property, even during communist era (1947-1989), when all plough-land plots were used by state collective farms. Yet, new comers could purchase “house plots”, their

exclusion status within the community gradually fading away, at the birth of the first native generation. Women's mobility and accountability in terms of land rights was still the subject of constant biases, the only accepted trajectory for land ownership being marriage or inheritance.

My father's mother was the great authority in the family. When someone tried to have a different opinion, she remembered them that she owned enough plough-land when she entered the family (through marriage), so her dowry "lies heavy" for her word. We were learned that land rights were important, even when they forced us to enter the CAP. I came back a few years ago. Want to be next to the parents. I stay more during weekends. Not sure if I'm really a peasant (returned village resident, female, 38, December 2018).

Inheritance models and land rights distribution followed an interesting approach, since women's share within the succession line was equal with that of male descendants. Local culture did not emphasize the status of first born, exception being made however for the case of the older brother, which had the duty to care for the others, especially when he professed an independent craft (small handicrafts, allowing supplementary earnings), not related with agricultural patrimony of the family.

I had my land from my parents. I gained it back after 1990, when the state retroceded us the land they took from parents and grandparents. My mother inherited some land, and her mother the same. Women kept the land and decided what to do. After the Revolution (regime change from 1989) I became more independent. We use the money from the crops to improve the house (village resident, female, 64, December 2018).

Yet, it may be drawn a distinction amid the household territory, as a peculiar space of land rights, and the plough-land perceived as an untouchable intergenerational inheritance. The last-born in the family, female or male, was entitled to inherit the parents' household, but this right was correlated with a duty to care for ageing parents. No discrimination was made in female descendants' cases, but the transmission of property was slightly different. For last-born sons, the custom was to move into the parents' household after marriage, the elders' couple in generally leaving their own house. The new couple started to habit the main house, while for the parents they usually built a small cottage, in the same yard. For last-born daughters, they took care of the elder couple without moving into the household, while they could claim

the inheritance, rightfully theirs, only after parents' death. Widows never left their household, to accept living together with children, even during illness. Women's rights as regard land topic was confirmed subsequent to communism's fall, when female farmers had same decision power and duties as their male counterparts (working the land, selling the products, negotiating the pecuniary benefits).

The female farmers are equal with men. They do the same work in the field. Their life during communism was banal. After 1989 I think it is easier for them. Inheritance of land within family's bounds is important (village resident, male, 67, December 2018).

The plough-land transmission cycle was rarely disturbed, peculiarly due to the five decades of communist rule, when land ownership rights were suspended and limited to the household patrimony. In this context, there could be identified only two ages of inheritance traditions, which influenced the memory and performative identities of local women. Generational cohort of women married in the late '40, experienced the process of preliminary heritage settlement, the land gave them as dowry, remaining sometimes in parents' effective use. Receiving an inheritance after the marriage had similar clauses, the use of land being decided often by parents and seldom by husband or in-laws. Another trend regards the preliminary negotiations of the family patrimony, under terms of community departure of one of the descendants.

They (the parents) decided to leave him no plough-land, because he chose to marry in another village. My uncle remained there, because his wife's parents had a market garden and earned much money at that time. It was uncommon, as my father told me. Still, he had his share from another house plot. They discussed with all brothers and sisters the distribution of goods (former village resident 66, male, November 2018).

The second age of succession traditions occurred at the end of the communist epoch. In this context, the restitution policies favouring the principle of restitution *in integrum*, offered new grounds for negotiating the configurations of the inheritance trees.

The grandparents choose the make a donation in my favour and to exclude my father from the inheritance line. He agreed (the father) and I became the possessor of the household and of the plough-land. They told me that at the beginning (of their marriage) they were that poor, that they had only one spoon. They wanted for me to start life and marriage

differently. Their parents did not approve the marriage and they built their house on their own. The relations with parents remained cold, thought the women (grandmother and her daughter-in-law) use to take counsel together from time to time or for important matters (former village resident 34, female, November 2018).

Recollections of communist collectivization process and tensions raised by migration of direct successors to the city, accentuated an anticipatory legacy approach. The household and mainly the plough-land dynamics within the family tree should satisfy the clauses of equity in distribution of goods (all descendant should be entitled to claim their share) and responsibility in use (abandonment of agriculture plots or even of parents and grandparents household were sanctioned).

I talked with my daughter and my son and we did the papers. I want to make the things clear. I settled their inheritance and they are happy with this arrangement. At some moment they should do the same with their children (village resident, female, 87, May 2016).

The distinctions made between the symbolic value associate to the households plots and the field land were maintain during post-communist times, the plough-land remaining the key vector in establishing clan continuity. Often, the interviewed descendants and prospective successors accepted the hypothesis of selling the parents or grandparents household, but in none of the case they didn't assume a voluntary conveyance of crop plots. The hypothesis of proximity and opportunity costs was invoked as justificatory scenario for selling the house plots, all the more that family's secondary kinship chains were involved in recovery of the land rights. Former village residents were reselling the family households to cousins and distant relatives, but the property transfer was defined as an economic act. Donations were made only in exceptionally cases, even within the frame of first degree relatives.

I never worked in the field. Not even in the garden. They let us (the parents) to go to school. After Ceaușescu's fall we considered that the land is part of our legacy and we should take care of it. I never defined myself as peasant, no matter whether I lived in the village for twenty years. Maybe because the city was so near and the factory and so on, I chose to get marry and move away. I didn't want to stay there (in the village). My father's mother donated me a piece of land, a house-plot, during the '80. It was in fact a gift for my new born daughter. I sold it in the '90, but I'm

decided to keep all the plough-land (former village resident, female, 65, November 2018).

Selective inheritance models and prospective settlement of family patrimony may be perceived as well established vernacular practice, women's influence in deciding the property transmission mechanism almost outperforming the masculine authority. Great majority of the interviewed persons described the succession mechanism in case of one of the parents death as directly linked with decisions made by the remaining parent, especially after communism. If women survived their husband, the inheritance settlement was often adjourned until her own death, the whole household benefits and use of plough-land remaining under her singular authority. If the husband survived the wife, the inheritance settlement was partially operated, the household remaining yet under his authority, sometimes shared with the last-born son. The research highlighted however a tendency to evade the post-communist phase, the answers revolving around identity topics and gender orders transmitted through family's narratives. Gender cultural memory within community bounds is defined by provocative shades, as the autonomy and independence of village's women can be traced back in interwar years. The perception of communist gender policies, and chiefly of coercive body politics, is shallow, as the village community acted as a protective shelter.

State intrusive practices were limited by community homogeneity and kinship chains, the peasant women not making the subject of forced medical controls. Sources for this duality of communist practices remain still unclear, as no official derogations as regards rural women reproductive policies were identified. Post-communist silence and lack of major reconfigurations within the founding narratives, discourses and identities of local women validates the hypothesis of a persistent cultural landscape, crossing more than three historical phases (interwar, communist epoch and transitional experience of liberalization and democratization). The preservation and intergenerational circulation of similar and coherent narratives demonstrates that the community managed to protect its gender standard in a surprisingly modern equation. In the light of these considerations, it may be concluded that local women self-portrayal is defined by their authority in deciding inheritance and property transmission model, their land rights overpassing sometimes their initial contribution for the clan's patrimony.

Conclusions

Chiscani village *Bororo myth*¹² has a strong locative and territorial determination, the founding narratives of several generations remaining dominated by the story of clan's entrance within the community. Lack of functional recollections regarding the memory of previous non-resident members of the clan and their place of birth, social status or land heritage confirms the hypothesis of a ritualization of oblivion. In the same time, the collective memory of the families reflects a two generation border, out of the recollections became unclear and sometimes tends to be reconstructed after more recent events. As a meaningful sample, more than half of the interviewed persons could not define the exact time frame when the clan entered the community and none of them defined themselves as a native family, living for several generations within the village.

Yet, taking into the account the century-long existence of the community, attested in commercial documents since XVII century, it could be followed a hypothesis of narrative forgery. The natives tend to use the founding myth of an outlander filiation as a curative measure for lack of information concerning a long time span of family history. Another interesting element refers to recurrence of a feminine founding figure, last link in clan's tree being represented dominantly by women. The key social cultural determinant in cultural memory is represented by nuclear family formula, the community tales favouring only a very permeable version of *zadruga* communion¹³. Relations with the family sub-units, brothers and their new families or married sons, are often subject of tensional interactions, the main message carriers amid these distinct territories of the clan being the feminine figures. Land ownership represents a critical factor in defining authority within community, but the classical traditional model of male hegemony encountered here some unexpected modulations. After marriage, women can use the family patrimony as an argument of personal agency and community status, they also playing an essential role in negotiating the family pacts and declarations of conflict. In the same time, their autonomy includes the rights to profess entrepreneurial endeavours, including small trade outside community's borders.

Main socio-cultural determinants, reflected by interviews concerns terms as: *tradition*, use predominantly for explaining the distribution of land rights and the succession mechanism, *parents and grandparents will*, for major *zadruga family* decisions (infrequent exclusions from inheritance tree or anticipative settlement of family's patrimony), *respect*

¹² Claude Levi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology* (NY: Basic Books), 1963, p. 128.

¹³ Joel M. Halpern, David Anderson, "The Zadruga, a Century of Change", *Anthropologica* New Series, Vol. 12, No. 1, *Modernization and Tradition in Central European Rural Cultures*, 1970, p. 84.

and authority, connected to women status (in most cases the oldest women within the extended family, even from maternal bloodline). Mothers, wives or grandmothers were perceived and remembered as major authority and memory keepers, their influence upon patrimonial decisions being unquestionable, even if the subordination to their husbands or fathers it is yet perceptible in some specific topics (marriage approval, use of land crops pecuniary benefits). Performing similar economic and social roles with their male counterparts (working the land, driving the wagon and selling products in the city) and excluding the isolation within the household, Chiscani women reveal the presence of a *longue durée* of hybrid gender orders. Also, the multicultural heritage offered by Brăila harbour vicinity and its small communities of Greeks, Tatars and Jews, influenced discreetly the emancipation borders and performative identities of local women, exposed to multiple discourses and reflections of modernity, since interwar. The consequences of these multiple modernities¹⁴ left traceable marks, determining an atomization and isolation of the nuclear families in relation with the origin clans, their individuality fostering further tensional cleavages.

Thus, the sublimation of *zadruga* family conflicts was realized through frequent ritual thievery gestures (crop theft or household theft), manifested in most of the cases at the end of funeral moments or after unsatisfactory settlement of the inheritance. Land profanation and even crop destruction were not perceived as exceptional, the sanction or protest gesture being made anonymously, women of the clan having the role to translate the conflict and to propose reconciliation terms. The semiotic map of the village did not major suffer structural changes during post-communist inverted migration, the newcomers imitating rapidly the native community culture and integrating gradually their narratives. This silent immersion of new residents into the village culture may be deciphered also as a secondary effect of vernacular founding myth, whereto the stranger and the native are separated by a thin (land) line.

¹⁴Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt, *Comparative civilizations and multiple modernities*, Leiden and Boston: BRILL, 2003, p. 192.

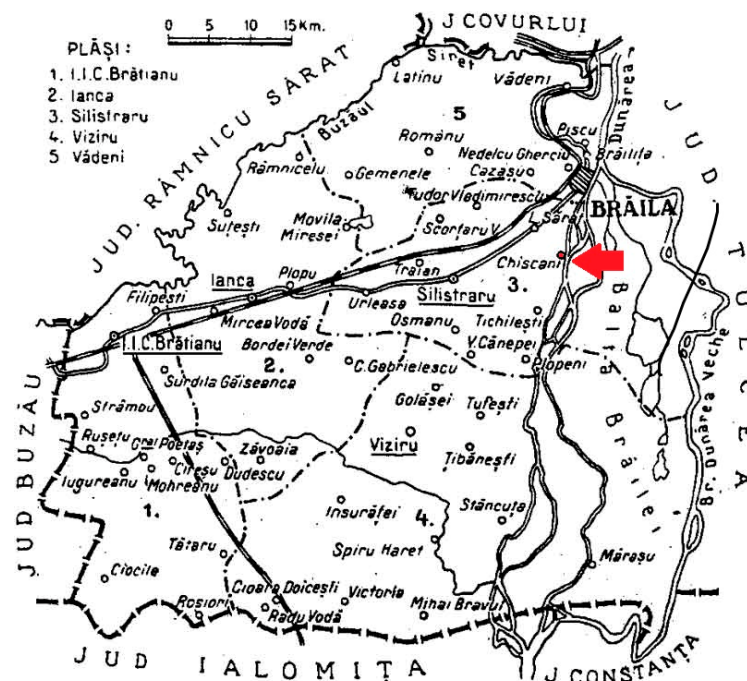


Fig. 1 Map of the Brăila County, as constituted in 1938

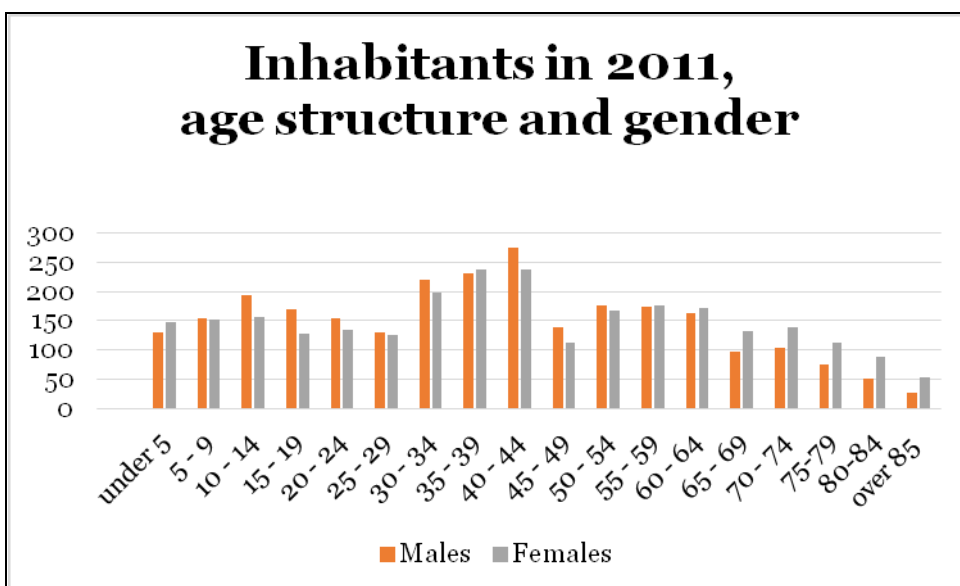


Fig. 2. Inhabitants of Chiscani commune in 2011, age structure and gender (National Institute of Statistics, Romania, 2011)

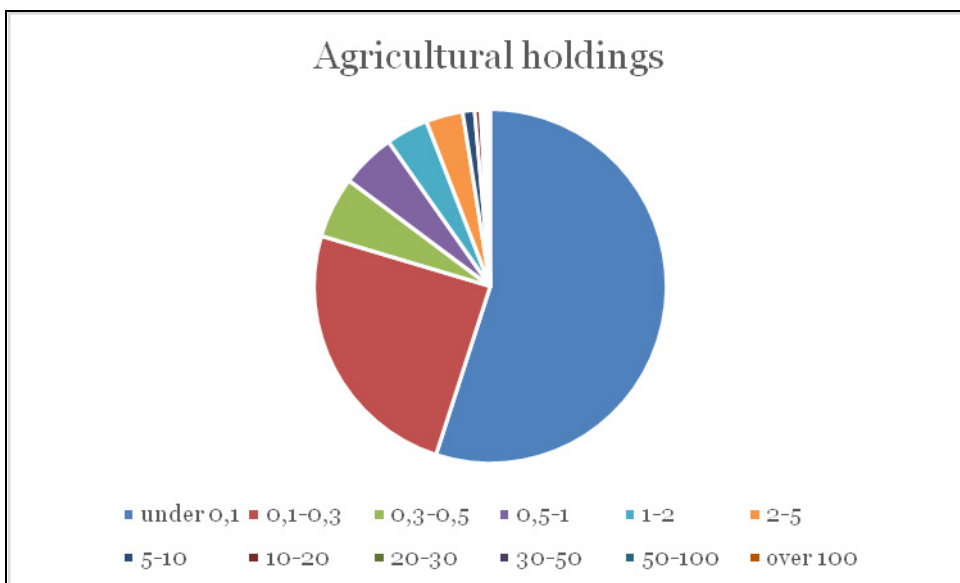


Fig. 3 Agricultural holdings and utilised agricultural surface (General Agricultural Census, 2010)

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THE COGNOSCIBILITY OF GOD FOR THOMAS AQUINAS AND IN ORTHODOX THEOLOGY

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Abstract: *The cognoscibility of God has been and is being investigated and explained in different ways either by philosophy or by theology. If the first branch of knowledge sought to include the existence of God and His knowledge in the sphere of rational explanations, and afterwards the Roman-Catholic theology through its prominent representatives such as Thomas Aquinas, took up mostly philosophical ideas, such as those from Aristotle's Metaphysics, however they could not encompass God, who in His infinity transcends all rationality, in specific definitions of the rational world. Orthodox theology brought forth a form of knowledge full of meaning that goes beyond the rational, that rises through what is rational to what we call supra-rational.*

Keywords: *The knowledge of God, Roman Catholic theology, Orthodox theology, Thomas Aquinas, cataphatic and apophatic knowledge.*

I. Introductory concepts

This great scholar going by the name of Thomas Aquinas is one of the leading representatives of scholastic theology, and his writings are certainly key points of Roman Catholic theology. So is the theological chapter of the knowledge of God, a chapter for which Roman Catholic theology uses a great part of the writings of this theologian.

The analysis of his theology shows the fact that he emphasizes rationalism, and regarding the theme of the cognoscibility of God, he critically synthesizes Aristotle's doctrine, thus resulting in a limited number of paths of knowledge. In other words, Thomas Aquinas reduces cognoscibility only to the rational, to what can be explained by reason, and points out that it can be divided into 5 ways or means. It should be noted that this rational cognoscibility can be achieved in two ways: through demonstration by cause and through demonstration by effect.

Basically, God in His being is incognoscible. Therefore, the rational demonstration of His existence can be achieved only by either referring to

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the first cause or by referring to the effects resulting from the actions of the first cause.

During the scholastic period, several important representatives made different cosmological arguments and we can give here the example of Anselm of Canterbury, who, besides the ontological argument already known, also formulates a rational argument referring to causality¹. However, no matter how much they wanted to argue through different cosmological formulations the existence and knowledge of God, the only one that stood out above all was Thomas Aquinas.

II. The rational knowledge of God in the theology of Thomas Aquinas

The ontological dimension elaborated by Anselm is subject to a tough investigation carried out by Thomas, so that, in his thesis entitled *Summa Theologica*, he shows that the existence of God must be proven from an "a posteriori" perspective, because the great philosophers of antiquity did not ask whether there is a God or not, but have always sought a rational demonstration, on the one hand, of His existence, and on the other hand, of our ability to know Him rationally.

For theology, the truth of God's existence is undeniable. With regards to philosophy, and even other branches of knowledge, there is a need to understand the existence of God only in the rational way. In other words, from the perspective of different sciences of theology, the existence and knowledge of God must be rationally demonstrated. Without this demonstration the existence of the One by Whom all things were made, is subject to doubt.

Starting from the principle that God in His being exceeds the limited capacities of reason, Thomas Aquinas gives three arguments that prove that, strictly speaking about the being of God, so not about the cause of those that can be grasped by reason, nor about the effects produced by the will of the First Cause, God cannot be demonstrated.

The first argument found in the thesis *Summa Theologica* says:

"Ad secundum sic proceditur. Videtur quod Deum esse non sit demonstrabile. Deum enim esse est articulus fidei. Sed ea quae sunt fidei, non sunt demonstrabilia, quia demonstratio facit scire, fides autem de non apparentibus est, ut patet per apostolum, ad Hebr. XI. Ergo Deum esse non est demonstrabile"². The existence of God is an article of

¹ Davies, Brian, *An introduction to the Philosophy of Religion*, Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 186.

² Toma d' Aquino, *Summa Theologiae*, I – a, q. 2 a. 2 arg. 1, Textum Leoninum, Roma, 1888.

faith. But the content of the faith is not demonstrable, because the demonstration does something obvious, but faith deals with what is not evident, as the Apostle in Hebrews 11,1 says. Therefore, the existence of God is not demonstrable.

The second argument used by the great thinker highlights:

"Praeterea, medium demonstrationis est quod quid est. Sed de Deo non possumus scire quid est, sed solum quid non est, ut dicit Damascenus. Ergo non possumus demonstrare Deum esse"³. In addition, the medium term in demonstration is what exists. However, About God we cannot know what is, but only what is not. Therefore, we cannot prove that God exists.

The third argument by which Thomas expresses the incognoscibility of God in His Being says:

"Praeterea, si demonstraretur Deum esse, hoc non esset nisi ex effectibus eius. Sed effectus eius non sunt proportionati ei, cum ipse sit infinitus, et effectus finiti; finiti autem ad infinitum non est proportio. Cum ergo causa non possit demonstrari per effectum sibi non proportionatum, videtur quod Deum esse non possit demonstrari"⁴. Moreover, if it were demonstrated that God exists, this could only be done through His effects. But His effects are not proportional to Him, because He is infinite, and His effects are finite; there is no ratio between finite and infinite. However, since the cause cannot be demonstrated by effects that are not proportional to it, therefore, it is obvious that the existence of God cannot be demonstrated.

Since God in His Being cannot be rationally demonstrated, Thomas formulates 5 paths of knowledge that can involve reason, but these paths do not lead to the personal knowledge of the One who is above all rationality, but only to a form of knowledge that is demonstrated by cause or effect.

The Thomistic demonstration, from which Kant inspired himself for the elaboration of the distinction between analytic and synthetic sentences, elaborates the argumentative perspective. This perspective highlights that there is the possibility of discussing two types of sentences, which have as their basis the subject and the logical predicate. The theology of Thomas therefore proposes the conceptual difference between sentences of analytic

³ Ibidem, arg. 2.

⁴ Ibidem, arg. 3.

form (***per se nota secundum se***) and sentences of the synthetic type⁵ (***per se nota cvadnos***). Thus, the sentence "God exists" can be part of those of analytic form because, according to Thomas's argument, "in God the relation between essence and existence is one of identity"⁶. The scriptural argument in favor of this idea is that from the second book of Moses, Exodus, where in chapter 3, verse 14, God "appears" to Moses through the words: "I am who I am".

Based on these assumptions, the phrase "God exists" from the demonstration made by Thomas, is part of (***per se nota secundum se***) and it does not fall into the category (***per se nota cvadnos***). It is therefore clear that proving the existence of God is both possible and necessary⁷.

For the Latin theologian, the rational demonstration of God's existence can be made ***a posteriori***, because "the very object of the human intellect is ***cviditas*** or the essence of the material object. The intellect starts from the sensible objects, it knows according to appearances and it is tailor-made to the measure of the sensitive objects by virtue of its embodied character. Thomas does not accept innate ideas, nor does he appeal to any intuitive knowledge of God."⁸

According to the great philosopher Etienne Gilson, "all the Thomistic evidence brings into play two distinct elements: the acknowledgment of a sensitive reality that requires an explanation and the assertion of a causal series to which this reality is a base and to which God is the top"⁹.

The first four ways in which Thomas argues the rational form of knowledge of God are contained in the cosmological argument. This argument is based on the principle of causality. The philosopher Brian Davies points out that "the first way has in its center the concept of movement having in the context of the cosmological argument the meaning of change"¹⁰. The same principle of "Prime Mover" is found at Aristotle, which proves that Roman Catholic theology is not lacking Aristotelian influence. This principle, "***primum movens***", is necessary for the argument of causality, being the one that stops the infinite regress towards the cause of the causes.

⁵ According to the terminology of Kantian philosophy.

⁶ Copleston, Frederick, *The History of Philosophy, Volume II. Medieval philosophy*, translation by Mihaela Pop, Andreea Rădulescu, ALL Publishing House, Bucharest, 2009, p. 336.

⁷ Ibidem, p. 337.

⁸ Ibidem, p. 338.

⁹ Gilson, Etienne, *Philosophy in the Middle Ages, from the Patristic beginnings until the end of the 4th century*, Humanitas Publishing House, Bucharest, 1995, p. 490.

¹⁰ Davies, Brian, *Introduction to the philosophy of religion*, translation by Dorin Oancea, Humanitas Publishing House, Bucharest, 1996, p. 59.

According to the theology of Thomas, the first cause must be outside the series of horizontal contingent causes. Thus, the Latin theologian shows that there may be an infinite mathematical series which ontologically depend on the First Cause, but this First Cause must not be part of the mathematical infinity.

The second way of rational knowledge of God refers to the presence of the Efficient Cause. This path states that the efficient cause is different from the effect it generates. In order for human reason not to reach the impossibility produced by infinite mathematical regression, "the first efficient cause is identified by reason as being God"¹¹.

The third rational way of knowing God is presented by the Latin theologian using the terms referring to "generation and destruction"¹². Thomas points out that things that are logically generated go towards their death. In other words, having a start, they logically head for an end. Hence the existence of a necessary first cause, without which there could not be anything. The demonstration of causes can be thought of in the idea that whatever exists certainly has a cause, and in order not to fall under the mathematical infinity, reason must admit the existence of a necessary first Cause, which is called God.

The fourth way of proving the existence of God and the capacity of human reason to know Him is built on the idea of causality, although the way to prove used by the Latin theologian is different. This argumentation starts from establishing some levels of perfection in each being, and the reference is always made to the Absolute Perfection. The actual size of an object can be studied by reference to an object of maximum size, the reference to something smaller does not denote an exact analysis of the value of the analysed object. According to Thomas, the Absolute Perfection, which contains everything within itself and depends on nothing, being the prime cause of all, is called God.

The last method of demonstrating the existence of God is based on what can be called the final cause. In this demonstration, the Latin theologian emphasizes the existence and role of the Creator as the ultimate goal of all creation. Since a clearly determined order exists, even the elements of creation that have not been endowed with reason, prove a certain well-defined purpose namely, to reach the argument of the existence of the Absolute Reason, that is to reach the last purpose of the whole creation, namely God.

¹¹ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa...*, apud. Copleston Fr., *op.cit.*, p. 341.

¹² Davies, Brian, *op.cit.*, p. 61.

III. The knowledge of God in Orthodox theology

1. The relationship between rational and apophatic knowledge. The unity of the two paths of knowledge

God in His being is incognoscible. The Son, the One begotten from the Father before all ages, is the One who reveals Himself to us at the level of our capacity of rational understanding. The analysis of Orthodox theology points out that the knowledge of God can be achieved in two main ways. The first way deals with the rational knowledge which is also called cataphatic, and the second way presents the apophatic knowledge. The first way of knowledge is a limited one, a limit that arises as a result of the limitation of rationality, and the second way presents the apophatic knowledge, a form of higher knowledge, which is not limited to the intellect.

By cataphatic knowledge the cognoscibility of God cannot exceed the limits of reason. In other words, we know God as a creative and providential Cause. Through apophatic knowledge, man gets to experience the mysterious presence of God, which goes beyond reason and can hardly be expressed in words. The relationship between the two ways of knowledge is a special one, of co-operation, so that the man who understands God through the prism of reason, continues the path of knowledge through the apophatic way.

If rational knowledge formulates a series of rational attributes that present God, in the apophatic knowledge "attributes are no longer thought, but experienced directly. For example, for it the infinity and the almightiness, or the love of God are not only intellectual notions, but a direct experience"¹³.

According to the Orthodox experience, through apophatic knowledge, man secretly penetrates into the infinity of God, into His unlimited love. Basically, man does not limit himself to reason that says about God is love by excellence, but even lives by apophatism in this love. This form of living goes far beyond the rational, the man realizing that it is much deeper than the rational, and for this reason it is very difficult to express in words.

There is a reciprocity between the two paths of knowledge, one completing the other. The man who knows God rationally cannot stop within the limits imposed by reason and, out of love for the Creator, he rises through the apophatic knowledge beyond any imposed limits. Those who come to such knowledge, in order to explain it, often use terms from rational argumentation, but these grounds are sometimes devoid of a deep meaning necessary for apophatic expression.

¹³ Staniloae, Prof. Dr. Dumitru, *Orthodox Dogmatic Theology, Volume I, Edition II*, IBMBOR Publishing House, Bucharest, 1996, p. 81.

It should be mentioned that, once man gets to know God by reason, then through spiritual life, the initial knowledge is greatly amplified by a process of contemplation specific to apophatic knowledge.

The Holy Fathers of the Orthodoxy often talk about contemplative, therefore apophatic, knowledge, but they never exclude the rational one, each one having a very specific role to play.¹⁴ The fact that the Holy Fathers emphasize both forms of knowledge is evident from their writings in which they analyse both ways. Thus St. Gregory of Nazianz explains rational knowledge through the words: "That God exists and is the creator and bearer cause of all, natural sight and law teach us: the first regarding the seen and well-ordered and wonderful and, so to speak, moved and worn in a still motion; the second, deducing from the ones seen and well arranged to their Leader. For how would this universe have subsisted or been formed without God, Who gives birth to all and sustains them all? Because even the one who looks at a wonderfully crafted guitar, and its good harmony, he could not restrain from thinking about the guitar maker, even if he does not know him. So, it is obvious to us that He who created all things ever made, moves and preserves them, even if we do not understand Him with our understanding"¹⁵.

According to Orthodox theology, the entire rationality of the world demands in itself the existence and care of a rational Creator. Moreover, the rational Creator is imperative to be the Trinity of People, because only in this way can the communion between God, the Creator by Excellence, and man, the crown of all creation be experienced. If the rationality of the world would not seek a real meaning in the rationality of the Creator, then it would be defined as an absurd rationality, that leads nowhere.

The rationality of the world is not a static one, subject to a rule of circular motion, but God interacts with His whole creation, helps it permanently through divine providence, and enters into dialogue with the most precious creation, man. In order for this dialogue to be intelligible to man, the latter must go beyond the rationality of the world. Apophatic knowledge is a deeper way of knowing God, but this naturally means overcoming the limitation imposed by rationality. It has to be specified that the overcoming of rationality for a deeper knowledge does not mean the separation of rationality, but the raising through it, beyond its limits. "This knowledge is apophatic because God, who is seized by it, is

¹⁴ Yannaras, Hr., *De l'absence et de l'inconnaissance de Dieu*, Ed. du Cerf, Paris, 1971, p. 87.

¹⁵ *Oratio XXVIII; Theologica II*, P.G. 36, col. 33, apud. Stăniloae, Pr. prof. PhD. Dumitru, *op.cit.*, p. 83.

indefinable; He is lived as a reality that goes beyond any possibility of definition”¹⁶.

Although the apophatic knowledge of God exceeds by far rational knowledge, this does not mean that through it one can reach the knowledge of God in His Being. This form of knowledge refers permanently to the Person of Christ descended in history through the act of incarnation. Therefore, the apophatic knowledge of God as a Person, cannot be reduced to rational conclusions, because it is experienced in a completely spiritual state, a state that can be achieved only for the man who has transcended the materiality of this world. This form of knowledge requires the elevation of the human being over any kind of elements that refer to passion, this elevation actually meaning the state of purification. Once man goes beyond the materiality of the world, his being becomes sensitive and understands the reality of God in terms other than rational.

Apophatic knowledge can by no means be defined as irrational, but it is supra-rational "because the Son of God is the Logos, who has within himself the reason of all creatures. But it is supra-rational, as the person is supra-rational, as a subject of reason, of a life that always makes sense”¹⁷.

The special importance that this form of knowledge has in Orthodoxy is given by the fact that it is acquired by experience, by living, by the direct participation of the human person actively involved in the spiritual growth and implicitly in the spiritual growth that leads to a deeper knowledge of God. Here the Orthodox theology is qualitatively different from the other theologies, which reduce the apophatic knowledge to a simple negative intellectual knowledge. In the other theologies the apophatism of this knowledge is reduced to the denial of rational statements and nothing more.

Therefore, Orthodox theology is so full of meaning, because God is the meaning of all creation, it gives a real meaning understood by man and experienced through apophatic knowledge. This is why St. Gregory states: “It seems to me that, through what is being noticed, He attracts me to Him; and through what is un-noticed, my admiration arouses; and being admired, He is desired again; and being desired, He purifies us; and by purifying us, He gives us a divine image; and by doing so, He speaks to us as to those from His household”¹⁸, who infinitely taste from the infinity of God.

¹⁶ Stăniloae, Pr. prof. dr. Dumitru, *op.cit.*, p. 84.

¹⁷ Ibidem, p. 85.

¹⁸ Oratio XXXVIII, In Theophania; P. G. 36, col. 317, apud. Ibidem, p. 86.

IV. Conclusions

In conclusion of the few ideas regarding the theology of Thomas Aquinas we can say that the first 4 ways of knowing the existence of God are based on the metaphysics of Aristotle. The argumentation has a cosmological trait and starts from the idea of movement of the prime mover, then analyzes the efficient and necessary cause, and in the fourth argumentation it makes subsequently the reference of those created to the Absolute Being. The last argument highlights the fact that the whole creation, so not only its rational part, is attracted by providence to the Creator, as the last purpose of all created.

In Orthodox theology, the knowledge of God is divided into two main branches: the cataphatic and the apophatic. The former is lived by man through his interaction with all that is created, which naturally supposes a rational Creator. In other words, cataphatic knowledge is incomplete, using mostly rational forms of knowledge that have simple conclusions. As far as apophatic knowledge is concerned, Orthodox theology is full of meaning and of experience in God. The Holy Fathers, living and praying fervently to God, tried to express the valences, but the terms of the rationality of this world are not enough. The inexpressible cannot be expressed in terms that cannot define the infinity that God shows. Therefore, the apophatic knowledge goes beyond the expression of the terms and manages, through purification of passions, to experience a different knowledge of God, knowledge in which God as a Person approaches man, and man sinks into His infinity.

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THE ROMANIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY REGARDING WORLD WAR I

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Abstract: *In the present study, the author intends to analyze the historiographical approaches, older or newer, regarding World War I, from a Romanian perspective. Therefore, he takes into consideration the pro-Ententist and pro-German options existing at the level of the Romanian political class during the Great War, and the way in which historiography has presented them over time, until now. The author points out that the two political options reflected, in different ways, Romania's foreign policy priorities: national security and national unity. The Romanian historiography has differentiated the two political options, from one historical stage to another, which made extremely complex the historiographical approach of the First World War as a whole, from a Romanian perspective.*

Keywords: *national security, national unity, pro-Ententist, pro-German, "Bessarabian perspective", "Transylvanian perspective".*

The problem of Romania's attitude at external level in the context of the First World War's outbreak was analyzed in the Romanian historiography, especially from the perspective of the evolution of its relations with the Central Powers, with a focus on expressing the Romanian state's official position of neutrality, following the proceedings of the Crown Counsel of Romania from Sinaia held on August 3, 1914. The disengagement of the alliance with Austria-Hungary, which marked the beginning of the period of neutrality, was explained from the perspective of the achievement of national unity, the liberation of Transylvania, Banat, Crișana, Maramureș and Bucovina from the Austro-Hungarian rule and their union with Romania, desired by the whole Romanian society. The public opinion, favorable to the accomplishment of this national desideratum, was the decisive factor in the adoption of the decision of armed neutrality and then in the entry of Romania, in 1916, into the First World War against Austria-Hungary. This perspective of approaching the problem of Romania's participation in World War I was inaugurated in the Romanian historiography by Constantin Kirițescu, who, although not a professional historian, published just a few years following the events, in

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1922-1924, an extensive work devoted to this subject, which was very successful, a new revised edition shortly coming out.¹ Opening the way of research on this topic, the author influenced the way of historiographical approach concerning this issue in the following period, especially by defining the First World War from a Romanian point of view, as "The War of Romania's Unity". The book of the above mentioned author became a cornerstone, although, especially in the first edition, the "problem of Bessarabia" had been underestimated for the moment of the war's outbreak, and the personalities that put on the foreground the liberation of this territory by participating in the war on the side of the Central Powers, very few in his opinion, because "they could be counted on fingers", were criticized, being blamed for having manifested a pro-German attitude, either during the period of neutrality or, especially, after Romania entered the war on the side of the Entente. We are entitled to believe that the author was influenced in the formulation of these appraisals by the atmosphere of disapproval and even hostility manifested in the Romanian society in the first years after the Great War towards those who thought that the national ideal could be achieved in a different way.

We find the same perspective of historiographical approach, in the interwar period, in the work of the historian Nicolae Iorga, who defined the First World War, from a Romanian point of view, with an equally emblematic formula, as "The War of National Wills".² The references to the supporters of an entry into the war on the side of the Central Powers for the liberation of Bessarabia are very vague, the public opinion being in favor of a war with the Entente for the liberation of the Romanian territories ruled by Austria-Hungary.³ A few years before, Nicolae Iorga had explained thoroughly, in a monographic work⁴, the "detachment" of

¹ Constantin Kirițescu, *History of the War for Romania's Reunification. 1916-1918*, vol. I-III, 2nd Edition, Bucharest, The "Romanian Book" Publishing House, 1925-1927.

² This is the title of the respective chapter from the synthesis work written by the great historian. See Nicolae Iorga, *The History of Romanians*, vol. X, 1st part, *Completers*, 2nd edition, volume prepared by Georgeta Filitti and Gheorghe Buzatu, Bucharest, The Encyclopaedic Publishing House, 2011, p. 233-281. The princeps edition of the synthesis on the history of Romanians written by Nicolae Iorga, in 10 volumes, was published between 1936-1939.

³ Referring to Romania's entry into the war in 1916, Nicolae Iorga wrote: Thus began, in the middle, not of a popular enthusiasm, which is not in the nature of a people who has passed through so many trials and who knows that it is always surrounded by dangers, but in an atmosphere of serene acceptance of the long and hard sacrifice, the war which the street [s.n.] had demanded loudly and which had formed a new object of dispute between the political parties, the war which for some was the platform for the long-term domination of the country, and to the king himself the result of a painful investigation of his own conscience". *Ibidem*, pp. 245-246.

⁴ N. Iorga, *Comment la Roumanie s'est détachée de la Triplice*, Bucharest, 1933.

Romania from the Triple Alliance, in the light of the same desire for the achievement of the national-state unity. Probably, his pro-Ententist orientation during the war made him consider unrealistic the option of entering into the war on the side of the Central Powers for the liberation of Bessarabia. In addition, as in Constantin Kirițescu's case, the historical context in which he elaborated his synthesis work on the history of Romanians, the last volume being published in 1939, was equally unfavorable for a different approach to the attitude of those who had a pro-German orientation in the years of the war for national reunification. However, the interpretation of the great historian penetrated deeply into the Romanian public and historical consciousness, being taken over both in the general and synthesis works, as well as in those specially dedicated to the respective theme.

It is on this basis that the historiographical myth of the existence of an overwhelming majority trend of Romania's entry into the war on the side of the Entente against the Central Powers was built during the communist regime, both at the level of the intellectual elite, especially the political one, and at the level of public opinion in general. The "Transylvanian perspective" of the war for national reunification was sometimes absolutized and not only privileged in relation to the "Bessarabian" one, which would have required an external orientation of Romania, contrary to the one adopted by the government led by I.I.C. Brătianu. The references to Bessarabia were non-existent or sporadic, and its union with Romania in 1918 was briefly presented, in the circumstances created by the collapse of the Russian Empire, following the victory of the Great Socialist Revolution of October 1917 and the defeat of Russia in the First World War. In addition, "in light of the conception of dialectical and historical materialism", the achievement of the Great Union was presented as a fulfillment of an objective necessity of historical progress, having a legal character, along with the collapse of multinational empires also accomplishing "the completion of the Romanian national state unity". In this context, the "war of national unity" became "the war of the nation's reunification", in conjunction with another historiographical myth, that of Mihai Viteazul, the founder of the first political union of the Romanian Countries. The unity was a constant or permanence in the whole history of the Romanians, as well as its old age, continuity and independence. The Great Union, carried out as a result of the plebiscite decisions of the national assemblies in Chișinău, Cernăuți and Alba Iulia in 1918, was presented as a pinnacle of the entire previous historical evolution of the Romanians, being the objective result of a long historical process. Being a fulfillment of a secular desire, the Great Union also marks the beginning of a new historical era. The synthesis works regarding the history of

Romanians⁵, as well as the special ones dedicated to the Great Union⁶, were conceived from the perspective of these interpretative clichés.

At the time, however, works that were not submitted to the ideological and propagandistic influences of the communist regime came out, being particularly valuable. Among these, we would like to mention, in this context, those which have approached, with genuine professionalism, the issue of Romania's political orientation at an external level before the outbreak of the First World War⁷, some authors particularly considering the evolution of Romania's relations with the Triple Alliance.⁸ For the period of the war, the historiographic achievements with a monographic character were rather few and of unequal value⁹, all being conceived from the same "Transylvanian" perspective of fulfilling the national aspirations of the Romanians. The most important book on Romania's participation in the First World War had long been waited. Completed in 1959, the third edition of Constantin Kirițescu's work, *The History of the War for Romania's Reunification*¹⁰, finally came out in a revised and much improved form, in 1989." The Bessarabian Perspective" on the fulfillment of the national ideal and the union of Bessarabia with Romania were widely presented throughout the book, which explains the restrictions of publication until then due to the censorship. Its publication in 1989 is understandable in the context of the Romanian communist regime's increasing display of a nationalist political line in its relations with the U.S.S.R. Constantin Kirițescu's book has remained unmatched, the work being considered, both by specialists and the general public, the most

⁵ See especially Mircea Mușat, Ion Ardeleanu, *From the Geto-Dacian State to the Unitary Romanian State*, Bucharest, The Scientific and Encyclopaedic Printing House, 1983.

⁶ Constantinescu Miron, Ștefan Pascu (coord.), *The Completion of the Unification of the Romanian National State. The Union of Transylvania with the Old Romania*, Bucharest, 1968; Ștefan Pascu, *The Establishment of the Romanian Unitary National State*, vol. I-II, Bucharest, 1983.

⁷ L. Boicu, V. Cristian, Gh. Platon (coord.), *Romania in International Relations, 1699-1939*, Iași, Junimea Publishing House, 1980, p. 302-374 (chapter written by Vasile Cristian).

⁸ Gh. N. Căzan, Șerban Rădulescu-Zoner, *Romania and the Triple Entente (1878-1914)*, Bucharest, The Scientific and Encyclopaedic Printing House, 1979.

⁹ See especially Atanasiu, Victor, Anastasie Iordache, Mircea Iosa, Ion Oprea, Paul Oprea, *Romania in the First World War*, Bucharest, 1979. A particular interest, according to the problem of our study, is presented by the works devoted to the period of neutrality: Constantin Nuțu, *Romania in the Years of Neutrality (1914-1916)*, Bucharest, 1972; Ema Nastovici, *Romania and the Central Powers between 1914-1916*, Bucharest, 1979; Ion Bulei, *The Arc of Expectation: 1914, 1915, 1916*, Bucharest, 1981.

¹⁰ Constantin Kirițescu, *The History of the War for Romania's Reunification, 1916-1918*, vol. I-II, 3rd edition, Bucharest, The Scientific and Encyclopaedic Printing House, 1989.

valuable work on Romania's participation in the First World War up to this day.

The period of intellectual openness that followed the collapse of the communist regime in 1989 was marked, among other things, by the abandonment of the old clichés and paradigms of thought specific to the Marxist historiography, the innovations in the field of historical research being particularly obvious. Thus, the publication of the treaty of the *History of Romanians*, under the aegis of the Romanian Academy. Volume VII, Tome II, coordinated by Acad. Gheorghe Platon, contains an extensive chapter devoted to the foreign policy of Romania between 1878-1914, written by the historian Vasile Cristian, and another one that refers to the situation of Romania during the First World War, written by Anastasie Iordache, both researchers being genuine specialists, highly appreciated and recognized in the academic environment. The chapter on the achievement of the Great Union, by the historian Ion Agrigoroaiei, is equally well written.¹¹ A particular interest, in accordance with the problem we are referring to, is also aroused by the publication, in the period after 1989, of a work about Bucharest in the years of the First World War, written by remarkable historians, well-known in the scientific world.¹² Particularly beneficial was the reprinting of some works written by foreign authors or the translation of newer ones into Romanian. Among the foreign authors who have approached this subject with special competence within broader synthesis works on the history of Romanians, we mention R.W. Seton-Watson¹³ and Keith Hitchins¹⁴.

While analyzing the current issues, we sometimes have to deal with radical interpretative revisions, which aim not only at giving up template-like linguistic formulas, debatable in relation to the realities they designate, but also the achievement of new basic historiographic approaches. Probably, the remoteness in time since the occurrence of the events and the disappearance of some conjunctural factors that influenced the historiographic interpretation created the premises of new approaches,

¹¹ Gheorghe Platon (coord.), *The History of Romanians*, vol. VII, tom II, *From the Independence to the Great Union (1878-1918)*, Bucharest, The Encyclopaedic Printing House, 2003, p. 233-292; 395-462; 463-540.

¹² Șerban Rădulescu-Zoner, Beatrice Marinescu, *Bucharest in the Years of the First World War. 1914-1918*, Bucharest, Albatros Printing House, 1993.

¹³ R. W. Seton-Watson, *A History of Romanians. From the Roman Period to the Completion of the National Unity*, translation, introduction and explanatory notes by Constantin Ardeleanu, with a forward by Dennis Deletant, Brăila, Istros Printing House of the Museum of Brăila, 2009.

¹⁴ Keith Hitchins, *Romania. 1866-1847*, translated from English by George G. Potraand Delia Răzdolescu, Bucharest, Humanitas Printing House, 1994 (the work has been re-edited several times so far).

compared not only with the communist regime period, but even with the inter-war period.

The historian Florin Constantiniu¹⁵, was the one who opened a new research perspective, distinguishing between the two "priorities" that Romanians had at the time of the First World War's outbreak: that of ensuring national security (assurance in front of Russia, through the support of the Central Powers) and the achievement of national unity (by renouncing Bessarabia and entering into war on the side of the Entente against Austria-Hungary). The decision of neutrality, adopted by the Crown Council on August 3, 1914, was followed by two years of heated debate on this topic, which encompassed the entire Romanian political scene. The distinguished historian considered that this serious dilemma manifested itself only at the level of the political class, since at the level of public opinion the confrontation had already been settled at the time of the outbreak of the First World War, in favor of the liberation of the Romanian territories occupied by Austro-Hungary, mainly of Transylvanian. Then the supporters of national security (P. P. Carp, C. Stere, etc.) and those of the national unity (Ion I. C. Brătianu, Take Ionescu, Nicolae Filipescu, N. Iorga, etc.) faced. *Obviously*, we are reassured by the historian Florin Constantiniu, *"both parties wanted the security of the country and nobody rejected the ideal of unity; it was, therefore, the priority given to national security or unity [author's note.]"* We can infer from this historiographic interpretation that both formulas for approaching the "priorities" had serious disadvantages, because they allowed only a partial unification of the Romanian territories: that of Bessarabia, but without Transylvania, for those who put national security first, and vice versa, that of Transylvania, without Bessarabia, for those who claimed national unity as a priority. The fear of Russia was common to the supporters of both variants taken into consideration. The historian Florin Constantiniu appreciated that "as far as Russia was concerned, the partisans of the Entente, without contesting its threat (the experience of 1878 had not been forgotten), considered that this was precisely the reason why it was better for Romania to be their ally, not their enemy". Holding secret talks with the Entente, in view of Romania's entry into the war on its side, I.I.C. Brătianu was, therefore, extremely cautious, regretting in March 1915, according to the observation of the historian Florin Constantiniu, "the time when Germany prevailed in Europe", i.e. the period when Romania's security was ensured with the help of the Triple Alliance.

The book in which the historian Florin Constantiniu made these assessments is not a monographic one, to deepen his research, but a

¹⁵ Florin Constantiniu, *A Sincere History of the Romanian People*, Bucharest, the Encyclopaedic Universe Printing House, 1997, p. 272-286.

synthesis one which, by its very title, warns us about the sincerity of the author. Nevertheless, it had the undeniable merit of opening the way for other researchers to continue investigations on this topic. Thus, relatively recently, the historian Lucian Boia has devoted an extensive work to the analysis of the attitude of the pro-German intellectual elites in the years of the First World War.¹⁶ The book is particularly interesting, as it is quite captivating for the knowledgeable reader, and for the authentic specialists it is a source of reflections and historiographical debates of great depth on the approached subject. Beyond the novelty of the information presented for each and every personality, it is impressive to change the thinking paradigm that the author proposes for understanding World War I from a Romanian perspective. The collapse of the myth of communist historiography regarding the existence of an overwhelming majority pro-Ententist trend, as the author wishes to reassure us, manifested at the level of the intellectual elites, is capable, in our opinion, to shake and upset the entire Romanian historical consciousness about this particularly important event in the history of Romanians. The approximately equal weight of the pro-German trend, however not convincingly demonstrated by the author, does nothing, in our opinion, but highlight the consequences of ensuring, for more than three, Romania's security abroad with the support of Germany, by adhering to The Triple Alliance in 1883. The analysis of the way in which this part of the intellectual elite, of pro-German orientation, conceived the fulfillment of the national ideal, by supporting, in fact, the old foreign policy orientation, was absolutely necessary in the Romanian historiography. Thus, the perspective of approaching the whole issue regarding Romania's participation in the First World War and the achievement of the Great Union becomes much broader and more complex. In other subsequent works or in various public interventions, the above mentioned author, however, moderated the somewhat categorical character of his statements, admitting that at the level of the political class and public opinion, the pro-German trend had less amplitude than the pro-Ententist one. Despite this fact, which meets the consensus of all historians, it can be appreciated that, in Romanian historiography, Romania's relations with the Central Powers enjoyed greater attention. In particular, the Romanian-German relations from the period prior to the First World War were analyzed more recently, with much scientific acerbity, by the historian Gheorghe Cliveti. The contributions of the above mentioned illustrious historian to the study of the Romanian-German

¹⁶ Lucian Boia, *"Pro-Germans". The Romanian Intellectual Elite in the Years of the First World War*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House, 2013.

relations are exceptional.¹⁷

If Romania's relations with the Central Powers have been the subject of more historiographical works, both for the pre-war period and for the period of its development, Romania's relations with the Entente were less researched, being the subject of disparate works, which carried out only sequential approaches.¹⁸ As for us, regarding this research topic, we allow ourselves to mention, in this context, that we have carried out, for the first time in the Romanian historiography, a synthesis of Romania's relations with the Entente during the period preceding the First World War's outbreak.¹⁹ Starting from this older research concerns, we have subsequently carried out some studies and articles, which have proposed an analytical approach of Romania's relations with the Great Powers, in particular with those within the Entente, in the context of the First World War's outbreak, by capitalizing on all the documentary sources to which we have had access so far. From an interpretative viewpoint, we have considered to bring some additional shades, in relation to the historiographical contributions of other authors to the research of the theme. However, we do not consider it proper to return to them in this study²⁰.

The commemoration of the First World War's Centenary and of the Great Union has occasioned the publication of works to capitalize on the historical sources.²¹ Fewer were the research works with a monographic character, which would bring significant updates as far as the historical interpretation is concerned.²² Without being a missed opportunity, however, we appreciate that the Centenary has given a significant impetus

¹⁷ Gheorghe Cliveti, *Romania and the "German Alliances" 1879-1914*, Iași, Junimea Publishing House, 2015.

¹⁸ V. Vesa, *Romania and France at the Beginning of the 20th Century (1900-1916). Pages of Diplomatic History*, Cluj-Napoca, Dacia Printing House, 1975; Ion M. Oprea, *Romania and the Russian Empire*, vol. I (1900-1924), Bucharest, Albatros Publishing House, 1998; A. Iordache, *Romania's Political Reorientation and Armed Neutrality. 1914-1916*, Bucharest, Paideia Publishing House, 1998; Dumitru Preda, *Romania and the Entente. The Avatars of a Small Power in a Coalition War. 1916-1917*, Iași, European Institute, 1998.

¹⁹ Nicu Pohoată, *Romania and the Triple Entente*, Bucharest, Cavallioti Publishing House, 2003

²⁰ For details, see Nicu Pohoată's extended study, *Romania's Foreign Policy in the Context of the First World War's Outbreak*, "Hrisovul" Journal, Bucharest, 2019 (to be published).

²¹ We consider that the best known work which is worth mentioning in this context is the anniversary volume prepared by Bogdan Bucur, *The Golden Book of the Great Union's Centenary*, Bucharest, Rao Printing House, 2017.

²² See an excellent presentation with a synthetic character in the study written by the historian Bogdan Murgescu, *The Historians and the Great Union. Complexity, Values, Meaning*, "Historical Studies and Articles", vol. LXXXV, Bucharest, 2018, p. 7-17.

to historical research, notably by studying authentic historical sources. From an optimistic perspective, we express the hope that the significant fruits of this complex research work, carried out by historians, will appear only in the coming years.

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THE KUTUL AMARE VICTORY AND THE BRITISH SOLDIERS IN YOZGAT CITY

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Abstract: *This article presents the British troops' defeat in the siege of Kut al Amara. This was the second greatest victory won by the Ottomans during the First World War, after Çanakkale¹. We present the war from an objective perspective, touching on some points such as: the military personalities in charge of the campaigns, the progress of the war and the changes that occurred during it, like the imprisoning of the British soldiers in Yozgat City. We used certain documents of the age, like the journals of British prisoners in Yozgat, which allow us to see some interesting and important dimensions to this part of the war. Two-thirds of the British and about a seventh of the Indian prisoners never saw their homes again. Relative to the numbers of men involved, the British losses at Kut dwarf those of the far bigger battles on the Western Front. And some British prisoners were taken to Yozgat City and treated in a humane manner.*

Keywords: Kut al Amara, Victory, British, Prisoners, War, Yozgat City.



Figure 1. the Position of Kut

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¹ İsmet Üzen, M.Şah Özcan, *Days of Yozgat (1916-17) of a Kutul Amare War Prisoner* (Major E.W.C. Sandes), paper presented at the 1st International Bozok Symposium, 5-7 May, 2016.

Introduction

The victory of Kut al Amara (Kutul Amare in Turkish), won against the British troops under the command of Major General Charles Vere F. Townshend, was the greatest victory of Ottoman troops in the First World War after Çanakkale. The Ottoman Empire lost World War I and after its defeat it became history, just like the German and Austro-Hungarian empires². During the great war that continued from 1914 to 1918, the Ottoman Army, which had to fight on eight fronts, presented two great victories to military history, with its successes in Çanakkale and then in Iraq at Kut al Amara, as well as major defeats together with its allies.

On April 29, 1916, the British Army surrendered to the Ottomans. This victory, which took place in a region that is now far away from Turkey, could only affect the course of the Great War for a short time³. Due to the wrong decisions of the big headquarters in Istanbul and Berlin ten months later, the British Army's progress and the loss of Baghdad could not be stopped⁴.

Methodology

In this study, whose theme is to shed some light on the forgotten details of the Kutul-Amare campaign, we focused on the memories of the direct participants, historical documents, facts and personal diaries. Some historians argue that the British felt the biggest defeat after the Yorktown defeat in America in 1781, on April 29, 1916 in Kutul-Amare, Iraq. Undoubtedly, the defeat of the British and their allies in Çanakkale, before Kutul-Amare, was more strategically important. A short chronological presentation of the events is necessary at this point.

The Ottoman Empire entered World War I, which began in late July 1914, on the side of Germany, on October 30, the British “Mesopotamian Expedition” having already started two weeks prior. The British and Indian troops – the VI-th Indian Division - set off from Bombay, India. The goal was to take control of the Persian Gulf, to break the Arabian Peninsula and Mesopotamia from the Ottoman Empire, to have Iran, which declared its neutrality, be on the side of Entente States, to preserve British sovereignty in India, and to ensure the relief of allied Russia from the south.

Three days after the Ottoman Empire officially entered the war, the British landed in the Shat-al-Arab region. They did not encounter great

² Edward J. Erickson, *Ottoman Army Effectiveness in World War I: A comparative study*, Routledge, 2007, p. 93.

³ Rogan, Eugene, *The fall of the Ottomans*, London, Penguin Books, 2016, p. 263.

⁴ <http://www.karar.com/yazarlar/hakan-albayrak/su-kizgin-topragin-gunesli-semasinda-890>.

resistance, and after a few days they seized the town of Fav in the Persian Gulf and started to move north and occupied Basra on November 22nd. As Major E.W.C. Sandes, one of the survivors of Kut siege and captivity in Yozgat, observed in his book from 1919, *In Kut and Captivity with the Sixth Indian Division*, "The campaign in Mesopotamia was one which, from the smallest beginnings, expanded and grew till it became one of the principal struggles in the Great War."⁵

Enver Pasha, the Minister of War and Deputy Commander-in-Chief, appointed Lieutenant Colonel Süleyman as commander of the Ottoman forces in Mesopotamia. One of the prominent figures of the Committee of Union and Progress, Suleyman's military task was to stop the advance of the British with help of the troops of Muslim Arabs in the region and to take back Basra. But his powers and materials were insufficient. The plan that the Arabs should follow the call of jihad by Sultan Mehmet Reşat, who was also the Caliph, did not produce the expected result.

In the meantime, the Sarıkamış Operation, which started on December 21st 1914, under the command of Enver Pasha, ended with defeat. The Suez Channel Operation under the command of Cemal Pasha failed (14 January 1915). On both fronts, the Ottoman armies withdrew.

The efforts of Suleyman on the Iraqi Front also failed. He committed suicide after the failure of his attack against the British in Shuayibe, which resulted in great losses (14 April 1915).

Colonel Nurettin Bey (also known as Sakalli Nurettin Pasha or Nurettin Ibrahim Konyar) was then appointed as the commander of the Iraqi Front.

A second British Division arrived and General John Nixon, commander of all troops, advanced further into Mesopotamia up on the River Euphrates, to Naisirya. The other division, the 6th (Poona) Indian Division, under the command of Major-General Charles Townshend advanced 160km along the River Tigris to Amara, capturing it on 4 June 1915. From Amara Townshend pushed on to Kut, where he entered on 28 September 1915, having inflicted heavy losses on the Turks. By mid-November, his division was only 40km from Baghdad.

As major E.W.C. Sandes says: "Up to October 1915, the resistance offered by the Turks had always been overcome with comparative ease ...; and there seems no doubt that our troops had established a considerable moral ascendancy over the enemy. ... The seizure of Baghdad in 1915 would have been a terrible blow to Turkish prestige, second only to the capture of Constantinople."⁶

⁵ E.W.C: Sandes, *In Kut and Captivity with the Sixth Indian Division*, London, John Murray, 1919, p. 2.

⁶ E.W.C. Sandes, *op.cit.*, p. 49.

The critical situation in Iraq was viewed with concern at the headquarters in Istanbul and Berlin. In mid-October 1915 Enver Pasha reinforced the troops in the region and put them under the command of General Colmar von der Goltz (Goltz Pasha), one of the German officers who was most familiar with the Turkish army.

Baron von der Goltz was in command at the Battle of Ctesiphon, where the British Mesopotamian army was stopped from advancing to Baghdad. However, the battle was a draw, as both sides retreated from the battlefield. Suffering heavy losses, Townshend decided to retreat to Kut. With the British retreating, Goltz turned his army around and followed them down the river. When Townshend halted at Kut, Goltz laid siege to the British position.

Goltz died on 19 April 1916, in Baghdad, just two weeks before the British in Kut surrendered. The official reason for his death was typhus, although apparently there were rumors that he had been poisoned⁷. Following the death of Goltz, Halil Bey was promoted to the rank of brigadier general on April 22. He was 33 when he became Army Commander and Governor General of Iraq. The 6th Army under Halil Kut Pasha, also repelled the British troops sent to save the army besieged in Kut. In early January, two Indian divisions, known as the Tigris Corps, were despatched under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir Fenton Aylmer to relieve Townshend's forces. Tigris Corps's 19,000 troops fought their first major action at Shaik Saad, where 22,000 Turks had set up defences along the River Tigris. The Turks having retreated, Aylmer reached Hanna, about 16 km from Kut. However, he was unable to break through during the Battle of the Wadi and the Battle of Hanna between 13 and 21 January 1916. Further attacks by the relief force in March and April all failed with heavy losses. In attempting to rescue the men at Kut, the relieving force suffered around 23,000 casualties.

⁷ Barker, A.J., *The First Iraq War, 1914-1918: Britain's Mesopotamian Campaign*. New York, Enigma Books, 2009, p. 228.



Figure 2. Ottoman and British officers (Halil Pasha and General Townshend, no. 1 and 2 in the first row)

Since the beginning of April, all the successive British rescue operations had failed. Realizing that he could not get the help he was expecting, Townshend wrote a letter to Halil Pasha on April 26 and offered to meet in the middle of the Tigris River to discuss the conditions of the city's surrender. Halil Pasha accepted the offer and the interview took place at Townshend's boat. The British demanded that they be allowed to withdraw to the south after surrendering the city. In return, Townshend and his subordinates would not oppose the Ottoman Empire in the war, but they would deliver all the weapons and ammunition they had intact. They also offered to give Halil Pasha a check of 1 million pounds. The general said that the check would be addressed to the bank that Halil Pasha wanted, and that he was given authorization from the British government to give it. Halil Pasha rejected the bribe as a joke. He refused to accept any of the other offers, saying that at the end of the months of bloody warfare, they were inevitable, that they did not need any weapons and ammunition, and that they could destroy them as they wanted. This arrogance angered Halil Pasha very much, and the meeting was interrupted.⁸

After returning to his headquarters, Halil Pasha received a second letter brought by a parliamentarian and an officer. This officer was the famous spy T.E. Lawrence, who was tasked with revolting the Arab world against the Ottoman Empire. In the new letter, the amount of money

⁸ The diary of Gertrude Bell, another British spy and officer working in Egypt and Irak for the British government and who was in Basra at the moment of the surrender, mentions this episode, saying that Lawrence and Aubrey Herbert had come from Cairo especially for this, being authorized by the government to offer up to 2 million pounds for lifting the siege, a most degrading attempt, which was doomed to failure from the start. (cf. *Gertrude Bell – Queen of the Desert, Shaper of Nations*, by Georgina Howell, London, Farrar Strauss and Giroux, 2015 p. 252)

offered was doubled and this time it was foreseen to be given to the Ottoman government⁹. The other offers were the same. Halil Pasha stated that he did not want to spend time with such negotiations at this meeting which was held on 28 April and reiterated his demand for unconditional surrender. The explosion sounds from the city that night showed that the British had destroyed all their weapons and ammunition before surrendering.

A British officer from the city later announced that they had surrendered. Halil Pasha ordered the 3rd Regiment Commander Nazmi Bey (Nazmi Pasha / Nazmi Solok, one of the commanders of the War of Independence) to prevent the Arabs in the city from attempting to plunder and disturb the British.

Halil Pasha went to the city after publishing the victory order entitled "Orduma". General Townshend and all officers had gathered at the headquarters at the request of Nazmi Bey, who had taken over the city. 5 generals, 481 officers and 13,300 soldiers (some sources give these numbers slightly different) had surrendered.

Townshend welcomed Halil Pasha in his room and handed out his sword and two pistols. Halil Pasha gave the weapons he had taken back to the British general. He met with the other generals who surrendered together with Townshend and said that they would be the guest of the Sultan.

The news of victory was greeted with enthusiasm throughout the Ottoman Empire. After the Dardanelles, another great blow was received by the British. In the same way, there was a festive atmosphere in Germany. Kaiser Wilhelm had a day off in schools. Goltz was considered a war hero and a victor. As he had imagined, he was unable to advance German influence to India through Iran, but the dangerous British enemy thus kept a large amount of military power outside Europe for a long time, allowing Germany to breathe on the Western front. On the evening of April 29, a ceremony was held in Baghdad. Ottoman officers and soldiers marched with torches to the tomb of Marshal Goltz. At the ceremony held in front of the tomb, the garrison commander symbolically gave the commander the title of victory. But this was the last gesture of the German presence and contribution to the war.

⁹ Fromkin, David, *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East*, New York, Macmillan, 2009, p.201.



Figure 3. Illustration of the Surrender of Kut

Aftermath of the victory

Halil Pasha ordered the German officers in the headquarters and troops to disappear during the take-over of Kutul-Amare. Goltz Pasha and the Germans were not mentioned in the news about the victory in the Ottoman newspapers. The Ottoman government was trying to spread the air that the victory was only the work of the Turks. After Goltz's death, the relations between the Turkish and German officers in the army had deteriorated. After the victory, it got worse. Turkish officers, especially Halil Pasha, were suspicious of the activities of the Germans here and in Iran. After the Kutul-Amare victory, the dreams of possessing Iran were revived both in the Ottoman and German general staff. Halil Pasha observed that the British would not give up on moving to Baghdad and that they were preparing for this purpose in the south. But Enver Pasha insisted and sent Halil Pasha to Iran with most of the

forces in his hands. Iraq and Baghdad were weak in the face of the rapidly recovering and growing British army. On 14 December 1916, the British started moving north again. In the following 3 months, the progress of the British was slowed down, but could not be stopped. The inevitable collapse of the Ottoman army and its allies had now begun. In March 1917 the British occupied Baghdad.

The British historian James Morris described the loss of Kut as "the vilest conditional surrender in British military history"¹⁰. This defeat aroused a huge indignation in the British press and public opinion and the government was obliged to institute a parliamentary investigation¹¹.

After the victory of Kutul-Amare, Halil Pasha addressed the 6th Army with the following message:

"Lions! Honor and glory to the Ottomans, I congratulate your victory by kissing all of your pure foreheads. Praise be to Allah Almighty for giving us a happy case in our history since two hundred years. Look at the grandeur of God, the first time that in the history of the British state it was defeated by the Turkish bayonet. The war which has been going on for two years has not shown such a bright case.

My army has killed 350 officers and 10,000 soldiers in the face of both Kut and the armies who came to rescue Kut. But today, in Kut, 13 generals, 481 officers and 13,300 soldiers are taken over. The British forces, who came to the rescue of this army, returned 30,000 casualties. Looking at these two differences, there is a big enough difference to astonish the world. History will be at a loss in finding words to write this event. Here is the second victory of Ottoman persistence that broke the British stubborn after Çanakkale. This victory, which we won with our bayonet and chest alone, is the bright beginning of our success in the face of our new evolving situation. I call this day a Kut holiday."

¹⁰ in *Pax Britannica*, vol. 3, *Farewell the Trumpets: An Imperial Retreat*, London, Faber and Faber, 1978.

¹¹ Davis, Paul K., *Ends and Means: The British Mesopotamian Campaign and Commission*, London and Cranbury N.J., Associated University Presses, 1994.



Figure 4. the second Victory after Çanakkale

The British prisoners in Yozgat

We see from the memoirs of the British soldiers held prisoners in Yozgat, how the victories of Canakkale and Kut commanded the respect of the Western world for Turkey, and especially for the humanity of the Turkish soldiers, as we well know that it is not easy to command respect from one's prisoners. For example, Major Sandes begins his account of the prisoners' march from Kut to Yozgat thus¹²:

"In a corner of the map of Europe, south of the Black Sea, is a blank white area of Asian territory, which attracted little attention till the Germans upset the world. That desolate expanse is Anatolia. Travellers could probably describe the position of Smyrna, and possibly even of Angora; and they might have heard of Konia. But what of Afiun Karahissar, Yozgad and Sivas? Yet Anatolia is a remarkable country, inhabited by a peculiar people – a country full of historical associations...". He then continues admiring the character of the Turkish soldiers: "The Anatolian peasant, who becomes the Turkish private soldier at the bidding of Constantinople, is brave, good tempered and wonderfully hardy.... He dreads the power of the clique at Stamboul, who hold his destiny in their hands. But he is a *man*, and as such commands respect."¹³

However, the cruelty or, "the indifference to suffering" specific to the Turkish soldiers is apparent in the description of the surrender of the Kutul Amare garrison to the Turkish army, in 1916: "The annals of the British army do not record a greater tragedy than this surrender.... Three out of every five British soldiers who surrendered at Kut died before release."¹⁴

¹² E.W.C. Sandes, *Tales of Turkey*, London, John Murray, 1924, p. 1

¹³ Ibidem, p. 3

¹⁴ ibidem, pp. 9-10

Major Sandes is not the only one praising these soldiers. A Spanish mercenary who held a high position in the Turkish administration, Raphael de Nogales, wrote in his account of the war, *Four Years Beneath the Crescent*, that¹⁵: “The indomitable courage or fanaticism, call it what you will, and the traditional boldness of the Osmanli, frequently during the World War offered sublime examples of that ferocious endurance which, from time immemorial, has made them famed as one of the most valiant and most warlike nations of the Old World.”

The prisoners’ caravan arrived in Yozgat 2 months after the surrender at Kut, “having travelled nearly 2000 miles over desert and mountain”¹⁶, after passing and staying in Baghdad, Aleppo and many other places, on 30 June 1916 at 10:00.

The Turks had prepared two large detached houses for the prisoners. According to Major Sandes, these buildings, which belonged to the well-off Armenians, were confiscated at the end of 1914. On the walls of the various rooms there were small niches and pictures of Christian religion. The wooden ceilings and cabinets of these houses were carefully constructed.

Some parts of the ceiling were carved with intricate ornamentation.

Everything showed that the former owners were rich and well educated. Especially in many parts of Yozgat, there were empty houses and they were about to collapse. It was said that the owners of these empty houses were Armenians.



Figure 5. Yozgat City houses for the British Prisoners

¹⁵ Rapahel de Nogales, *Four Years Beneath the Crescent*, London, Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1926, p. 21

¹⁶ Sandes, *Tales of Turkey*, p. 82

Of the two houses allotted to them, the senior officers decided to use the lower one, captains and lieutenants gathered in the upper building. The Turks placed guards outside the entrance doors of the houses. They did not have permission to enter and exit the prisoners' house, except to go out to get water. The houses had red tiled roofs and numerous windows. The walls, which are made of stone, rubble and mud, are very thin and are approximately 23 cm. wide. The interior and exterior of the buildings were whitewashed. The houses were thoroughly cleaned and swept. In fact, finding the house in such a situation had been a good surprise for the prisoners. The rooms in the upstairs house were with floors and wooden ceilings. The cabinets were built into the walls.

There was a large garden next to the building, which was formerly used as a hospital and accommodated by senior officers. This garden later became the exercise area of the prisoners.

There was no oven in the kitchen. Later, the prisoners made their own furnaces with kerosene can and mud. There were 63 people in the house where the author first settled. Considering that the ones sent to Yozgat are about 100 people, it is understood that there are 30-40 people in the other house. The main flaw in the inadequate arrangements for the comfort of the prisoners was that there was no furniture in the house. There was no furniture in the rooms of the senior officers' home, and the chairs, tables, and cedar in the dining room were laid by the contractor.

One trivial discovery made by a British officer in an empty house opposite their camp speaks about the inherent sadness of war: "The hillside opposite the camp was covered with the ruins of empty Armenian houses, and one of the Turkish guards was in the habit of boasting of the part he had himself taken in the murder of those wretched people. In one of the larger houses an officer found some notebooks containing translations from Armenian into French, written in a childish hand – the last, probably, that the unhappy child ever made. Alas that this world should hold such tragedies!"¹⁷

The Turkish commander in charge of captives in Yozgat was Major Kazım Bey. At his disposal was a young Mülazım-ı Sani (First Lieutenant), a captain and an interpreter. Kazım Bey was responsible for approximately 100 British officers. According to Major Sandes, Kazım Bey was hostile to the prisoners and ignored their wishes or letters. He carefully avoided contact with the prisoners and did not even visit them for the first few months. The author describes Major Kazım Bey as an old school, under-educated person who hated all Europeans. Some of the Turks who had some knowledge of French could understand some of the prisoners' wishes without the help of an interpreter. However, the commander's dark-

¹⁷ Sandes, *op.cit.*, p. 79-80.

skinned captain did not speak any French but spoke fluent Spanish. Moise Eskenaz, the Jewish interpreter, in his 20s, was very short. Wearing a sergeant uniform, Moise was fluent in Turkish, French and English, and spoke some German. He didn't hesitate to take bribes like chocolate or biscuits.

There were about twenty Turkish soldiers as guards at the disposal of the British soldiers, and they lived in a small house next to the house of the senior officers. As time passed, Turkish guards became friendlier. Corporal Ahmet counted the prisoners in his rooms every morning. The corporal and a soldier would knock on the door before entering the room, saying good night and good night and counting. Usually both would say good night in the morning in courtesy, but later learned the right words.

Differences between the ways of thinking of Turks and Englishmen are presented with a keen observation. For example, the British are much more accustomed to physical exercise than the Turks, and the prisoners in Yozgat wanted to go out and have walks in the city, to the amazement of the Turks, who did not understand, why they need exercise if they have food, rest and a warm atmosphere in their houses¹⁸. Finally, the prisoners are granted permission to go out for walks, and eventually start hockey and football games. The Turkish officers and their children come to see the games, and eventually participate in events together with the British prisoners: "In time the *mülazim* himself was so imbued with the spirit of sport that he joined in one or two mild games of football; and in the winter, when the snow was thick, he once led his men in a snowball fight against the British officers and orderlies. I do not think that he really enjoyed these new adventures, but that a spirit of emulation seized him and prompted him to rivalry with us."¹⁹

Then, the major records that, at Afion Karahissar, in 1918, the British officers lived in two separate camps, and had matches of Rugby football. As there was much rivalry between the camps, the matches were "fast and furious", and major Sandes recalls that the Turkish commandant, one Muslum Bey, wanted one day to see a match. "He came, accompanied by his faithful interpreter, and watched the match with interest. Whenever a particularly vigorous tackle was made, or the scrum collapsed in a writhing mixture of arms and legs, he was loud in his applause, though any skilful play passed without comment. But at the end he remarked: "I am a *bimbashi* who (Allah be praised!) has been in many wars and seen much bloodshed. But never have I seen a more desperate battle than this which

¹⁸ Ibidem, p. 89

¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 92

you call football. The officers have indeed fought well. Are many wounded?"²⁰

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²⁰ Ibidem, p. 92

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NEUTRALITY AND PARTICIPATION IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR IN THE SPEECH OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS PRESIDENT ION I.C. BRĂTIANU - 1915/1916

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Abstract: *The First World War found Romania in a difficult situation. The war surrounded it from all sides and no matter what the military situation would have been, it became critical. At the same time, that small country created at the mouths of the Danube, at the desire of the Romanian political elites and with the support of France was an unknown in the geopolitical games of the time. The population wanted, in addition to maintaining territorial integrity, to carry out the political project of the '48 elites, to join all the Romanian provinces in the fight for the fulfilment of the national ideal. From a political point of view, Romania had signed a secret alliance treaty with Austro-Hungary since 1883. Until 1916, the government headed by Ion I.C. Brătianu remained neutral, although it was were courted by the parties involved, both by the Triple Alliance and Entente, with all kinds of promises in the hope of joining them.*

Keywords: *Romania, war, Europe, alliances, peace, neutrality.*

Introduction

One of the important topics that Romanian historiography has been debating for the last hundred years was that of maintaining neutrality at the time of the outbreak of war. In order to ensure the security of its borders, in 1883, Romania signed a secret treaty of alliance with Austro-Hungary whereby, in exchange for opening the national market for the products of the imperial economy, it offered security guarantees. As a parenthesis, the liberals led by the Brătianu brothers were adepts of economic nationalism, which imposed themselves in the memory of

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posterity for the expression "by ourselves", which wanted to develop a capital and local capitalism. Given that the Romanian economy was deeply agrarian in nature, the necessity of developing a bourgeois class was seen as necessary and obligatory by liberals. Of course, the process of sharpened modernization of the society produced the burning of stages that the feudal and later bourgeois societies of Western Europe knew which produced a cultural and ideological reaction expressed in the writings of the Junimist, the Samanatorist and the Poporanist¹. At the same time, the stages of the establishment and completion of the modern Romanian state were not free of nationalist and anti-Semitic accents². However, the "forced" development of the Romanian state allowed a consistent reduction of the civilizational gap between Romania and the ideal civilizational model produced by the European West. Closing this bracket, the entry on the Romanian market of the products of a net superior economy, with the Austro-Hungarian era compared to the Romanian one, made the local capital in real difficulty, but, that decision was imposed by the geopolitical needs. Under these circumstances, at the time of the 1914 war, Romania did not enter into war on the part of Austria-Hungary because it was the empire that declared war to Serbia. The treaty provided that Romania would become an ally of Austria-Hungary in case the latter was attacked, which did not happen. The Romanian state preferred to develop benevolent neutrality towards Entente, preferring to behave internationally according to the concept of armed neutrality³. That attitude was fundamentally due to the fact that France, as a fundamental armed power within Entente, had declared its support for the achievement of Romania's national desires⁴.

For the indigenous liberal elites, French pro, from the period of the revolution of 1848, the common cultural and civilizational affinities, logically led, Romania, at first stage, to declare its neutrality, especially since it was not prepared to maintain a military conflict on the level of the one that developed on the European fronts between the belligerents, and

¹ Ornea, Zigu, *Junimea and Junimism*, Minerva Publishing House, Bucharest, 1998, Idem, Sowing, *The Edition of the Romanian Cultural Foundation*, Bucharest, 1998, Idem, *Populism*, Minerva Publishing House, Bucharest, 1972.

² Sabin Drăgulin, Ancuța Brașoveanu, *The independence of Romania - a glance at the political ideas of the time through political speeches*, Polis, Vol. XI, no. March 1, 2019.

³ Anastasie Iordache, *Reorientation of Romania's foreign policy and armed neutrality*, Paideia Publishing House, Bucharest, 1998.

⁴ Hadrian Gorun, *Between neutrality and alignment: aspects of Romania's foreign policy at the beginning of the Great War*, in Polis, volume VI, no. 2 (20), New series, March - May 2018, <https://revistapolis.ro/intre-neutralitate-si-aliniere-aspecte-regarding-politica-externa-a-romaniei-la-inceputul-marelui-razboi/>, (accessed in 10.09.2019).

in the second stage, to enter into war on the part of Entente, when, from a military point of view, France needed more.

From a methodological point of view, we will present through two speeches supported by the undisputed leader on the Romanian political scene during the Great War, the President of the Council of Ministers, Ion I.C. Brătianu the fact that their choice was not accidental. We preferred to use the chronological method and the occurrence type analysis in choosing and analysing that fundamental historical moment, in the history of humanity, which was the First World War. The first speech is from the period of neutrality, sustained in December 1915, and the other to a one year difference, after a few months after entering the war as ally with Entente, from December 1916.

The speech of I.I.C. Brătianu of December 10, 1915⁵

Keywords: *power, opposition, government, Romania, peace.*

Ion I.C. Brătianu, having the quality of President of the Council of Ministers, of a liberal government, trying to maintain a fragile balance between the liberal interests, the Royal House and the conservatives, which had Take Ionescu and Nicolae Filipescu as leaders, was accused of delaying the entry into war of Romania. Brătianu, "one of the great political thinkers of the time"⁶, came with explanations of the position he had assumed, that of momentary neutrality: "I asked not to have this discussion because I did not think it was in the public interest for it to take place when the government cannot expose its policy and action."⁷

Then the antithesis between power / opposition takes place, because, according to the speaker, one can clearly see "the capital difference between what the opposition does and the duty of the government"⁸. Therefore, the government, "we", takes into account the best interests of the country, and for that it was necessary that the state of affairs of the nation, compared to the other states, be evaluated with "cold blood", because making politics was equivalent to "Foresight and fulfilment." The opposition, "you", at the opposite pole, allowed itself to be limited to "uncontrolled feelings" precisely because it could not be accused of assuming responsibility, as it was not a decisive factor. Consequently, differences of opinion took place "on a very unfavourable terrain."⁹

⁵ V.V. Haneş, *Anthology of Romanian Orators*, 1944, Socec & Co, Bucharest, p.179-181

⁶ IG Duca, *Memoirs*, Expres Publishing House, Bucharest, 1992, p.28.Ibidem 179

⁷ Ibidem, p.179

⁸ Ibidem

⁹ Ibidem

As evidence in favor of his own ruling party, the National Liberal Party, the speaker recalls its attitude, that of a "responsible" party, when in opposition during a war, 1912-1913, the Balkan one: "In 1913, for months we imposed a silence that we only interrupted to give to the government"¹⁰ government led by Take Ionescu, "the contest it needed." He also states that it is unfair to invoke his own speech from 1913 because: "I gave my speech when the final victory set the fate of the weapons, when the London conference dictated the conditions of peace."¹¹

The argumentation and rejection of the critics turned then to Filipescu who accused him that although when he was in opposition in 1912, he wanted a government of national union, now, when the roles were reversed, that is precisely the refusal for the opposition: "I asked the national government when the war was declared and Mr. Filipescu's neighbour, Mr. Take Ionescu, knows it: I did not want it before."¹² On the contrary, the speaker had refused the possibility of being part of a national government that had the task "to declare war" regardless of "conditions" or own beliefs.

Grădișteanu's accusation, for not having participated in the meetings of the Cultural League, he responded with an irony: "Mr. Grădișteanu - bizarre lack of memory"¹³, reminding him that he was offered the presidency, after the death of Grigore Brătianu, an offer he had refused on grounds of morality: "I would have received the presidency of the League with a condition: to leave forever from the militant politics of the country because I cannot and do not intend to do both."¹⁴

After countering the accusations of the opposition and weakening their credibility, the speaker came back in force: "Gentlemen, I said that I had asked that no foreign policy be discussed."¹⁵ accusing them of not taking into account that decision of the prime minister, but debating and, at the same time, creating a "picture of the action of the government and of the international situation"¹⁶ not only with the help of oratorical talent, but with that of "great painters". Using irony, Brătianu stated that a painting portrayed by a painter exhibits "the soul-state of the man who paints rather than the appearance of the nature he wants to represent."¹⁷ Therefore, "the bruised and ominous light under which the action of the government appears, I recognized more the passions and bitterness of the

¹⁰ Ibidem, p.180

¹¹ Ibidem

¹² Ibidem

¹³ Ibidem

¹⁴ Ibidem

¹⁵ Ibidem

¹⁶ Ibidem

¹⁷ Ibidem, p.181

souls that it discusses, than the situation and the country they described."¹⁸ He stressed that the government had the capacity to see the situation in a much more optimistic light than the pessimistic opposition. The situation of Romania was presented with the help of antithesis and epanalepsis: "No, gentlemen, the situation of Romania is not low; no, gentlemen, we are not part of a disregarded kingdom. No humility, no disregard; on the contrary: respect and consideration from abroad."¹⁹

The prime minister's attack was directed again at the opposition: "To present this way the situation in Romania is a mistake and a sin."²⁰ Questioning their credibility with the help of rhetorical interrogation: "Are they sincere and are they righteous?"²¹, followed by the answer: "We will find out later when our voices will be released."²² At the same time, the speaker avoided giving a clear answer for reasons of political strategy, but he motivated that: "that personal part suffers deeply, finding out how much you say and at how much I have no right to answer you. Gentlemen, I have no right to answer and I suffer when I discover this."²³

At the same time, Brătianu called for silence among the opposition because: "the mission we have, as in the church, when the priest serves, the retreat and the respect is imposed by the service that he does because in his words he does not speak the will of a man, but the unanimous faith of those around him, their hopes, of all."²⁴ The silence and the mystical air specific to the speaker managed to achieve a calm among the parliamentarians.

The speech of Ion I.C. Brătianu of December 14/27, 1916²⁵

Keywords: *unanimity, Europe, Romania, treaty, peace.*

A year later, the same speaker, also as prime minister, gave a speech in Iasi, a speech that tried to give hope and justify at the same time.

The speaker began his talk by emphasizing the fact that there was a "unanimity regarding national policy"²⁶ in the Romanian parliament and "the belief that by this effort"²⁷ one could reach the much desired victory.

¹⁸ Ibidem

¹⁹ Ibidem

²⁰ Ibidem

²¹ Ibidem

²² Ibidem

²³ Ibidem

²⁴ Ibidem

²⁵ Ion I.C. Brătianu, *Speech of Mr. I.I.C. Brătianu, President of the Council, speaking at the meeting on Wednesday, December 14/17, 1916*, National Typography, Iasi, 1916.

²⁶ Ibidem, p.1

²⁷ Ibidem

All that above was due to the need for "any manifestation of unity"²⁸ which was done by "modifying the government in order to make more apparent the common struggle"²⁹ for a common goal. The epanalepsy "unification" highlighted the absence of an opposition in the Romanian government, representing a "manifestation of moral order"³⁰ for the nation "to feel a struggle in battle"³¹.

After introducing with a eulogy to "unanimity" which had the purpose calming the spirits, the speaker began his argumentation regarding the voices who's "pains suffered" did nothing but darken the thought and urge them to "explain their causes with great passion"³² therefore, "with much injustice." The voices accused "bad military plans", "insufficient military training"³³. Moderately, the speaker offered his own example, of conscience, of a "sense of justice", which, while asking him to take "defence" of the accused or the government for the measures taken, was waiting for much more favourable "circumstances", "other times". At the same time, Brătianu found the justification for the "offensive" that the country adopted in the war in the "geographical configuration of the country"³⁴. Even in the absence of "reasons of national interest"³⁵, meaning the need for Transylvania to join Romania, the country could not remain neutral because of "permanent danger to the state"³⁶. The losses up to that time were justified in the "superior technical means" used by a "fierce enemy", metonymy for Germany. At the same time, the speaker offered hope in the future because the "technical means of the allies" had become equal to those of the "Germans".

"Betrayal" was the accusation by which the Germans explain their "fierceness", "treacherous Romania", the violation by Romania of the secret treaty of accession to the Triple Alliance of 1883. The justification was national, patriotic. Using the rhetorical question followed by an answer, a discursive strategy to reject the accusations made and, at the same time, making room for the argument, the speaker began his plea: "Traitors against whom? Were we traitors against the state and nation we serve? For we must serve our nation. In the conception of our enemies (...), a state is treacherous against another state whose instrument subjected

²⁸ Ibidem

²⁹ Ibidem, p.2.

³⁰ Ibidem

³¹ Ibidem

³² Ibidem, p.3.

³³ Ibidem

³⁴ Ibidem

³⁵ Ibidem

³⁶ Ibidem

even against its own interests did not want to be. This in our consciousness does not constitute an act of treason."³⁷

Then the argumentation turned to the discredit of the enemy. The first was Germany, allied with "two states without a life of its own"³⁸, metonymy for Austro-Hungary and Turkey, "empires without staying power."³⁹ At the same time, the speaker praised the dignified attitude of the King of Romania, who, although his origins demanded the opposite, "considered himself in solidarity with the interests of his nation, with the interests of the state to which the king had sworn faith."⁴⁰

Germany's discredit continued with a call to history, a historical act of "Prussia" and "its rise" which was based on the betrayal of "General York" against Napoleon I and a leader like "Frederick the Great" who considered "a the sovereign is not bound, when by his covenant he could violate the interests of the state and of his people."⁴¹ Thus, a country which owed the development of an act of treason could neither judge nor appreciate "treason."

Romania was not treacherous, had not violated the treaty, in the speaker's conception. The legitimacy of signing an act with Austro-Hungary found its justification in the hope that "persecutions against the brothers in Hungary", "in European peace and balance"⁴², sacrificing the "great national longing" of Romanians, metaphor and metonymy for Transylvania.

Then, the speaker highlighted the discussions with both the "representative of Germany in Bucharest"⁴³ in which the latter had been warned by the attitude of the "Magyars against the Romanians" and with the "Minister of Russia" who had supported the idea of "peace", ideas that Romania adhered to and had adhered to. And precisely the lack of "peace", a word obsessively repeated, 11 times, in the speech, the "offensive" of the Triple Alliance established without consulting Romania had led to the breaking of the treaty.

The speaker explained the position of Romania, a state that had a choice between an alliance in which the great powers were found such as: England, Italy, "an entire Europe" and "a single power with two states"⁴⁴. The antithesis used by the speaker was the Triple Alliance / Entente, "one power" / "whole Europe", "instruments of power" / "power", "the

³⁷ Ibidem, p.3

³⁸ Ibidem

³⁹ Ibidem, p.4

⁴⁰ Ibidem

⁴¹ Ibidem

⁴² Ibidem

⁴³ Ibidem

⁴⁴ Ibidem, p.7

destruction of Europe" / "the balancing of Europe", it only emphasized, once again, the need of Romanians to be "in that part of where Europe was." Moreover, "Europe" was the ideal symbol of modernization, of the evolution that the Romanian people crossed from the oriental to the western values, of the citizen's freedom and, to the same extent, of state independence.

Then, the speaker turned his gaze to Austro-Hungary, to its history, to the "Austrian Red Book"⁴⁵ which allowed "falsification" of "intimate conversations" between it and Romania. The "heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne" himself, "the only man determined to put the Hungarians in their place", had used "non-reproductive epithets" before the Romanian parliament in the description given to his people by the speaker "in Sinaia", in which he described the "Hungarians" as a nation that "only strength and terror" can control. Thus, Austro-Hungary was nothing but "the docile instrument of others", "a non-existent power", devoid of "will" and "judgment."⁴⁶

Brătianu humbly emphasized that although Romania was not a "big enough state to take the initiative of the great European processes", it still had the moral "duty" to prevent any "European process from developing us (...), without redressing what is right and also legitimate"⁴⁷. Therefore, Romania had the "outrageous dare" not to allow Transylvania to remain under foreign sovereignty. And through all these "dares" Romania demanded its right, which it "deserved", thus contributing to the "development of Europe tomorrow."⁴⁸

Drawing on the metaphor and antithesis of future "today pains" / "victory tomorrow", the speaker showed his support for the continuation of the struggle that would bring "in the consciousness of Europe the rights of Romanians on this earth."⁴⁹ An example that supported the opinion of the speaker is Italy and Germany themselves, which in their "history" had experienced defeat, had made sacrifices without which today's "rise" would not have gained: "In 1806, (...) Napoleon wrote to the sultan: Prussia a disappeared. This did not prevent, in 1814, the victorious armies of Prussia and the Allies from reaching Paris and restoring the European situation."⁵⁰ Therefore, the defeats suffered by Romania were not to be "discouraged".

⁴⁵ Reference to the Austro-Hungarian Red Book which contained diplomatic documents regarding the relations between Austria-Hungary and Romania between July 22, 1914 and August 27, 1916.

⁴⁶ Ibidem

⁴⁷ Ibidem, p.9

⁴⁸ Ibidem, p.10

⁴⁹ Ibidem

⁵⁰ Ibidem

Next on the speaker's list was "a sick man", metonymy and metaphor for Turkey, who did nothing but "contaminate the healthy life of the whole of Europe."⁵¹ The speaker thus conferred to Romania, the "small state", the party status "for anyone who believes that humanity it is not made to go back"⁵² important in the war against "a single state and its three satellites"⁵³, metonymy and metaphor for Germany's allies who seemed devoid of personality, mere performers.

The antithesis of "today" / "tomorrow", "temporary and sober conclusion" / "entry" justified the need to continue Romania's military offensive and the refusal of a non-serious "peace" agreement which rather resembled a capitulation in front of Germany that invaded Bucharest. To this end, the speaker gave the talks between the "Emperor of Russia" and "King Ferdinand", the words of "President of the Council of France" and the admiration of "the President of the Council of England" in front of the strength and zeal that Romania had shown in the battle.

In conclusion, the speaker reiterated the ideas that were the basis of the beginning of the speech: "political unanimity", the courage of the army that were nothing but "the fulfilment of a debt to the state"⁵⁴ and concludes prophetically: "the shed blood will bear fruit from itself quite large and powerful enough for future generations, so that no one can regret it, no matter how much we cry at the moment."⁵⁵

Conclusions

If in the first discourse we have to deal with a strong dispute of opinions between the liberal power and the conservative opposition, in the second we find an apparent "unanimity" in the governmental process.

The first speech eludes information related to negotiations and talks with external forces, any information related to a possible exit from the state of neutrality is hidden behind the curtain of "silence".

The second discourse, however, reveals information: secret alliances, negotiations, lack of fear in taking decisions and statements, hope.

Europe, the ideological symbol, is also present in both discourses. This signified the evolution towards which the Romanian state has been aiming for many years, joining with the other great people on a common path of modernization.

At the same time, in both discourses we find the idea of "peace". Romania did not find itself in the conflict state present in the world, but it

⁵¹ Ibidem, p.11

⁵² Ibidem

⁵³ Ibidem, p.12

⁵⁴ Ibidem, p.13

⁵⁵ Ibidem, p.14

also wanted the fulfilment of the national ideal and the joining of all the Romanian provinces, which paradoxically could only be achieved through battle.

The speeches of Ion I. C. Brătianu are relevant to understanding how the war was perceived in the Romanian space. The specificity of the Romanian state, given by its "youth", with a society just out of feudalism, imposed a specific, personal reality.

The specificity of the urban-rural ratio of the population of Romania⁵⁶, the low level of school and political education of the citizens, together with a visionary policy of the political and economic elites that governed the country that imposed the accomplishment of the agrarian reform, produced a relaxation of the tensions accumulated at the level of the rural masses, which in other parts of Europe, such as Italy, had not happened, but even more so, accentuating them, leading to the emergence of fascism. At the end of the Great War, the conclusion of the political project of achieving the territorial unity of the Romanian state politically legitimized and led to the strengthening of the constitutional monarchic regime and the parliamentary democratic regime, Ion IC Brătianu remaining in the national memory as the leader of the government that governed Romania in war and who achieved the unification of Transylvania with Romania.

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⁵⁶ Drăgulin, Sabin, "The War of Our Passions", in Polis, Volume VI, No. 2 (20), New series, March - May 2018, <https://revistapolis.ro/editorial-razboiul-patimilor-noastre/>, (accessed 10.09.2019).

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WAR AND GENDER: SOCIO-ECONOMIC REFLECTIONS ON THE SIERRA LEONEAN CIVIL WAR

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Abstract: *The Sierra Leonean Civil War (1991 – 2002) war was brutal and dastardly on both sides. It left an untold hardship and humiliation on all the segments of society. Oftentimes, society views wars as men's affair. In Sierra Leone, the war had its horrendous effects on women - wives, mothers, breadwinners and concubines to the soldiers. Sexual slavery, forced marriages and rape were consequences of the war as over 257,000 women were sexually assaulted by the Revolutionary United Front (RUF). Rape as an aspect of genocide was used by the soldiers to impregnate women in order to weaken and eliminate the opposing side. The victims faced with physical and psychological trauma and social ostracism. Using the qualitative method of historical inquiry applied to extant primary and secondary sources such as official documents, newspapers and magazine articles, this paper analyses the experiences of women in Sierra Leone civil war and interrogates how these experiences tampered with the pristine life and existence of the women. The paper will also make extrapolations from theories on gender-based violence to elucidate on the relationship between gender roles in civil conflicts.*

Keywords: War, Gender, Socio-Economic, Reflections, Sierra Leone, Civil War.

Introduction

The institutionalized inequality of women and the resulting violence they face is 'now' evident in many aspects of the society. Events overtime have nailed the fact that women in Sierra Leone just like every other country in sub-Saharan Africa have seen more violence and dehumanized than justice and honour. An interpersonal dialogue with any of these

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women about their war experiences would send waves of goose pimple shudder on Africa and beyond.¹ The Sierra Leone civil war which started in 1991, processed through the 1990s and ended in 2002 remains the only and ever war in Sierra Leone that produced the horrific women's experiences. Gberie, by the title of his book referred it as *A Dirty War in West Africa*.² Not only that this war has become a classic of reference for its gender-based war horror, it has provided a substantial monument of credence for mirroring gender roles in civil conflict. Hardly had the war started than men equipped themselves as soldiers/combatants monopolizing in their arsenal, all kinds of weapon available. And so, when the war finally triggered, women had no alternative than to assume minor roles as cooks, washers, cleaners, load carriers and life blood of family and society. Men having assumed the role of combatants thus, unleashed all kinds of violence on the women folk which ranged from vandalism, amputation, forced labour, forced marriage and all kinds of sexual violence unthinkable of humanity. As reported on the *BBC News*, the Sierra Leone people endured untold atrocities. These experiences had a lot of implication on women's pristine life and existence.³ From the perspective of health, it caused women several health problems and low life expectancy. Economically it rendered women hopeless and subjected them to life of dependence. Shame and stigmatization remain the socio-cultural implication.

Indeed, violence against women in Sierra Leone is a persistent problem that can limit the ability of women to contribute to society and development.⁴ The degree with which violence is targeted on women during war serves as a reason for the inherent inequality in gender roles in

¹ Based on the testimony on the cover page of Human Rights Watch, Sierra Leone; "(...) Two rebels asked to have sex with me but when I refused, they beat me with the butt of their guns. My legs were bruised and I lost my three front teeth. Then the two rebels raped me in front of my children and other civilians. Many other women were raped in public places. I also heard of a woman from Kalu village near Jiawei being raped only one week after having given birth. The RUF stayed in Jiawei village for four months and I was raped by three other wicked rebels throughout this period - Human Rights Watch; Sierra Leone *"We 'll kill you If You Cry" Sexual Violence in the Sierra Leone Conflict*. VI. 15, No. 1, 350 Fifth Area 34th Floor New York, (January 2003).

² Lansana Gberie, *A Dirty War in West Africa: The RUF and the Destruction of Sierra Leone*, Hurst and Company, London, 2005. Note: We did not consult this book directly. All our effort was futile due to some certain circumstances. However, we read an online summary of it.

³ Bronwyn Manby, Systematic Rape in Sierra Leone War, *BBC News*, Thursday, 16 January, 2003, 00:13 GMT, news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/Africa/2662807.stm. Accessed 20//10/2018.

⁴ Lisa Denney and Aisha Fofana Ibrahim, "Violence against Women in Sierra Leone; how women seek redress" *Politics and Governance, Country Evidence*, Dec 2012, 2.

civil conflict. Women are seen as object of satisfaction and regarded as sex tools for the victors during war episodes. This research deduces and cogitates to establish a relationship between masculine notion of egoistic superiority/privilege versus women's subservience. All these and beyond, and against the plight of women around the world is what have necessitated this study on war and gender with special reference to socio-economic aspect of the Sierra Leone civil war. The essence for taking this step is that war and gender pose as a new field of study for conceptualizing and assimilating injustices meted on woman in times of conflict and communal distractions. However, accounts the necessity to take gender into account in armed conflict situations is widely agreed upon as gender remains a critical issue in the discourses around conflict.⁵ This is so because not only that it reflects unequal power relation between men and women in the society, it does serve as an instrument of war, a tool of power and conquest to terrorize the civilian population.⁶ The civilian population affected during this epoch are mostly women. The study of gender-based violence during war is not merely the case of women victims being on the wrong side and at wrong time; it is a question of power and control which is structured by male soldiers' notion of the masculine privilege, strength of the military lines of command and ethnic inequalities among women.⁷ All this will be examined in this study for humanity sake.

1. Methodology, Sources and Significance of the Study

This study has been organized under seven subthemes *visa vie*; introduction, the course of the war, pre-war statues of the Sierra Leone women, experiences of Sierra Leone women during the war, the implications of the experiences on the life and existence of Sierra Leone women, explanation of the possible relationship between gender roles in civil conflict and lastly, conclusion which comes as a way of summary and recommendation. As a means of acknowledgment for the literature utilized herein, references are produced at the end. However, the purpose of this orderly arrangement is for coherence and collaboration sake. Though having stated its methodology in the abstract, the relevance of this study lies in its ability to contribute in freeing women (particularly Sierra Leone) from the abyss of gender sheered violence. Through information drawn from a reliable but deep-rooted source, it brought more to limelight, the

⁵ Deduced from theories of Gender Based violence.

⁶ Sybil Mmezi, *Igbo Women's Experience of Violence during the Biafra-Nigerian War*, 82.

⁷ Simon Bisht, "Sexual Violence and Rape, Waging a War on Women", in *Network for Right, Shared Resources of Women and Men Across the world*, ed. Aanchel Kapur (New Delhi; A Development Research Praxis and Communication Team, 2005), 89.

war atrocities and sufferings experienced by Sierra Leone women, and thus add to voices for the better treatment of women and their upliftment in the major segments of the society. By its elucidation on the possible relationships between gender roles in civil conflict, through extrapolations from theories on gender-based violence, it provides an insight into the changes necessary to prevent and eradicate violence on women. This study strongly dismisses itself from any allegation of being crafted under feministic influence. Rather it is born out of, among other things, the immense sympathy of the authors on the sufferings of women around the world, and as well their inability to continue enduring in silence the increasing violence against women. Its area of focus, assumed relevance and methodology unanimously distinguish this study from a host of other related literatures.

2. Sierra Leone Civil War: A Brief Overview

The Sierra Leone civil war was a complete Decade of armed violence that lasted between 1991 and 2002. The war which later turned lethal, started on 23rd March, 1991 when an insurgent force of about 100 fighters crossed over the border from Liberia into Sierra Leone and laid siege to two towns in the southeast district of Kailahun, specified the area of the attack to be diamond-rich area in Eastern Sierra Leone.⁸ The insurgent group was the Revolutionary United Front (RUF).⁹ They included Sierra Leonean dissidents, hardened NPFL units and a number of mercenaries from Burkina Faso.¹⁰ They were led by Foday Sankoh.¹¹ However, heavily backed by the Special Forces of Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of

⁸ A. Bangura; J. Burchill; A. Daramy; D. Franciss; L. Gberie; D. Harris; P. Misevich, and J. Trotman, "Because It Works: The Advantages of Child Soldier Use During the Sierra Leonean Civil War", *Journal of Sierra Leone Studies*, Vol 1, No 1, 2012, 6-7.

⁹ The RUF started as a revolutionary movement and existed of rebels, under the guidance of the former corporal of the Sierra Leone Army (SLA), Foday Sankoh. They were among others, (student) radicals from Sierra Leone, fighters from Libya, and combatants of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL). They were revolting against the one-party regime of All People's Congress (APC) and subsequently their aim was to recreate a multi-party democracy and freedom, justice, and democracy to all Sierra Leoneans. - Extracted from (Humphreys & Weinstein, 2008; Holt-Rusmore, 2009; Denov & Gervais, 2007; Mama & Okazawa-Rey, 2012; Mazurana & Carlson, 2004; Abdullah I., 1998) in Haar, *Female War Participants*, 30.

¹⁰ Martin Meredith, *The State of Africa; A History of the Continent since Independence*. (UK, Simon & Schuster Ltd), 2011, 562.

¹¹ Foday Sankoh was a 54-year-old former corporal in the Sierra Leone army who was discharged for participating in an abortive coup attempt against Siaka Stevens in 1971. After he served seven years term in Freetown's Pademba Road Prison, he began work as a photographer in diamond districts before leaving for Libya where he came in contact with Charles Taylor in a training ground.

Liberia ‘(NPFL),’ they intervened in Sierra Leone in an attempt to overthrow Joseph Momoh government.¹² An attempt by Joseph Momoh to drive them back into Liberia with SLA transformed the war into volcanic eruption.¹³ As the conflict exploded into appalling brutality against civilian (mostly women) the world recoiled in horror at the tactics and strategies used by the RUF, its allies ‘(NPFL and AFRC)’ and opponents,¹⁴ namely SLA, Kamajors and later ECOMOG and UN. Conventional Target Warfare (phase 1; 1991 -1993), Guerrilla Warfare (phase 2; 1993-1997), Power Struggle and Peace Effort (phase 3, 1997 - 2000),¹⁵ were some of the strategies. Operation Stop Election (1996 by RUF), Operation Pay Yourself and Operation No Living Thing (1998 and 1999 by RUF)¹⁶ and ‘Operation Black December (1997-1998 by the Kamajors), were some of the notable bloody and devilish events of the war. Also, interesting to knowing are some of the warmonger-like names of the members of the combatants. Among the names answered by RUF rebels include ‘Queen Chop Hands, Nasty Rambo, General Baby killer, Captain 2 Hands, Adama Cut Hands, Commando Cut Hands’¹⁷, Put Fire, Kill Man No Blood, and Commander Don’t Blame God, while those of the Kamajor include; First Blood, Rambo, Commando, Delta Force and The Hard Way. The above nicknames did not only suggest that violence had become part and parcel of the bearers but did also suggest the hellish brutality of the war on civilians. And throughout the life span of the war, there were indiscriminate amputations, abductions of women and children, rape, sexual slavery, cannibalism, gratuitous killings and wanton destruction of villages and

¹² Ngozi Antonia Obi-Ani and Mathias Chukwudi Isiani, *African Women in History; Women in Sierra Leone Civil War. Lecture delivered to 200 level history and International Studies Students, University of Nigeria Nsukka.* Room 214, Building A complex, Faculty of Art, University of Nigeria Nsukka. 8:00 am -10:00 am, Monday, 10th June, 2018.

¹³ J. R. Hudspeth, “Sierra Leone Civil War: Summary, Facts & Timeline|study.com”, <https://study.com/academy/lesson/sierra-leone-civil-war-summary-facts-timeline.html>. Accessed 07/10/2018.

¹⁴ Truth & Reconciliation Commission, Sierra Leone, *Witness To The Truth.* A Report of the Sierra Leone Truth & Reconciliation Commission. Graphic Packaging Ltd. GOGL. VOL 2, Chapter 1, Executive Summary @2004, 3.

¹⁵ Tamy Guberek, Daniel Guzman, Romesh Silva, Kristen Cibelli, Jana Asher, Scott Weikart, Patrick Ball and Wendy M Grossman, Truth and Myth in Sierra Leone; *An Empirical Analysis of the Conflict, 1991-2000, A Report by the Benetech Human Rights Data Analysis Group and the American Bar Association*, 28 March 2006, 4

¹⁶ “Timeline of Events During the War- Sierra Leone Issues” <https://sites.google.com/site/sierraleontownerenglish333/what-was-the-sierra-leone-civil-war/ttime-of-events>. Accessed 08/10/2018.

¹⁷ Sumah Awo Yayra, “Gender Discourses and State Practices in Civil War: a case study of the Democratic Republic of Congo and Sierra Leone” Boston University Open Bu, 2014, 64-65.

towns. Also, recruitment of children as combatants was a common phenomenon.¹⁸

The concomitant unbridled cataclysmic outcomes of the war necessitate the quest on its possible cause. While William Reno highlighted injustice and greed – the violent scramble to control Sierra Leone natural resources¹⁹; as other specified it to be diamond- the quest to monopolize the lucrative diamond trade. Diamonds sold in order to help fuel a war became known as blood diamond or conflict diamond.²⁰ The Sierra Leone could be classified as a failed state based on Robert Rothberg's definition of a failed state as State's inability to provide basic security, political freedom, and social services.²¹ Clotilde Asangna pinpointed among other factors ethnic polarization and summed up that the war was birthed as a result of the diverse interfaces pertaining to structural complications between Sierra Leone society and the state.²²

The war finally shuddered to a negotiated conclusion reached at Lomé, the capital of nearby Togo in July 1999, but it was not until 18th January 2002 that the war officially ended with a joint declaration of End of War.²³ In so far war and gender is concerned, this war was intentionally waged against the innocent women folk of Sierra Leone. However, before this war catapulted, these women were not consulted whether the war was in their interest. There is no extant literature, that they approved this war. Yet the horrors of the war were strategically unleashed upon them.

3. Pre-War Status of Sierra Leone Women

Prior to the outbreak of the war in 1991, the population of Sierra Leone women was 2,182,675 representing 50.62% of the total population.²⁴ At the same time Sierra Leone could be described as relatively conservative and patriarchal society,²⁵ evidenced by men's domination of all spheres of

¹⁸ Clotilde Asangnaa, "An Examination of the Sierra Leone War", *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, Vol 11, no.5 (May 2017), 3.

¹⁹ William Reno, "Political Networks in a Failing State; The Roots and Future of Violent Conflict in Sierra Leone", *International Politik and Gesellschaft*, (2003), 44-66.

²⁰ Megan Jenkins and Eva Umoh, "Africa in Conflict and Crisis; Critical Perspectives on the Role of Conflict Diamonds and Oil on the Livelihood of Sierra Leone and Nigeria". <https://web.stanford.edu/class/297a/Africa%20in%20Conflict%20and%20crisis.htm>. Accessed 08/10/2018.

²¹ Abu Bakarr Bah, "State Decay and Civil War; A Discourse on Power in Sierra Leone", *Journal of Critical Sociology*, vol. 37, no.2, 200.

²² Asangna, "An Examination of Sierra Leone War", 105-110.

²³ Reno, "Political Networks in a Sierra-Leone-Population 1990|country-economy.com Field State", 44.

²⁴ <https://countryeconomy.com/demography/population/Sierra-Leone?year=1990>

²⁵ Badmus, "Explaining Women's Roles in the West African Tragic Triplet Sierra Leone, Liberia and Code d'Ivoire in Comparative Perspective", 2009, 820.

public and private life. So, despite the fact of being the larger population, women were the most less-privileged. Although Sierra Leone female could boast of having occupied strategic positions in the male dominated society in the representation of paramount chief madam Yoko in the south and paramount chief Madam Humor-Nya, from Kenema District in the East in the 1960s and 1970s.²⁶ Quite acknowledged, but a survey of the whole societal positions would reveal that the important positions occupied by women could only account 0.1% when compared to ones being held by men. Men were generally placed above women in most aspects of life and women were often depending on their male counterparts. Their status in Sierra Leone society was relegated to house wives and mothers. A married woman's position under customary law is comparable to that of a minor; a woman is generally represented by her husband who has the right to prosecute and defend actions on his spouse's behalf.²⁷ Even the 1991 constitution which seeks to provide fundamental equal right for women, under its section 27 of the constitution ended up permitting discrimination on women²⁸, inter alia, under laws dealing with adoption, marriage, divorce, burial, devolution of property on death or other interests of personal law.²⁹ Indeed Sierra Leone women had been under the heavy domination of the patriarchal system of Sierra Leone society. Pamela O, Davis recounted the severe discriminatory effects of marriage, divorce and inheritance laws on women in Sierra Leone.³⁰ Women had no voices in the political, economic, socio-cultural brand of the society. Female genital mutilations were an age long affair.³¹ Domestic violence was another defining factor of the status of women in Sierra Leone. Joko Smart's Sierra Leone Family and Customary Law in the Human Rights Watch states that

²⁶ Maseray Ngadie Rogers, "Women, Politics and Decision Making in Sierra Leone", *Institute of International Studies Jilin University Youyi Hui Guan, Changchun, China*, CJDS, vol. 8, No1, May 2011, 51.

²⁷ Joko Smart, "Sierra Leone Customary Family Law", 98. Precisely under customary law, a Sierra Leonean Woman is always under the guardianship of a male relative in Sierra Leone.

²⁸ Physician for Human Right, Sierra Leone, *War-Related Sexual Violence in Sierra Leone a Population-Based Assessment*. A Report by Physicians for Human Rights with the Support of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Sierra Leone (C) Physicians for Human Rights 2002, 24.

²⁹ Jeanne Ward and Mendy Marsh, *Sexual Violence against Women and Girls in War and its Aftermath: Realities, Responses, and Required Resources*. A Briefing Paper prepared for symposium on sexual violence in conflict and beyond 21-23 June 2006. Brussel (Belgium), 3.

³⁰ Pamela O. Davis, "Marriage, Divorce and Inheritance Laws in Sierra Leone and Their Discriminatory Effects on Women", 17-20.

³¹ Country Profile, "Female Genital Mutilation in Sierra Leone@28 Too Many", 2014, 5-75.

physical violence against women and children is common in Sierra Leone, that under customary law, a husband has the right to reasonably chastise his wife by physical force.³² Women whose husbands died were forced to undergo widowhood ritual before remarrying.³³ This widowhood ritual is often hazardous and barbaric. Indeed, the Sierra Leone women were not in any way the master of their own destiny. They were circumscribed in every aspect by factors and forces, cultural, structural and economical. Yet, despite the dehumanizing nature of their pre-war situation, it still appeared mild and carefree when compared to their war-time situation.

4. Sierra Leone Women and the Civil War: A Case of Horrific Experience

Historically, it all started on one faithful morning in Bomaru on 23rd March 1991. The Sierra Leone women had peacefully gone to bed the preceding night, 22nd March amid the already intimidating gender stereotype and in the morning, they woke to 'heavy gun shots, exploding bombs, battering knives, angry voices, griping hands of sex hungry rebels, painful kicking booths of angry militants and then arsons, amputations, mutilations, rapes, sexual penetrations, abductions, forced labor, forced marriage, forced prostitution and forced conscriptions.³⁴³⁵³⁶³⁷ 38 The above war horrors that triggered in Bomaru that day and heralded the beginning of a decade of violence that devastated the country, also systematically became the hovering scenes that defined the war from 1991 – 2002. The attack on Bomaru and subsequent attacks which utilized the art of conventional modern warfare inexorably led to the death of innocent civilians – men and women. The massive killings and death of men during the war marked in, the inauguration of widespread widowhood and marked the genesis of women experience. Indiscriminate conscriptions of child soldiers and young adult males on the part of the SLA and abduction of adult females to conscription on the part of rebels was pressed immediately. Although women served in CDF, the fact that young male were recruited indiscriminately led to unfolding of unintended new public

³² Human Rights Watch, Sierra Leone, "We'll Kill You If You Cry", 19.

³³Idem, 18.

³⁴ Myriam S. Denov, "Wartime Sexual Violence: Assessing a Human Security Response to War-Affected Girls in Sierra Leone" SAGE publications, 2006, 320-339.

³⁵ Human Rights Watch, Sierra Leone, "We'll Kill You If You Cry", 1-75.

³⁶ Fodebah Daboh, Elizabeth Leonard, Renee William, and Ben Newton, "Sierra Leone's Civil War: The Role of Sexual Violence and the Emerging Presence of International Law", *New York Science Journal*, Vol 3, Issue 6 (2010), 1-3.

³⁷ Physician for Human Right, Sierra Leone, "War-Related Sexual Violence in Sierra Leone", 1-102.

³⁸ Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Sierra Leone, "Witness To Truth", 1-271.

spaces for women by sudden shifts in gender roles. And all of a sudden, women assumed the life blood of the family and the society.³⁹ They unintentionally engaged in prostitution. They were equally amputated, abducted, forced married, forced to labour and at most times made to experience the worst form of sexual violence. Below, are the experiences discussed in paragraphs.

The first is amputation. Writing in 2014, Dr Anurag Mishra noted that Amputation is a word derived from Latin *amputare*, meaning to cut away.⁴⁰ He further affirms that amputation of hand or foot was a common punishment in many of the older so-called civilized societies and is still carried out today in some countries.⁴¹ The fact that amputation is an age long phenomenon has been reinforced by CPU Stewart who reinstates that amputation has been part of human civilization for thousands of years.⁴² For sure amputation had been an ancient occurrence. However, these amputations were easily attributed to be caused by religious practices⁴³ or diseases.⁴⁴ This is partly true but how long shall this notion be held intact as quite plausible? The amputations in the Sierra Leone civil war has altered the cause of event reminding that majority of amputations has also been caused by war – Sierra Leone war.⁴⁵ But while war-caused amputations had been mainly on soldiers, the Sierra Leone civil war included women as part of the majority.

Women witnessed their hands and legs being cut off with either axe, cutlass or by gun shots.⁴⁶ At other times they were given the opportunity to choose which part of their body would be amputated. As resistant to any

³⁹ Based on the fact that Conflict open up intended and unintended spaces for empowering women, effecting structural social transformations and producing new social, economic and political realities that redefine gender and cast hierarchies – Manchanda (2001, 99) in Marlene Fisher, *Applying Feminist and Queer Theories to Gender-based Violence in post-conflict Societies: A Case Study of the Transition Process in Liberia*, A Major Research Project submitted in Partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts in Global Development, Queen's University, March 2014, 8.

⁴⁰ Anurag Mishra, "Lower Limb Amputations", Conference Paper, A subtheme of Conference: Surgery update 2014, Maulana Azad Medical College, Sept 2014. Page unnumbered.

⁴¹ Mishra, "Lower Limb Amputations", no page.

⁴² C P U, Stewart, "Lower Limb Amputation; Synopsis of Causation", Ministry of Defense, Sept 2008. p.3.

⁴³ Kate Fogelberg and Alexandra Thalmann, "Amputation as a Strategy of Terror in Sierra Leone", *High Plains Applied Antropogist* No.2, vol 24, 2004, 158.

⁴⁴ Stewart, "Lower Limb Amputation", pp. 3-24.

⁴⁵ Fogelberg and Thammann, "Amputation as a Strategy of Terror", 158.

⁴⁶ Maria Berghs, "Disability as Embodied Memory? Questions of Identity for the Amputees of Sierra Leone" *Wagadu* vol. 4, summer 2007. *Intersecting Gender and disability, Perspectives in Rethinking Postcolonial Identities*, 78.

violence or ‘failing to perform one’s duties in a timely and efficient manner often amount to deprivation of life,’⁴⁷ some of these women deliberately in a relaxed and serene manner surrendered their body to rape and sexual penetration but even after that they still become victim of amputation. Findings from Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) has revealed that RUF was responsible for more amputations. J. Peter Pham in *Making Sense of a Senseless War* estimated that hundreds of thousands suffered amputations or were otherwise maimed.⁴⁸ During 1996, the RUF’s “Operation Stop Elections” entailed chopping off of hands and arms as a symbol of preventing people from voting.⁴⁹ In the study of pain in the traumatic upper limb amputees in Sierra Leone, Philippe & et al revealed that out of the sample collected, 8 were women and that the method of amputation was by cutlass, axe or gunshot.⁵⁰ A clear instance was the account given by Human Rights Watch (HRW), in which S.G a fifty-year-old widow was raped by a teenage rebel called Commander don’t blame God and after, subsequently had her both arms amputated in Mattru village in Bo district prior to the 1996 election.⁵¹ Her two hands were cut off and shoved into her vagina forcefully.⁵² For sure, S.G serves as a case study for many other women who were victims of war amputation in Sierra Leone. While many had their legs chopped off from the knee and shoved into their mouth and vagina, others had theirs thrown into the fire. In this research, amputations in Sierra Leone civil war is yet the worst form of human amputations ever experienced by mankind. As soon as amputated, women begin to suffer from various conditions that affect their livelihood. These conditions included phantom sensation, fistulae and various other infections.⁵³ Women due to amputations endured an enormous amount of suffering from their injuries. Some of them spent most of their days in amputee camps never seeing the outside environment again.

Beside amputation, Sierra Leone women also felt the war on the four fronts of; abduction, forced labour, and forced marriage and sexual

⁴⁷ Myriam Denov, Abdul Kemokai, Richard Maclure, Momo F Turay, and Moses Zombo, “Child Soldiers in Sierra Leone: Experiences, Implications and Strategies for Rehabilitation and Community Reintegration”, A Research Undertaken with the financial support of the Government of Canada Provided through the Canadian International Development Agency, vendor no-1008746, 2005, 3.

⁴⁸ J. Peter Pham, “Making Sense of a Senseless War”, *Journal of Human Rights & Human Welfare*, Vol 7, 2007, 40.

⁴⁹ TRC, 44.

⁵⁰ Philippe A Lacoux, Iain K Crombie, William A. Macrae, “Pain in Traumatic Upper Limb Amputees in Sierra Leone”, *International Association for the Study of Pain*, Vol 99. (2002), 309 -312.

⁵¹ Human Rights Watch, Sierra Leone, “We’ll Kill You If You Cry”, 36.

⁵² Idem.

⁵³ Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Sierra Leone, “Witness To The Truth”, 252.

slavery. Women in other to be sexually exploited were abducted, imposed forced labour and then forced into marriage. Writes HRW, 'RUF rebels committed crimes of sexual violence in the course of their military operations, during which thousands of women and girls were abducted and forced to marry rebel husbands'.⁵⁴ An instance was Kadiatu S., who was captured, abducted and used by the rebels, and when the rebels were attacked and overpowered by ECOMOG, an ECOMOG soldier took her for his wife. Euphemistically referred to as bush marriages or AK-47 marriages, this was tantamount to sexual slavery whereby girls were deemed to be the (sexual) 'property' of specific RUF males.⁵⁵ Several girls reported becoming pregnant from rape during their time in the bush. In most cases, the babies died soon after birth. During the captivity, women and girls were made to carry out forced labour, including carrying heavy loads, cooking, cleaning.⁵⁶ In thousands of cases, women and girls were abducted after being subjected to sexual violence. Any family member who tried to protect their women and girls often meet their death in the hands of the rebels. Women and girls aside being abducted for wives, were also primarily abducted to be sex slaves of rebels. Good to note that these rebels also changed wives frequently when they are tired of them or when their forced wives were too weak to perform their tasks. Indeed, numerous victims describe being subjected to abuse or forced to work by commanders' wives. They were made to carry force labour during their captivity including cooking, cleaning and washing clothes and carrying heavy loads of ammunition and looted items. Sierra Leone women when felt tired of the situation resolve to tolerate the abuses as it was war. Many women and girls were abducted after being looted and raped in the presence of their family. As if these abductions related abuse was not enough the abductees further faced the reality of being killed by their husband's wife when converted to wife. A case study is that of A J, in the HRW.⁵⁷

But worst of all to the experiences of Sierra Leone women as abductees was the branding of RUF or AFRC on their chest as sign of identification. Of course, we imagine the terrible pain they must have passed through as they were branded. This is because the branding tool must have been very

⁵⁴ Human Rights Watch, Sierra Leone, "We'll Kill You If You Cry", 26.

⁵⁵ Idem.

⁵⁶ Idem.

⁵⁷ AJ was a fourteen-year-old student who was abducted in Pujehun, tortured by the RUF from February to May 1994 and placed under the control of Commander Patrick. But luckily A.J was escaped by the help of Patrick's wife, Neneh. This was after Neneh threatened had to kill her should she agree to have sex with the husband. --Human Rights Watch, Sierra Leone, "We'll Kill You If You Cry," 43.

hot knife or anvil as evidence. Honestly one would feel sympathy for these women. They have experienced hell.

Sexual violence is another colossal gender-based violence that compulsorily compels to be discussed when treating women experiences in Sierra Leone civil war. This is generated by the fact that sexual violence constitutes the majority of violence inherent in the war. Sexual violence is defined as a sexual act committed against someone without that person's freely given consent.⁵⁸ Sexual violence sometimes takes the form of sexual slavery whereby women are abducted to serve as servant and sexual partners of combatants for extended periods. Sierra Leone Sexual Offences Act (2012) elaborates consent to meaning agreement by choice and with freedom and capacity to make that choice.⁵⁹ It further specified among other things that the circumstances in which a person does not consent include if the person submits to the act because of the use of violence or force on that person or someone else. *Noble Women's Initiative* incorporates that brutal forms of sexual violence including sexual slavery, gang rape, mutilation, torture, and insertion of sharp objects into women's vaginas have been used widely in conflicts across the Africa continent. Sexual violence is significant in that it is not only a result of the war but it was also used as a tool.⁶⁰ It has been discovered that rebel forces utilized sexual violence as a weapon to terrorize, humiliate and coerce the civilian population into submission.⁶¹ During the civil war, sexual violence against women and girls was wide spread and systematic and included individual and gang rape.⁶² From the reports of PHR, if non-war-related sexual violence among non-IDP females is added to IDP, as many as 215,000-257,000 women and girls in Sierra Leone currently may have been affected by sexual violence.⁶³

Rape stood high among sexual violence experienced by women in the war. From the sixteen specific categories of violation examined by TRC, rape was the dominant. For example; acts of rape were considered in multiple contexts in abduction, sexual slavery, during attacks on villages or when the victims are encountered at a checkpoint or in the bush. Women and girls were raped, forced into sexual slavery and endured other acts of sexual violence, including mutilations, torture and a host of other cruel and inhuman treatment. They were taken from their homes and villages by

⁵⁸ "Definitions sexual violence prevention Injury Center CDC." <https://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/sexualviolence/definitions.html>. Accessed 26/10/2018.

⁵⁹ Sierra Leone Sexual Offences Act, 2012.

⁶⁰ Ibidem.

⁶¹ Daboh, Leonard, Renee, Newton, "Sierra Leone's Civil War", 1.

⁶² Ibidem.

⁶³ Ibidem.

force. Refusal to comply with their captors often met with death. While some women experienced gang rape and constant rape, others experienced single rape. Women experienced rape in the hands of virtually all the combatants, however the most noticeable was that of RUF, then followed by AFRC.⁶⁴ The RUF after capturing a town or a village rewarded themselves by looting and rapping women and girls.

There are also available instances of rape experienced by women in the hands of ECOMOG and UNAMSIL peacekeepers. Paraphrased clause-witz “Both ECOMOG and UNAMSIL peacekeepers have sexually exploited women and solicited child prostitutes.”⁶⁵ An instance is the rape of 12yr old girl in Bo by an UNAMSIL soldier of the Guinean peacekeeping contingent in March 2001 and the gang rape of a woman by two Ukrainian peacekeepers in April 2002 near Kenama.⁶⁶ Women and girls of all ages, ethnic group and socio-economic classes were subjected to gang rape. A clear illustration was the case of MM who was raped by seven child combatants aged between fifteen and sixteen years old on the way to Kailahum. Even older women would not exhaust the story of rape and sexual violence they were subjected. The story told by FB in the HRW in which an older woman was captured for rape provides a justification. As this old woman replied that she was too old for such a thing, the rebels laughed and labeled her a young bundu girl.⁶⁷

Virgination was another underlying experience of women in the war. Girls’ virginity was physically checked by female rebels. Girls as young as nine years were brutally raped after being virgin. Some of these girl’s perineum became badly torn and blooded constantly. Teenagers were not spared out. An instance is the case of Miss RT who was about sixteen when she was brutally raped vaginally and anally by ten RUF rebels in the forest near Koidu in Kono district in January 1997.⁶⁸ However, some of the rape featured in public. Some woman was publicly raped to the viewing of other women and civilian society. But worst of all was that greater number of women experienced death from rape. An instance was the death of eight young girls in one Liberian refugee camp alone.⁶⁹

The death of women from rape did not only result from forceful insertion of penis into the anus and vagina, some of the deaths results from inserting in a violent-like manner weapons, burning firewood, hot oil, amputated body parts and so on. Women were forcefully seized, stripped

⁶⁴ Daboh, Leonard, Renee, Newton, “Sierra Leone’s Civil War”, 1.

⁶⁵ Human Rights Watch, Sierra Leone, “We’ll Kill You If You Cry”, 48.

⁶⁶ Ibidem.

⁶⁷ Ibidem, 33.

⁶⁸ Ibidem.

⁶⁹ Ibidem.

naked, sprawled on the ground, their vulva widened by stretching them apart, and then the next thing is hot oil being poured at the vagina and inside the vulva. Madam J.M (reportedly to be Sankoh's wife) who was brought into the village square by rebels forced to lie down and was poured boiling palm oil into her vagina and ears⁷⁰ serves as a justification.

Women also witnessed their private organs being forcefully penetrated with cooking utensils. Imagine the utensil they formally used in the kitchen were now being used in their vagina and anus. What a tale from home front! M F, the thirteen-year-old girl who was gang raped by five rebels witnessed how her stepmothers' mother was beaten by the RUF with a long pestle in Momoria village in Koinadugu district in 1998. The rebel then forcefully shoved the pestle into her anus. While one woman who was suspected by rebels to be the wife of an SLA soldier was reportedly had pepper put in her vagina, 25 yrs. old F.T and another woman were inserted burning firewood into the vagina. Women also experienced gunshot at the vagina. Still yet umbrella was also forcefully shoved in their vagina as a consequence of any accused offence.⁷¹ Some of the sexual penetration were performed by female rebels in an act called virgination. An instance was FP who was tied to two long stick and fingered by C.O Sally, a female rebel.

Arising from rape, forced marriage and sexual slavery is forced pregnancies which also clamoured as the fate of Sierra Leone women in the war. Paraphrased by HRW 'many women and girls became pregnant as a result of rapes they were subjected. However some pregnant women whether gotten from rape or just from their legal husbands were caught. These victims experienced another act-like waterloo – abdomen being brutally cut open by rebels. Writes HRW:

Rebel forces were known for mutilating pregnant mothers to find out the sex of the unborn child. They would bet large sums of money and the rebel who had rightly guessed the sex of the unborn child after the woman's belly had been cut open would keep the money. Some women were cut open alive, but sometimes the women were killed before the rebels cut their abdomens open⁷².

A case of reference is in the story old by F K in the HRW. Although while some women deliberately aborted their pregnancies with the use of herbs, others experienced forced abortion. Although a good number who had no choice carried their pregnancy to delivery. They unexpectedly became mothers and began to swim in the pool of motherhood.

⁷⁰ Ibidem.

⁷¹ Ibidem.

⁷² Ibidem.

5. The Implications of Women's Experiences on their pristine Life – A Case of Sweet Garri soaked with Sand.

Scholars and eyewitness accounts have indubitably attempted painting an interesting and somewhat accurate, the impacts of women's war experiences on their womanhood. But the truth remains that these implications are so despicable that it can only be captured precisely by referring it to sweet Garri soaked with Sand. And of what relevance is garri soaked with sand? Absolutely nothing. This is what the gender-based violence in Sierra Leone has rendered the women. Garri also known as cassava flakes is a creamy white granular flour. When soaked with water it is called garium sulphate but when prepared with heat or hot water is called Eba. A well processed garri issues a well refined flavor and always attracts one's taste. Soaking it in water serves as a good snack. Not only that it helps cool the body but it prevents immediate hunger. However, despite whichever way it is preferably eaten, and despite its admiring qualities, one fact is certain. It automatically becomes useless and despised when stained or mixed with sand, not even an iota of it. This has been the case of Sierra Leone women.

Quite plausibly, prior to the war, the Sierra Leone women were like a well refined Garri worthy of attracting the taste of any man irrespective of race and ethnicity. Their pristine life and existence were best appreciated and clamored for by the Sierra Leone men and beyond. They were treated with respect, love and dignity. But as the war thundered, it unfolded their violent experiences. These violent experiences became the sand that mixed with garri and thus altered their pristine life, rendering them to life of agony and pain and as well made them appear useless in the eye of Sierra Leonean society. The nature and manner in which their despicable experiences have rebounded on their natural and stainless life has come down to us through health, economic, and socio-cultural implication.

From the perspective of health implication, women due to high rate of gang rape including rape with objects, sexual slavery and multiple husbands, contracted deadly sexual transmitted disease. Prominent among them are staphylococcus aureus, candidiasis, gonorrhea, syphilis, ecoli and a lot more. One major advertised cause of these inhuman diseases has been multiple sex partners. Some symptoms experienced by a carrier of any of these infections include severe weight loss and fatigue, vaginal discharge and odour and in most cases infertility. What does this mean? It means that Sierra Leone women could no longer comfortably stay with family members and friends because of vaginal odour. They cannot also live a costume life of their choice because of vaginal discharge. They must be selective in the clothes they wear. But worst of all, the fertility trait

which African women are well known for became lagging in Sierra Leone women- a big blow to their womanhood.

However, these were women formerly rated to be one of the healthiest stock of women in the world. But not anymore. The incidence of sexual violence such as rape, forced prostitution, forced marriage and sexual slavery depreciated their health and prone others to death. They were exposed to HIV/AIDS infection⁷³ which not only threatened their war life but is now threatening their post-war life. It manifested in quantum. This is where the health of these women has been worst hit. This is because while other STDs could be cured, HIV/AIDS remains incurable for now. By its name slim 1 disease, it disfigured the excellent physique of the women, emaciating them to their very bones and ribs and making them look like monster. They became objects of social stigmatization. Aside of causing opportunistic infections, by its name Silent killer, it killed women in their numbers thereby interrupting their future.

Other health problems are Vaso- Vaginal Fistulae and Vaso- Rectal Fistulas (VVF and VRF), as a result of the rape(s) especially of young girls but also of mature women; complications when giving birth prolapsed uterus; trauma and unwanted pregnancies.⁷⁴ Rape also caused unwanted pregnancies especially among teenagers. These were once young ladies; very intelligent, diligent and with the prospect of great future ambition. Some of these girls nursed going to seminary to become reverend sisters, others intended advancing their education to tertiary level to become bankers, lawyers, medical doctors, correspondents and prolific writers. Unfortunately, these girls' ambitions became marred as they were forcefully impregnated and introduced to unprecedented motherhoods. Although some of them terminated their pregnancies but this in most cases resulted to womb damage and everlasting breeding.

In the economic point of analysis, these women's economic life was reduced to subservience and permanent beggars. To sum it in one word, they were subjected to dependency. These were mainly caused by amputations and looting of women's properties. Women whom before the war manned the farm work, traded in the market, and performed household chores and whom during the war became the life blood of family and society in the course of events became incapacitated with missing body parts such as legs and hands as a result of amputations. Women instead of spending their God gifted happy life with family became subjected to life of loneliness in the amputee camps contrary to desire. They can no longer walk around the environment. Any movement is only

⁷³ Physician for Human Rights, Sierra Leone, War-Related Sexual Violence in Sierra Leone, P.79-81.

⁷⁴ Human Rights Watch, Sierra Leone, "We'll Kill You If You Cry", 81.

directed towards the road side and is motivated to beg. Their supposedly life of joy, energetism and optimism became life of sorrow, pain and pessimism. In fact, the degree of pain suffered in the amputated area is enough to bring this study to conclusion. But what about women who did escape amputation? Oh yes! They did escape amputation but they didn't escape being looted. Their farmland, market stores and family homes were routinely looted and sanitized; and by the time the war ended in 2002, these women faced their postwar life economically handicapped and hopeless plunging some of them into begging and low life expectancy.⁷⁵

Lastly is the socio- cultural implication. In this aspect women faced shame and stigmatization. They were made object of ridicule and taunted at every corner. Some of the taunted and stigmatized women were the victims of public rape. Some of these victims prior to their rape were virgins and so were virginated. As in many countries, Sierra Leone society places a high value on virginity. Throughout Africa, virgination outside marriage or before marriage is culturally considered a taboo. In a newly married couple if in their first marital contact, the husband discovers the wife to be virgin, he goes back to his wife in laws with keg of palm wine to thank and congratulate them. In fact, girls who are known to have been virginated are considered inferior for firsthand wife and in some other cases are considered unfit for marriage. They are rejected and avoided. The same could also be said about girls both married and unmarried who got unwanted pregnancy. They were divorced by their husband and cast out by family members. The stigma associated with former girl soldiers appears to be particularly complex. Girls appeared to not only suffer alienation as a result of their former affiliation with the rebels, but also because many of them had been victims of sexual violence.⁷⁶ What about girls who experienced forced marriages in the hands of rebels? The implication is that they were obliged to stay with their illegal husband even when the war was declared over. For sure these women would find no marital happiness throughout their life as long as they lived with their imposed husband. How many shall be mentioned and the rest abandoned? However, for girls who performed sub military role under the rebels reported experiencing some form of rejection and/or stigmatization by their families and wider community. A few girls also reported that their children borne of rape were also rejected or vilified by their broader family and community.⁷⁷ Indeed the war and post war life of Sierra Leone women has been one of ill health, pain and agony, dependency, shame and social stigmatization, and low life expectancy.

⁷⁵ Human Rights Watch, Sierra Leone, "We'll Kill You If You Cry", 76- 81.

⁷⁶ Denov, Kemokai, Maclure, Turay and Zombo, *Child Soldiers in Sierra Leone*, 9.

⁷⁷ Ibidem.

Having learnt the violent experiences of women in the Sierra Leone civil war and how it impacted on their pristine existence, one can now begin to ask the questions; why do men batter women both in times of peace and in times of war? Is it that men are naturally stronger than women? Or could it be that it is a natural order that must always be adhered? Why do men always assume the position of combatants, monopolizing, and selfishly and rudely utilizing the instruments of suppression in conflict while women are majorly left to man the children and weak aged parents (grand mas and grand pas) and even when abducted or recruited into any combatant group, they are only assigned minor roles as combatant cooks, cleaners, washers, load carriers and sex tools as evident in Sierra Leone civil war? Why? Certainly an attempt to produce a related answer to these questions and more will lead us to explaining the relationship between gender roles in civil conflict with extrapolations from theories of Gender based violence.

6. Gender Roles in Civil Conflict

Gender is seen as a socially and culturally constructed roles of women and men in the society (Dietrich and Quain, 2014, p. 1). Distinguishing between gender and sex, Pryzgodu and Chrisler in *Definitions of Gender and Sex: The Subtleties of Meaning* opines that Gender typically refers only to behavioral, social and psychological characteristics of men and women.⁷⁸ The behavioural, social and psychological characteristics could be what Lunak & etal in *Changing Gender Roles; Women's Livelihoods, Conflicts and Post Conflict Security in Nepal* mean as gendered meaning and practices.⁷⁹ Gender is shaped by culture, social relations and natural environment. Though it is not something we are born with, and not something we have but something we do. So, it is embebbed so thoroughly in our institutions, our actions, our beliefs, and our desire that it appears to us completely natural.⁸⁰ From this emanates gender roles.

Gender roles are learned behaviours by a person as appropriate to their gender, determined by prevailing cultural norms.⁸¹ Eagly (1987) in

⁷⁸ Jayde Pryzgodu and Joan C. Chrisler, *Definitions of Gender and Sex: The Subtleties of Meaning*. Plenum Publishing Corporation. Journal of Research vol. 43, issue 7, October 2000, uploaded online on Researchgate forum by Joan Chrisler on 8th Oct, 2015, 554.

⁷⁹ Lunak K.C, Gemma Van Der Haar, and Dorothea Hilhorst, "Changing Gender Role: Women's Livelihoods, Conflicts and Post-Conflict Security in Nepal", *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs*, Vol.5, no.2 ©, 2017, p. 177.

⁸⁰ "Convention on Biological Diversity; Gender and Biodiversity", Workshop organized in Bangkok, Thailand, 28-30 November, 2017. 3 leaves, no page.

⁸¹ Eckert, Penelope and McConnell-Ginet, Sally, *Language and Gender*, Second edition, (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press), 1.

Laurie and etal's *Reducing Gender-Based Violence* sees it as socially shared expectations about behavior that apply to individuals on the basis of socially identified sex.⁸² Gender roles of women and men include different labour responsibilities, decision-making process and knowledge.⁸³ In Africa like other societies, gender roles are nurtured roles and responsibilities conferred on either gender as a result of the social constructs of respective societies. Traditionally, women keep house, bear children, grow food, carry water and are considered subservient to their husbands.⁸⁴ Husbands are responsible for decision making, exercising authority and power, protection of their households, and in numerous cases are responsible for the material support of the family. In times of conflict these roles do not totally change rather it assumes another dimension though not very much different from the formers. While the patriarchal gender role of men incorporates as wielding of guns, machetes, axes, bullet proof and other instruments of suppression and fighting as soldiers/combatants using it as a supreme and easy gate-way to unleash violence on the female folks; that of women degenerates to supporting roles as cooks/maids, spouses/partner, prostitutes and sex tools. Women also assume the material provider of family and society instead of defense and fighting position. Although recent wars such as the Sierra Leone civil war have involved few numbers of female combatants there is no doubt. Women fought as soldiers in this war. But still yet, they did not have equal rank and command as men combatant. For instance, of all the names of commanders of each combatant groups in the SL war reported by TRC, none was female.⁸⁵ Although Badmus in his *Explaining Women's Roles in the West African Tragic Triplet* reveals that RUF has a Woman's Wing and that while Agnes Jalloh was the leader, Mrs. Isatu Kallon, a member used her vast knowledge of the Liberian countryside to procure arms for the rebel.⁸⁶ We quite agree. But when Badmus again writes that some women in the RUF were even promoted to prestigious positions of field commanders, generals, and senior intelligent officers, we disagreed. This is because Badmus just exaggerated issue at this point. Women were

⁸² Eckert, Penelope and McConnell-Ginet, *Language and Gender*, 2.

⁸³ Susan Ikegwu, "Gender Equality; Gender Roles and its Effects on Today's Society", SUSTYVIBES, <https://sustyvibes.com/gender-roles-effect-todays-society/> Accessed 29/10/2018.

⁸⁴ Emma Hill, "Gender Roles in Tanzania and East Africa", Brighter Tanzania Foundation, Friday, June 02, 2017. 10:36AM, <https://brighter-tz-fund.org/Blog/4902092>. Accessed 29/10/2018.

⁸⁵ Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 48 -83.

⁸⁶ Isiaka Alani Badmus, *Explaining Women's Roles in the West African Tragic Triplet: Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Cote d'Ivoire in Comparative Perspective*. Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences (2009), vol. 1, No 3, 808-839.

subjected to domestic and sex role in the conflict. Okay accepted the fact that female were at least low-rank combatants, most of them are recruited although in the name of fighting but are expected in disguise to provide romance to male combatants in order to boost their molly of fighting.

Indeed, the relationship between these gender roles in civil conflict can best be explained with extrapolations from theories of gender-based violence. Extrapolations from theories of gender-based violence seeks to utilize the understandings or insights gained from gender-based theories to estimate or form an opinion on the possible relationship between gender roles in civil conflict. The essence of relying on TGV (Theories of Gender based Violence) for explanation of the relationship hinges from the fact that TVG provides insight into the changes necessary to prevent and eradicate that violence. So, from extrapolations, we understand that theories of gender-based violence are those generalizations and assumptions that attempt providing explanations or reasons behind the manifestation or occurrence of gender-based violence. It is a formal set of ideas or thoughts that intend explaining why gender-based violence exists. In all there are four major group of theories of gender-based violence vis-a-vis the Individualists, Familial or System, Structuralist, and Post Structuralist.⁸⁷ Within some of the theories lie sub theories.

The first in the row which is the Individualists is of the premise that gender based violence rises as a result of individual choices, characteristics, interests, biology, genetics and pathologies. It conveyed this view points through such subthemes as contemporary socio-biology and neo Darwinism, battered women's syndrome or learned helplessness, Women blaming explanations, and male pathologies.⁸⁸ Contemporary Socio-biology and Neo-Darwinism explains that gender-based violence evolves as an attempt to maintain female fidelity and secure reproductive control. Thus, Abuse is seen as a 'mate retention tactic'.⁸⁹ Battered Women's Syndrome developed by Lenore Walker in late 1970s accounts that the essence of constant gender violence is to make women believe that they deserve all kinds of abuse and therefore tolerate them. Women-Blaming Explanations offers that gender-based violence occurs as a deserved experience, necessity and as a reminder for women to stick to their gender role. Male pathology labels gender-based violence, the outcome of a deviant behavior of psychological disturbed men. 'The claim

⁸⁷ Theories used to explain male violence against women,
<https://www.gov.scot/resource/doc/925/0063072>. Pdf. 1-9.

⁸⁸ Theories used to explain male violence against women,
<https://www.gov.scot/resource/doc/925/0063072>. Pdf.1-5

⁸⁹ Theories used to explain male violence against women,
<https://www.gov.scot/resource/doc/925/0063072>. Pdf.1.

is made that the disturbed/violent man suffer more distress, personality disorders, anger/hostility, and alcohol problems than normal. Many lack resources or feel powerless and so they are more likely to unleash violence in family of origin.’

The second group is the Familial or Systems theories. Its premise is that gender-based violence is a sign of dysfunctionality. In a clearer perspective, it accounts that gender based violence arouse as a way of correcting behaviours or dynamics to enable functioning of family or according to appropriate roles/behaviours.⁹⁰

The structuralist theories pose as the third. It shifts from familial level to locating the social problem of domestic abuse in the social problem of domestic abuse in the real or concrete world and its structures- social, political, cultural, and ideological and seeks explanations beyond the individual. Its two sub theories are ‘violence as intrinsic and endemic part of social structure, and social ecology model of social change’.⁹¹ While the former sees gender based violence as a stress reaction to social problem like poverty, unemployment, isolation, homelessness, loss of male social status, tensions etc.; the later attributes it to interactions of factors at each level of social ecology ranging from individual, family, community and society and argues that men’s violence is an incident trigger factors and specified such trigger factors as: “Women disobeying or arguing, questioning him about money or girlfriends, not having food ready on time or in right way, failures’ as mother or house keeper, woman refusing to have sex and man being accused of infidelity”.⁹²

Finally, is the Post-structuralist theory. It stipulates that reality rather than being reflected, are instrumentally constructed by words and language.⁹³ The centrality of narratives or text –about individual and about society is its major theme,⁹⁴ it tries to inform that gender-based violence is influenced by the way language is used to construct identity. For instance; In texts and literatures and in everyday expression, the word ‘man’, ‘mankind’, ‘he’, and ‘his’ is used to qualify neutral sex while the phenomenon ‘God’ is often represented with masculine prepositions like ‘he, him, and his’. Why not represent neutral sex with the word ‘woman, womankind, she, her etc.’? This kind of construction serves to make men in the society think that they are the superior sex and therefore fit for superior gender role which is inexcusably preceded with the need to

⁹⁰ Theories used to explain male violence against women,
<https://www.gov.scot/resource/doc/925/0063072>. Pdf.1

⁹¹ Ibidem.

⁹² Ibidem.

⁹³ Ibidem., Pdf.9

⁹⁴ Ibidem.

practicalize it. So, in the long run, men perpetuate violence on women. Again, why the word 'woman'? Why not separate the two syllables so that 'wo' will not be dependent on 'man' or replace 'man' with 'han' so that it will be 'wohan'? This is because a word like 'woman' will tell man that woman is dependent on him. However, in addition to how language is used to construct identity, Post-structuralists also revealed that gender-based violence is watered by the stories both men and women create or produced about themselves – stories and scripts we live by; Good and bad stories.⁹⁵ For instance; in most African history (especially in the area of pre-colonialism, colonialism, and independence movement) authored by men, the role of women was largely understated and underrated if mentioned at all. Men-authored stories present men as gods and saviors of the society. In men-authored fiction, women are culturally painted with careless abandon. For instance, in Nuriddin Farah's *From a Crooked Rib*, He writes "They spread her leg", "cut her lips and she cry". The "lips" referred here is vagaina lips. And what does it mean? –sexual mutilation. Which man will read that excerpt and refuse to practicalize it bearing in mind that women can be sexually mutilated and that when this is done, they cry. Although Nuruddin Farah was writing against his people's anti-cultural practice but our concern here is that the way he painted words is likely to add to man's knowledge on what kind of action and practice that are likely going to weaken women and cause them sorrow. And so by perpetuating the violence, they strengthen their belief of superiority.

Nevertheless, from studies on theories of Gender based violence, we rightly extrapolate that the relationship between roles in civil conflict is the notion of masculine privilege/superiority on the part of men and attributed notion of inferiority and subservience on the part of women by same men. We extrapolate that this relationship is the summary of reasons behind gender-based violence influenced by socially and culturally beliefs and ideas about one's sex. Men feel superiority complex and view women as inferior. It is this notion which square pegs as the relationship that in turn reinvigorates the assumption of the civil war related gender roles. Credit to Mazurana and Proctor when they write in *Gender, Conflict and Peace* that 'Gender, at its heart is a structural power relation that rests upon a central set of distinctions between different categories of people, valuing some over others.' The unequal structural power relations between men and women are largely responsible for sexual gender based violence before, during and after periods of conflict.⁹⁶ A notion of egoism and

⁹⁵ Theories used to explain male violence against women,
<https://www.gov.scot/resource/doc/925/0063072>. Pdf.1

⁹⁶ Dyan Mazurana and Keith Proctor, *Gender, Conflict and Peace*. Occasional Paper b, World Peace Foundation, October 15, 2013. 2.

superiority and god-like- a notion of masculine privilege, (military and domestic strength).

7. Conclusion

From the foregone, it is evident that violence against women worldwide has been deliberate and intentional. The historic 1991-2002 civil war in Sierra Leone takes a high place among the events that unscrupulously violated women's right and as well altered their pristine existence. In a way this study discovers that it has been caused by a question of power and control which is structured by male soldiers' notion of the masculine privilege, strength of the military lines of command and ethnic inequalities among women. It is this notion of masculine privilege and strength that influences the gender roles in conflict times and in turn aids the gender-based violence. Also the pre-war status of the women, circumscribed by Sierra Leone custom, law and practice also serves as a catalyst to women's minor role in conflict and their vulnerability to violence. Though, of pressing concern is the fact that it is gaining momentum on daily basis despite the fact that silence has broken and steps being taken towards recognition. Even if men are placed under severe punishment by law as suggested by numerous literatures, without reconstruction of assumed gender notion, violence on women will still be widening. As a matter of fact this study recommends that in addition to the recommendations in HRW, PHR, TRC, and a host of other literatures, there should be worldwide sensitization of male folk to understand that superiority does not lie in violence against women and that there is nothing like male privilege over women. In the same way, the female folk should be encouraged to take destinies in their hands and fight for their right. There are numerous instances in a family where a violent man succumbs to his wife due to her continued aggression. This can also be applied in civil war by women taking up arms and unleashing squalor on men be it their husband or even sons. At least this will instill fear in the hearts of men and reduce the potentiality of sexual violence. This study wishes women not to be domicile but to be aggressive as a route to their liberation. Both in times of peace and war, the women should be allowed to constitute majority in the army be it rebel or national army. This would help in minimizing and eradicating war related gender violence. But due to the fact that female rebels in the Sierra Leone war meted violence on civilian women, this study encourages women to love themselves and act as one against the male sex.

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INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL MEDIA ON ELECTIONEERING CAMPAIGN IN NIGERIA'S 2019 GENERAL ELECTIONS

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Abstract: *The swift advances in information and communication technology and multiple social media platforms, has had a dramatic impact on democracy today. However, regulating the spread of fake news have been problematic, thereby making political leaders to engage in political spinning. This study seeks to examine the impacts of social media on electioneering campaign in Nigeria's 2019 general elections. This study revealed that social media like Twitter, Facebook and YouTube has facilitated the direct political interactions between political aspirants and voters during the Nigeria's 2019 general elections. Social media encourages the speedy dissemination of information to large audience within a short time. Also, this study further revealed that social media remain unregulated and many newsfeeds or stories emanating from it are unreliable as many "fake news" have emanated from it during the Nigeria's 2019 general elections. Therefore, this study suggests that despite the advantages of the social media on electioneering campaign in the Nigeria's 2019 general elections, most newsfeeds from the social media should be verified through fact-checkers (like Full Fact and First Draft) in order to prevent misleading information that are detrimental to human society.*

Keywords: *Social media, Spin, Fake News, Electioneering campaign, Elections*

Introduction

Since the turn of the 21st century, the transformation in opportunities presented by the rapid change from the "old" media of print journalism and terrestrial television channels, to the "new" swift advances in information and communication technology and multiple social media platforms, has had a dramatic impact on democracy today¹. Today, the advancement in information technologies has seen the media become an increasingly reflective force to reckon with in recent times because of its

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¹ Gallop, N. & Magee, E., *Politics: politics of the UK* First edition London: Hodder, 2017, pp.55-56.

ability to reinforce the various interests and political views in the state rather than shaping the role that it had previously allowed through traditional media channels which was to preserve their own positions and promote their own interests.

Besides, there is a growing literature on the use of the social media by citizens in political participation all over the world. The increasing use of the social media in recent times has led to the increasing rate of research in this area of study. In recent times, the concept of “social media” has increasingly become very popular among researchers. In today’s world, the use of Facebook, Twitter, You Tube and blogs have remained one of the most popular forms of social media². It is against this backdrop that scholars have classified the social media into various groups such as collaborative projects (eg. wikipedia), blogs and micro blogs (eg. *Twitter*), content communities (eg. YouTube, Picasso), social networking sites (eg. *Facebook*, MySpace), virtual game worlds (eg. world of war craft)³ and virtual social worlds (eg. second life) online forums, check-in services and all sorts of other sites⁴.

It is known today that one of the most, perhaps less widely medium of political communication is the “new internet-based media” especially the social media like Twitter, Facebook and You Tube. This “new internet-based media” has changed the face of democratic participation due to the platforms it provides for political leaders to communicate with the people. Moreover, the rapid spread of social media has to a large extent changed the way people provide and receive information. To this end, this has also affected the way citizens all over the world interact with each other within a given political settings. However, one of the current challenges bedevilling the use of social media like Facebook, Twitter and Blog is how to “Manage the messages” that emanate from them which has been a concern to states across the globe in recent times especially in the age of a 24-hours news media, the internet and other informal social media platforms. The perceived fixation on “managing the messages” has given rise to accusation that many politicians have become concerned with style using professionals to “political spin” (an efforts of the political leaders to gain favourable coverage by carefully managing the presentation of

² Campbell, A.D., Lambright, T.K., & Wells, J.C., “Looking for friends, fans, and followers? Social media use in public and non-profit human services *Public Administration Review* September/October 2014 Volume 74 Number 5 P: 656, 2014.

³ Ibid 2

⁴ Kaplan, A.M. & Haenlein, M., Users of the world. Unite: The challenges and opportunities of social media. *Business Horizons* 53(1):59-68, 2010.

policies to the media) a story, policy or issues favourably than they are with the substance of the policies and issues themselves⁵.

In recent years across the globe, citizens in many countries of the world like in Saudi Arabia, United Kingdom, France, Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Nigeria and many other countries have turn on online petition to create awareness, express their views and pressurised their home governments to act towards certain prevailing direction. It is pertinent to say that none of this would have been made possible without the emergence of the social media that allowed for quick socio-political mobilisation of people to express their satisfaction or dissatisfaction on a particular issue that affects them.

Thus, the use of social media was exemplified in the protests staged in January 2012 against the President Goodluck Jonathan's administration decision for the removal of fuel subsidy, which resulted in a 120 per cent increase in the per litre pump price of petrol. The decision triggers demonstrations across the country both on the streets and online using the hash tag "#OccupyNigeria". Another example of the use of social media to influence government policies in Nigeria was the use of the hash tag #BringBackOurGirls on Twitter which was the initiative of a Nigerian lawyer Ibrahim Abdullahi to galvanise national and international support for the release of the adopted Chibok secondary school students. The hash tag was reported to have generated over 4.5 million tweets globally⁶.

However, the increasing rate of alternative media platforms, social networking sites and smartphones has opened up the media to various emerging groups across the world. Today imaginative campaigns are trending now such that it cost very little to use social networking like Twitter, Facebook and Blogging. The situation is similar in Nigeria with increased adoption of social media for electioneering between the 2011 and the 2015 general elections. Use of social media was believed to pluralise the Nigerian media for political expressions by serving as alternatives to traditional media. Though, the phenomenon of what is known as "fake news" (contrary news stories, often from informal social media platforms, that seems not to be different from news reported by "reputable" news channels) mainly on social media newsfeeds, has raised further concerns about how ordinary citizens with political issues and events and how new forms of media shape the political agenda in recent times.

⁵ Gallop, N. & Magee, E., *Politics: politics of the UK First edition* London: Hodder, 2017, p. 42.

⁶ Dunu, V.I., Social media and gubernatorial elections in Nigeria: A critical discourse *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (IOSR-JHSS) Volume 23, Issue 1, Ver. 3 (January. 2018) PP 06-15 DOI: 10.9790/0837-2301030615, 2018.*

Lastly, through the social media individuals and groups have use the various media channels to criticise discriminatory policies and advocate for pro-immigration, celebrating diversity or campaigning for justice or gender equality by mobilising the citizens to support or push for total reforms to change the existing status quo. It is against this background that this study seeks to examine the impacts of social media on electioneering campaign in Nigeria's 2019 general elections.

Conceptual Discourse: Social Media and Electioneering campaign

The concept of social media has been variously defined by scholars in the literature. Campbell, Lambright and Wells rightly observed that researchers who fail to define the concept of social media in his/her investigation of the subject matter of social media will run the risk of having key ideas of the concept misunderstood by the readers⁷.

Carr and Hayes define social media as “internet – based channels that allow users to opportunistically interact and selectively self-present, either in real-time or asynchronously, with both broad and narrow audiences to derive value from user-generated content and the perception of interaction with others”⁸. Similarly, Thornley defines social media as “online communications in which individuals shift fluidly and flexibly between the role of audience and author. To do this, they use social software that enables anyone without knowledge of coding, to post comment on, share or mash up content and to form communities around shared interests”⁹.

According to the Associated Press (AP) Stylebook defines Social media as “online tools that people use to connect with one another including social networks”¹⁰. In the same vein, Adibe, Odoemelam and Orji sees social media as “online content created by people using highly accessible and scalable publishing technologies to disseminate information across geographical boundaries, providing interaction among people”¹¹.

Kaplan and Haenlein define the social media as “a group of internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technical foundations

⁷ Campbell, A.D., Lambright, T.K., & Wells, J.C., (2014). “Looking for friends, fans, and followers? Social media use in public and non-profit human services *Public Administration Review* September/October 2014 Volume 74 Number 5 P: 656.

⁸ Ibid 8

⁹ Thornley, J., (2008). What is social media? Available www.propr.ca/2008/what-is-social-media. Retrieved April 12th 2019.

¹⁰ Christian, D., Jacobsen, S., & Minthorn, D. (2013). (eds). The associated press stylebook and briefing on Media Law New York: New York Basic books.

¹¹ Adibe, K.N., Odoemelam, C.C. & Orji, *Social media and political participation in Africa: Issues, problems and prospects*. Paper at the Annual conference of ACCE, Federal University of Technology Minna, 2012.

of web 2.0 and that allow the creation and exchange of User Generated Content”¹². Again, Kaplan and Haenlein posit that web 2.0 as an open and collaborative system through which users share and modify content¹³. Campbell, Lambright and Wells added that the use of the term “web 2.0” is used to explain how the internet in contemporary time is used¹⁴. Campbell, Lambright and Wells further assert that Kaplan and Haenlein definition of the concept of social media provided the desired “exchange content,” offers the needed strong leadership bonds within organizations¹⁵.

In conclusion, one thing that common to the various definitions of the social media like Thornley¹⁶, Kaplan and Haenlein¹⁷, Adibe, Odoemelum and Orji¹⁸, Christian, Jacobsen, & Minthorn¹⁹, Campbell, Lambright and Wells²⁰ and Carr and Hayes²¹ is that the social media involve the use of internet and its primary goal is to communicate or exchange ideas.

On the other hand a political campaign is sometimes referred to as electoral campaigns. Electoral campaign is an organized effort which seeks to influence the choice of the electoral during an election. However, Norris identified three types of campaigns namely: pre-modern, modern and post-modern campaign²². According to Norris the pre-modern campaigning started around the 19th century with the expansion of the franchise until at least the 1950s, when the advent of televised campaigns and the publication of regular opinion polls started to transform the process. The pre-modern campaign is characterised by rallies, door-step canvassing, party meetings, wards meetings to planned the resources, and provision of all the machinery linking voters and various political aspirants²³

The second campaign is the modern campaigns which Norris states that it started from the early 1950s to the mid-1980s and was characterised by: the move from dispersed state and local party organizations to a

¹² Kaplan, A.M. & Haenlein, M., (2010), Users of the world. Unite: The challenges and opportunities of social media. *Business Horizons* 53(1):59-68

¹³ Ibid: p61

¹⁴ Campbell, A.D., Lambright, T.K., & Wells, J.C., (2014). “Looking for friends, fans, and followers? Social media use in public and non-profit human services *Public Administration Review* September/October 2014 Volume 74 Number 5 P: 656

¹⁵ Ibid 15

¹⁶ Ibid 10

¹⁷ Ibid 13

¹⁸ Ibid 12

¹⁹ Ibid 11

²⁰ Ibid 11

²¹ Ibid 9

²² Norris, D.F., Electronic democracy and the grass roots. *International Journal of Electronic Government Research* 1(3): 1-4, 2005.

²³ Ibid 23

nationally coordinated strategic campaign; from party officials and volunteers contributing time and labour to paid professional consultants specializing in communications, marketing, polling, and campaign management; the shift from more partisan newspapers towards national television news; and the development of a more detached and instrumental electorate²⁴.

In addition, Norris asserts that the post-modern campaigns are happens where professional consultants on advertising, public opinion, marketing and strategic news management become more co-equal actors with politicians, assuming a more influential role within government in a 'permanent' campaign, as well as coordinating local activity more tightly at the grassroots. During the post-modern campaign, there is a shift from national broadcasting towards more diverse news sources including satellite and cable stations, talk radio and 24 -hour rolling news bulletins; the opportunities for newer forms of party-voter interaction caused by the rise of the internet²⁵.

Literature Review: Social media and Electioneering campaign

There is increasing research on the impact of the social media on politics across the globe. For instance, Großmann examined the scope and limitations of WhatsApp and Facebook in the success of the anti-mining protests and campaigns in Bangka, Indonesia²⁶. Gyampo assessed how political parties in Ghana engaged social media for the advancement of their interest²⁷. Kamau study the role of social networking sites (SNSs) in the political engagement of youths in Kenya²⁸. Segesten and Bossetta examined how British citizens made use of Twitter for political mobilization in the 2015 elections²⁹. Zaheer study focused on exploring

²⁴ Ibid 23

²⁵ Ibid 23

²⁶ Großmann, K., (2018). Social media and the successful anti-mining campaign in Bangka, Indonesia. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 0(0), 1 20.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2018.1432675>

²⁷ Gyampo, R.E. & Van. (2017), Social media, traditional media and party politics in Ghana. *Africa Review*, 9(2), 125 139. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09744053.2017.1329806>

²⁸ Kamau, S.C., (2017), Democratic engagement in the digital age: youth, social media and participatory politics in Kenya. *Communication*, 43(2), 128 146. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02500167.2017.1327874>

²⁹ Segesten, A. D., & Bossetta, M., (2017), A typology of political participation online: How citizens used Twitter to mobilize during the 2015 British general elections. *Information Communication and Society*, 20(11), 1625 1643.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2016.1252413>

the relationship between social media and political participation amongst university students in Pakistan³⁰.

Also, Vromen, Xenos and Loader explored how politically active youths engaged social media in their political communications in universities in Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States³¹. Effing, Hillegersberg and Huibers study of the Netherlands local elections in 2011³². Breuer study the role social media played in the Tunisian uprising of 2011³³. Theocharis and García-albacete conducted a comparative study on social media and political participation in countries; Spain, Greece and the United States of America³⁴. Storck study the role of social media in political mobilisation in Egypt with focus on the January 2011 uprising³⁵.

Guo and Saxton³⁶, Lovejoy and Saxton³⁷, Lovejoy, Waters and Saxton³⁸ and Bortree and Seltzer³⁹ have undertaken a number of researches on the use of social media in a large scale non-profit organizations and their research findings shows that most large scale organizations uses Facebook and Twitter as a medium of disseminating information among its staff. However, these studies do not focus on the

³⁰ Zaheer, L., (2016), Use of social media and political participation among University Students. *Pakistan Vision*, 17(1), 278-299.

³¹ Vromen, A., Xenos, M. A., & Loader, B., (2015), Young people, social media and connective action from organisational maintenance to everyday political talk. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 18(1), 80- 100. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2014.933198>

³² Effing, R., Hillegersberg, J., & Huibers, T. (2013). Social media and political participation: Are Facebook, Twitter and YouTube democratizing our Political Systems? In International Conference on Electronic Participation Vol. 8075, pp. 25 35. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-642-40346-0>

³³ Breuer, A. (2012). The role of social media in mobilizing political protest: Evidence from the Tunisian revolution. The social-economic situation of Middle East Youth, 1 31. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2179030>

³⁴ Theocharis, Y., & García-albacete, G., (2011), *Social media and political mobilisation: A comparison of the occupation movements in Spain, Greece and the US*, 1 29.

³⁵ Storck, M., (2011), *The Role of Social Media in political mobilisation: A case study of the January 2011 Egyptian Uprising*. MA Dissertation, (January), 1 51.

³⁶ Guo, C., & Gregory, D.S., (2014), Twitting social change: How social media are changing non-profit advocacy *Non-profit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 43(1): 57-79

³⁷ Lovejoy, K., & Saxton, D.G., (2012), Information, technology and administrative reform. *International Journal of Electronic Government Research* 2(1): 1-20.

³⁸ Lovejoy, K., Waters, D.R., & Saxton, D.G., (2012), Engaging stakeholders through twitter: How non-profit organizations are setting more out of 140 characters or less. *Public Relations Review* 38(2):313-318.

³⁹ Bortree, D.S. & Seltzer, T., (2009), Dialogic strategies and outcomes: An analysis of environmental advocacy groups' facebook profiles. *Public Relations Review* 35 (3): 317-319.

impact of the social media on electioneering campaign in the 2019 general elections in Nigeria.

Moreover, other studies conducted by researchers on the use of social media in local government includes Kent⁴⁰; Seltzer and Michael⁴¹ which examined the use of blogs while Guo and Saxton⁴²; Lovejoy and Saxton⁴³; Lovejoy, Waters and Saxton⁴⁴; Kavanaugh, Fox, Sheetz, Young, Shoemaker, Natsev and Xie⁴⁵; Nah and Saxton⁴⁶; Bonson, Torres, Royo and Flores⁴⁷ and Smitko focused on the use of Twitter. However, these studies do not focus on the impact of the social media on electioneering campaign in the 2019 general elections in Nigeria⁴⁸.

Waters, Burnett, Lamm and Lucas⁴⁹; Hand and Crump⁵⁰ and Bonson, Torres, Royo and Flores⁵¹ studies focused on the use of Facebook and Bonson, Torres, Royo and Flores on You Tube⁵². All these studies focus on large local government areas or metropolis. The some of the findings on non-profit organizations on the use of social media in local government have shown that local governments are not sure about the purpose of the social media as a medium of communication for the government

⁴⁰ Kent, M.L., (2008), Critical analysis of blogging in public relations *Public relations Review* 34(1):32-40

⁴¹ Seltzer, T., & Michael, A.M., (2007), The dialogic potential of weblogs in relationship building. *Public Relations Review* 33(2): 227-229

⁴² Guo, C., & Gregory, D.S. (2014). Twitting social change: How social media are changing non-profit advocacy *Non-profit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 43(1): 57-79

⁴³ Ibid 38

⁴⁴ Ibid 39

⁴⁵ Kavanaugh, A.L., Fox, A.E., Sheetz, D.S., Yang, S., Li, T.L., Shoemaker, J.D., Natsev, A., & Xie, L., (2012). Social media use by government: From the routine to the critical *Government Information Quarterly* 29(4): 48-49

⁴⁶ Nah, S. & Saxton, D.G., (2013). Modeling the adoption and use of social media by non-profit organisations. *New media and Society* 15(2):294-313

⁴⁷ Bonson, E., Torres, L., Royo, S., & Flores, F. (2012). Local e-government 2.0: Social media and corporate transparency. *Municipalities Government Information Quarterly* 29 (2): 123-132.

⁴⁸ Smitko, K., (2012). Donor engagement through twitter. *Public Relations Review* 38(4): 633-635

⁴⁹ Waters, D.R., Burnett, E., Lamm, A., and Lucas, J., (2009). Engaging stakeholders through social networking: How non-profit organizations are using facebook: *Public Relations Review* 35(2): 102-106

⁵⁰ Hand, L.C., & Ching, D.B., (2011). "You have one friend request" *Administrative theory and praxis* 33(3): 362-382

⁵¹ Ibid 42

⁵² Bonson, E., Torres, L., Royo, S., & Flores, F., (2012). Local e-government 2.0: Social media and corporate transparency. *Municipalities Government Information Quarterly* 29 (2): 123-132.

(Kavanaugh, Fox, Sheetz, Young, Shoemaker, Natsev and Xie)⁵³. However, these studies do not focus on the impact of the social media on electioneering campaign in the 2019 general elections in Nigeria.

Perlman studies shows that most Local Governments have used social media primarily for the dissemination of information on issues that relates to emergency management, traffic and public safety⁵⁴. Hand and Ching⁵⁵ studies shows that the social media is use for marketing purposes, publicizing events or local institutions. Moon⁵⁶; Norris⁵⁷ and Norris and Moon in their studies have shown that local governments used e-government for the sole purpose of sharing information⁵⁸. However, these studies do not focus on the impact of the social media on electioneering campaign in the 2019 general elections in Nigeria.

Johnson and Perlmutter study examined the way in which social network sites like blogs, micro blogs, (like Twitter), video sharing sites, and online discussion forums influenced electioneering campaign in the 2008 (U.S Presidential) election and media coverage during the election as well as how voters received information during the election. However, their study shows a conflict result in respect of the influence of the social media on the election as there were diverse responses from the citizens. Hanson, Haridakis, Wagstaff, Sherma & Ponder in their study of the US 2008 presidential campaign revealed the relationship between political cynicism and use of social media. The study further revealed that social media users often have lower political cynicism when they use the social media⁵⁹. However, these studies do not focus on the impact of the social media on electioneering campaign in the 2019 general elections in Nigeria.

Bond, Fariss, Jones, Kramer, Marlow, Settle and Fowler study on “61 – million person experiment in social influence and political mobilization” The study revealed that social media messages do influence citizens

⁵³ Kavanaugh, A.L., Fox, A.E., Sheetz, D.S., Yang, S., Li, T.L., Shoemaker, J.D., Natsev, A., & Xie, L. (2012). Social media use by government: From the routine to the critical *Government Information Quarterly* 29(4): 48-49

⁵⁴ Perlman, B.J. (2012). Social media sites at the state and local levels: Operational success and governance failure. *State and Local Government Review* 44(1): 67-75

⁵⁵ Ibid 51

⁵⁶ Moon, J.M. (2002). Evolution of e-government among Municipalities: Rhetoric and realities. *Public Administration Review* 62(4): 424-433.

⁵⁷ Norris, D.F. (2005). Electronic democracy and the grass roots. *International Journal of Electronic Government Research* 1(3): 1-4

⁵⁸ Norris, D.F. & Moon, J.A. (2005). Advancing e-government at the grass roots: Tortoise or hare. *Public Administration Review* 65(1): 64-73

⁵⁹ Hanson, G., Haridakis, P., Wagstaff, A., Sharma, R., & Ponder, J., (2010). "Political cynicism in the Age of Facebook, MySpace and You Tube". *Mass Communication and Society*. Vol. 13 (5).

participation during U.S Congressional election 2010⁶⁰. Richey study of the influence of social networking on political knowledge and voting behaviour shows that social media have significant influence on voters' choice⁶¹. Dunu study revealed that the social media platforms have not only become tools for increased citizens' active political process in Nigeria⁶². However, she argued that social media platform has also become platforms for the spread of hate speeches; and misinformation and/or fake news. However, these studies do not focus on the impact of the social media on electioneering campaign in the 2019 general elections in Nigeria.

Gromark and Schliesmann study the effects of social media activities on voting behaviour. The study shows that social media has a positive effect on voter turnout⁶³. Similarly, Okioya, Talabi, and Ogundeji study revealed that social media encourages voters participation in the electoral process in Akure metropolis during 2015 electioneering in Ondo State⁶⁴. Similarly, Akpoveta assessed the impact of social media on the 2015 electioneering in Asaba, Delta State. His findings revealed that social media increased the turnout of voters by increasing information exchange and participation of the electorates⁶⁵. However, these studies do not focus on the impact of the social media on electioneering campaign in the 2019 general elections in Nigeria.

Edegoh and Anunike study of the impact of social media on political participation of youths in Anambra State shows that social media enhanced political participation in the state⁶⁶. However, Onyike, Ekwenchi

⁶⁰ Bond, R.M, Fariss C.Y., Jones J.J, Kramer A.D, Marlow C., Settle J.E. & Fowler J.H. (2012). "A 61 – million – person experiment in social influence and political mobilization" Accessed on www.nature.com/articles/nature11421.epdf. Retrieved January 22th, 2019.

⁶¹ Richey, S., (2007), "The autoregressive Influence of social network political knowledge on voting behaviour" Paper Presented the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science association, Hyatt Regency Chicago, IL.

⁶² Dunu, V.I., (2018), Social media and gubernatorial elections in Nigeria: A critical discourse *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (IOSR-JHSS) Volume 23, Issue 1, Ver. 3 (January. 2018) PP 06-15* DOI: 10.9790/0837-2301030615

⁶³ Gromark, J., Schliesmann, M., (2012). "The effect of politicians' social media activity on voting behaviour" Master Thesis submitted to the Department of Economics, Stockholm School of Economics: Stockholm.

⁶⁴ Okioya, S.O.; Talabi, F.O.; & Ogundeji, B.K., (2015). Impact assessment of the social media on the electorate during 2015 electioneering in Ondo State. Paper Presented at 17th Annual Conference of ACCE, University of Calabar: Calabar. October 20-23

⁶⁵ Akpoveta, E.E., (2015), "Assessment of the Impact of Social media on the 2015 electioneering in Asaba Delta State. A paper presented at 17th Annual Conference of ACCE, University of Calabar: Calabar. October 20-23.

⁶⁶ Edegoh, L.O. & Anunike, O.W., (2015), Social media and political participation of youths: Views from Anambra. Paper Presented at 17th Annual Conference of ACCE, University of Calabar: Calabar. October 20-23.

and Chiaha study reveal that a substantial number of respondents were influenced to a large extent by exposure to social media in the way they participated in the 2015 general election in Enugu state⁶⁷. While, Sanni's study of the influence of social media as a tool for political awareness on voting pattern in Oyo State in 2015 Presidential election in Nigeria revealed that the use of social media as a political awareness tool greatly influenced voting pattern for the candidate(s) of their choice in Oyo State⁶⁸. However, these studies do not focus on the impact of the social media on electioneering campaign in the 2019 general elections in Nigeria.

Acholonu, Onyebuchi and Obayi in their study of the influence of social media on the political knowledge and participation of electorates in 2015 electioneering campaigns in Nigeria revealed that there was low knowledge in the levels of the use of social media for political learning⁶⁹. Also, Okoro and Nwafor in their study of the impacts of social media on political participation in Nigeria's 2011 General elections revealed that social media made significant impacts on political discussions while some Nigerians used the social media to spread hate messages⁷⁰. However, these studies do not focus on the impact of the social media on electioneering campaign in the 2019 general elections in Nigeria.

Nwaolikpe and Mbaka study of social media and public opinion in the 2015 general elections revealed that the social media shaped public opinion during the general elections⁷¹. Similarly, Mustapha argued that the role of social media in the 2015 elections was overrated. Mustapha sees the social media as ineffective in mobilizing the kind of transformation which

⁶⁷ Onyike, I.E.; Ekwenchi, C.D.; Chiaha, D.C., (2015). *The influence of the Social media campaigns on the attitude and practice of voters in the 2015 general elections*. Paper Presented at the 17th Annual Conference of ACCE. University of Calabar: Calabar October 20-23

⁶⁸ Sanni, O.O., (2015). *Influence of Social Media as a political awareness tool on voting pattern of Oyo State electorates in 2015 Presidential election in Nigeria*. Paper Presented at the 17th Annual Conference of ACCE. University of Calabar: Calabar. October 20-23

⁶⁹ Acholonu, R., Onyebuchi, A. C., & Obayi, P. M. (2015). *The influence of social media on the political knowledge and participation of electorates in 2015 electioneering campaign in Nigeria*. Paper presented at 17th Annual conference of ACCE, University of Calabar: Calabar. Oct. 20 – 23.

⁷⁰ Okoro, N. & Nwafor, K.A., (2013), Social media and political participation in Nigeria during the 2011 general elections: The lapses and the lessons. *Global Journal of Arts, Humanities and social sciences* 1 (3), 29 – 46.

⁷¹ Nwaolikpe, O. N. & Mbaka, C., (2015), *The role of social media in shaping public opinion of Nigerians in the 2015 electioneering campaigns in Nigeria*. Paper presented at the 17th Annual Conference of ACCE. University of Calabar: Calabar. Oct. 20 – 23.

democratic struggles desired⁷². He further observes that social media only normalized the political status quo of elite domination in Nigerian democracy, thereby relegating critical issues that centred on all forms of inequality to the background. Although Mustapha admitted that social media were used during the 2015 general elections for mass political mobilization⁷³. However, these studies do not focus on the impact of the social media on electioneering campaign in the 2019 general elections in Nigeria.

Similarly, Ezeibe had a contrary opinion that the use of social media in Nigerian elections does not fulfil the utopian dream of their proponents. Ezeibe's study revealed that social media use by aspirants during the 2015 general elections was not issue-based. In other words, social media users did not focus on issues that are important to democratic governance rather than on hate speeches⁷⁴. Similarly, Cozma and Postelnicu study of the political uses and effects of campaigning on My Space revealed that social network sites may not have much influence on political attitudes and behaviour of the electorates. However, these studies do not focus on the impact of the social media on electioneering campaign in the 2019 general elections in Nigeria⁷⁵. However, the study does not focus on the impact of the social media on electioneering campaign in the 2019 general elections in Nigeria.

A critical assessment of the above literature reviewed shows that despite the increased influence of social media on electioneering campaign in previous elections in Nigeria (before 2019), there has not been a generally agreed position among researchers and scholars alike on the impact of social media on electioneering campaign in Nigeria's fourth republic. From all the studies revealed we discovered that they do not focus on the impact of the social media on electioneering campaign in the 2019 general elections in Nigeria. It is against this background this study seeks to make significant contributions to this research area in respect of the 2019 general elections in Nigeria.

⁷² Mustapha, M., (2017): The 2015 general elections in Nigeria: New media, party politics and the political economy of voting. *Review of African Political Economy*, DOI: 10.1080/03056244.2017.1313731

⁷³ Ibid 74

⁷⁴ Institute for Media and Society, (2018). Broadcast media readiness and engagement of electoral issues towards the 2019 general elections in Nigeria Ikeja: Institute for Media and Society March 2018 retrieved from <https://imesoimeso.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Broadcast-Media-Readiness-Towards-2019-Elections-a-Baseline-Study-Conducted-by-IMS.pdf>

⁷⁵ Cozma, R., & Postelnicu, M., (2008). "Political Uses and perceived effects of campaigning on My space". Paper presented at the annual conference of the Association for Education in Journalism & Mass communication, Chicago, IL

Impacts of the Social Media on Electioneering campaign in 2019 Nigeria's General Elections

The use of social media in electioneering campaigns was first made popular by Obama in 2008 during his political campaign in the United States. However, the 2011 general elections in Nigeria was a remarkable turning point in the history of Nigerian democracy such that it was the first time digital media was used as a political platform in the electioneering process and campaign in the country⁷⁶. Besides, the use of social media in the 2011 general elections marked a paradigm shift in the history of Nigeria electoral history as the use of "Internet elections" or "e-electioneering" become prominent. Also, she added that the use of social media in the 2011 elections significantly reduced the various malpractices that plagued the Nigerian election process and enthroned a more transparent process in the country⁷⁷. However, during the 2019 general elections the social media served as a checker for electoral malpractices like spreading news of vote buying, electoral violence and cases of intimidations at the polling units.

During the 2011 general elections the social media played significant role in the 2011 general elections as social media platform were used by democracy inclined groups and activists who shifted their platform of political engagements online⁷⁸. Also, social media played significant role in election victories in the 2015 general elections as they were used to by political aspirants to interact with the electorate. Moreover, before the 2019 general elections the All Progressive Congress (APC) presidential candidate Muhammadu Buhari and the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) presidential candidate Atiku Abubakar uses their Twitter handle to interact with millions of Nigerians on the need to vote for them during the Presidential election. Similarly, in the United States of America, the social media was used by President Donald Trump who used his Twitter handle during the 2016 presidential election to interact with millions of Americans. He rightly argued that *"I like it because I can get my point of view out there, and my point of view is very important to a lot of people that are looking at me"*⁷⁹.

⁷⁶ Dunu, V.I., (2018), Social media and gubernatorial elections in Nigeria: A critical discourse *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (IOSR-JHSS) Volume 23, Issue 1, Ver. 3 (January. 2018) PP 06-15* DOI: 10.9790/0837-2301030615

⁷⁷ Ibid 78

⁷⁸ Alao, D.O., Alao, E.O., and Nwogwugwu, N.N., (2013), A critical appraisal of the management of 2011 general elections and implications for Nigeria's future democratic development. *Kuwait Chapter of Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review Vol. 2, No.5*

⁷⁹ Gallop, N. & Magee, E., (2017), *Politics: politics of the UK* First edition London: Hodder Education p.29.

In Nigeria today, social media have become influential tools of election communication for all election stakeholders like Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), civil society organisations, political aspirants, political parties and the electorate. Again, Dunu asserts that the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), politicians/political parties, the electorates, and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), used the social media before, during and after the gubernatorial polls in selected states in Nigeria for political participation and electioneering processes⁸⁰. Similarly, Seteolu observed that the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) was said to have appropriated different social media platforms for election publicity and voter education prior to the 2015 general elections⁸¹. This trend also, continues during the 2019 general elections, as political parties and political aspirants have been found to be using Facebook and Twitter during the 2019 general elections as a platform for electioneering campaign.

Besides, the social media has had some negative impact on the Nigeria's electoral outcomes in some ways. One of the ways in which the social media has had a very bad impact is on the personalities of some politicians. The social media like twitter and Facebook has done disastrous damage on some politicians based on the undone intemperate tweets. Before, the 2019 general through the social media handle of twitter and Facebook the presidential candidate of the All Progressive Congress (APC) Muhammadu Buhari was alleged to have died in 2016 and the seating President of Nigeria before the election was an impostor who was alleged to be one Jubril El-Sudani from Sudan. This intemperate tweet forced the Sudan Government to carry out an investigation into the allegation. Unfortunately, after the 2019 general elections the intemperate tweets died. Similarly, the presidential candidate of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) Atiku Abubakar was alleged to have come from Cameroon based on the report submitted by the APC before the Presidential Election Petition Tribunal. This intemperate tweets force presidential candidate of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) Atiku Abubakar through his social media platform and the conventional media to debunk the allegation and described it as baseless.

In addition, Dunu asserts that social media sites made it easier for candidates in terms of campaign logistics and mobilization. Secondly, social media sometimes ensures that messages are delivered on a mobile phone and broadcast it, reducing the costs of actual campaigning. Thirdly,

⁸⁰ Ibid 78

⁸¹ Seteolu, B., (2017), What will election be without the media? An appraisal of the media and 2015 presidential elections in Nigeria. *Journalism and Mass Communication*, February 2017, Vol. 7, No. 2, 78-89, doi: 10.17265/2160-6579/2017.02.002

social media are used in broadcast places for offline campaign activities were political issues are discussed⁸². This benefits provided by the social media was not only beneficial to previous general elections since 2011 but also in the 2019 general election as the electioneering campaign carried out by political parties and their aspirants was greatly influenced by the social media as political parties and their aspirants deliver their campaign messages directly to the electorates through their smartphones and other social media enabled electronic devices.

In terms of the media changes that had occurred since 2011 in Nigeria, social media sites like Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram, was used as sources for the distribution of news stories and medium-based discussion and also for political mobilization and campaign⁸³. Also, the issue of civilian security and terrorism in northern Nigeria subsequently became a major part of election campaigning for the All Progressives Congress (APC) candidate, General Buhari. Moreover, the use of religious, ethnic division, insecurity and bad state of the country's economy was used as a campaign strategy during the 2019 general elections on social media.

On the whole, the significance of the various social media platform like Twitter and Facebook on electioneering campaign during the 2019 general elections in Nigeria cannot be overemphasis as available literature has buttressed this assertion as the 2019 general elections is not an exception. But some of the negative impact of the social media on electioneering campaign during the 2019 general elections in Nigeria will remain with some Nigerian politicians for the rest of their lives. It is pertinent to state here, that whether an electoral outcome is transparent and credible based on the citizens assessment or it allows the citizens to choices the political candidates of their choice will to a large extent depend on the level to which the democratic principles of universal suffrage and political equality as well as other international obligations are respected. Elections are expected to be conducted in professional, impartial, accurate and transparent manner at every levels of its administration.

⁸² Ibid 78

⁸³ Ibid

Conclusion

The influence of social media in recent years on Nigeria's electioneering campaign especially aftermath of the 2011 general elections has changed the way millions of Nigerians receive and disseminate information with each other. This has to a large extent helped in the democratization of citizenship participation in politics. Though, despite the benefits of using the social media in electioneering campaign in Nigeria's general elections since 2011, efforts should be made in ensuring that the use of social media as a tool for electoral campaign is not abused or used for the spread of hate speeches. From the above analysis, we discovered that the researchers and scholars alike have undertaken a numbers of studies on the impact of social media on governance. Moreover, while some scholars are of the opinion that social media has had significant impact on non-profit and profit organisations, political participation as well as voting pattern, other scholars and researchers hold contrary opinion. From our study, we discovered that the influence of the social media on electioneering campaigns during the 2019 general elections in Nigeria cannot be overemphasized as the social media served as one of the platform for electioneering campaign as it provide the platform for political engagement amongst millions of voters, although not without the incidence of the spread of fake news and hate speech. Lastly, we discovered that the unregulated nature of the social media is still a challenge in Nigeria and has posed significant threat to it usage.

Recommendations

Firstly, the Federal Ministry of Information and Culture through its agencies like National Orientation Agency and other media outfit should educate Nigerians on the need for them to use the various fact-checkers provided by Google and Facebook like Full Fact and First Drift to assess the validity of news on the social media in order to mitigate against the spread of fake news in future elections in Nigeria. This will among other things protect Nigerians from false reports or misleading claims gaining attraction on social media.

Secondly, the National Orientation Agency should engage in various public enlightenment campaign that are geared towards educating millions of social media users on implications of spreading unverified information that turns out to be fake news to human society.

Thirdly, social media owners like Facebook, Twitter and blog among others should develop software that will detect words and languages that constitute hate speech.

Moreover, Nigerian politicians should emblem democratic culture of peace and civility in their choice and use of words in the social media. This

is because their conduct and choice of words or message to their supporters to a large extent determine the conduct of their supporters.

In addition, political parties in Nigeria should take advantage of social media redefining the way they interact and work with their members and volunteers during and after elections in Nigeria.

Lastly, all government agencies and institutions in Nigeria should have a social media platform (on Facebook, Twitter or blog) managed by trained personnel who will be interacting with the millions of Nigerians. These social media platforms will serve as a platform for members of the public to verify information and ask questions on issues that require clarification aside from the information provided in the traditional media like television, official website and radio. This will among other things reduce the spread of fake news.

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AN APPRAISAL OF GLOBALIZATION AND ITS HISTORY

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Abstract: *International trade is an old economic practice among the nations of the world. It is difficult to say when it actually began or which country started it. One thing is however certain about its history: it began when the desire to trade off the surplus goods of the nations began. Evidences abound of trade relations between the nations of the ancient worlds-ancient Africa, ancient Pacific world and ancient Europe, even before the discovery of America. It was those trade relations that opened the way for wars and for empires to rise and fall, especially among the European nations. The contradictions of those wars gave rise to a new dawn, and questions of the necessities of wars and how to stop their occurrences began. War torn Europe reasoned that since wars were products of trade by inhibitions, wars will cease if those inhibitions or barriers were removed, and the nations were allowed the freedom to trade with one another on a competitive level ground. Globalization is a product of that policy of free trade without barriers, a creation of the advantages of international trade to the nations. This paper will consider that globalization in its true perspective as a policy of those historic antecedents.*

Keywords: *Globalization, History, colonialism, Africa.*

Introduction

From time immemorial, man has lived a contentious being. He fights to overcome the challenges his own actions evoked in his environment, and then, to dominate the environment¹. In this struggle, man very often crosses the paths of fellow men. It is the reaction of those whose paths were crossed that leads to conflicts, crisis or outright wars. Consequently, man is always returned to square one with the dilemma of shattered peace.

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¹ Bassey, Samuel Akpan. "'Anthropoholism' As An Authentic Tool for Environmental Management." *Int. J. of Environmental Pollution & Environmental Modelling* 2.3 (2019): 163

So far, man's efforts for peace and comfort has brought about several ideologies, theories and social systems that are frequently tinkered with to suit man's present needs and demands. In today's world the social system man has evolved to combat his challenges is globalization.

Operative as a re-baptized capitalism, globalization is a social system that emphasizes unrestricted freedom of individuals to participate in trade, exchange of ideas, of culture, of information and of technology. The trade and exchange should be allowed to take place in any part of any country without any kind of obstruction by domestic policies. Borders and boundaries of sovereign states must be dismantled. The sovereign right of states to determine their affairs no longer counts under globalization. To globalists, the world is a common market. Sellers must sell freely, and buyers must be unhindered for production and the system to continue.

In globalization, Africa is not a seller. She is a buyer, and so, a consumer. Her part in the market of globalization is to buy and to consume. That is her assigned duty as an actor in globalization. What she buys and consumes, she cannot produce. That assignment dates back to history. Having being traumatized, decimated and depopulated through the slave trade for more than four hundred years, and then pushed under imperial rule as a colonial territory, and later into neo-colonialism, Africa has systematically been designed as a consumer-player in globalization. She is not allowed anything to sell².

With that state of Africa in mind, this paper considers the historical antecedents of globalization, rationalizing to an extent, how "one man's meat is the other's poison". With the growing concern of scholars and nationalists, based on the right of nations to self-determination, globalization is currently being bombarded with the salient question: whose interest does globalization favour". From the rationalization of this paper, a correct answer to that question must result to a new World Order which should be based on equity and justice for all. Globalization will then be real. Or a new form of international trade and exchange system will evolve where sellers, buyers and consumers alike will have equal stake to determine what is sold and how it is bought. Only then will the gains of global trade and exchange of whatsoever be equitably distributed and world welfare would be possible in Africa.

Meaning of Globalization

Globalization is an advanced neo-colonialism. It involves a careful use of over-hauled instruments of abandoned colonial policies which allowed

² Kamola, Isaac, "Africa and 'globalization.'" *The SAGE Handbook of Globalization*. N.p., 2014. 235.

the colonies to work hard in their native lands under tele-guided freedom³. The process of labour and the results thereof were guided for the interest of the colonizers as the ultimate beneficiary.

Contemporarily re-christened globalization, colonialism remained an institution of oppression and exploitation, especially in the developing regions. With this background, globalization can be defined as a social system of unfettered flow of goods, ideas, culture, information, music, technology, and whatever can be traded and exchanged anywhere in the world for capital gains and surplus advantage to the Western world. It does not recognize the sanctity of sovereignty nor obeys the rule of non-interference in the affairs of sovereign states. It demands the total collapsing of the territorial boundaries of states and the complete removal of restrictions or protectionist instruments in favour of domestic economies.

*Globalization is the tendency of businesses, technologies, or philosophies to spread throughout the world, or the process of making this happen. The global economy is sometimes referred to as a globality, characterized as a totally interconnected market place, unhampered by time zones or national boundaries*⁴.

Like colonialism, globalization demands countries outside the core power nations to abide by the economic dictates of industrialized regions of the world in order to accelerate turn over through induced high rate consumption of manufactured goods from the industrialized regions. That way globalization is turning the entire global environment into a single market place where goods, services, ideas, culture, information and technology from all quarters are exchanged free of restrictive tariffs and other such instruments. What that means is that globalization can be taken as a modern tool of invasion or penetration of other countries by the industrialized countries.

Globalization can be said to be a process of interaction and integration among the people, companies and governments of different nations, a process driven by international trade and investment and aided by information technology. Globalization can also be defined as the process of international integration arising from the interchange of world views, products, ideas and mutual sharing, and other aspects of culture.

But questioning whose interest globalization actually favours, Enuka explained it as the “liberalization and intensification of international

³ Arun-Kumar, Duru, “Impact of Globalization on Core Engineering Education in India.” *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology* 7.1 (2008), 63.

⁴ Durand, Aurélia, *Marketing and Globalization, Marketing and Globalization*, 2018, p.43.

linkages in trade, finance, market, politics and culture accelerated by micro-electronics and information technology”⁵. He added that it is a highly dynamic process of growing interdependence among nation-states, with implication that issues are becoming global rather than national”⁶.

Enuka maintained that globalization is the process through which the world’s economies are increasingly being integrated as a function of tremendous cross border economic activities and the remarkable expansion in human activities⁷.

Onyemaechi Eke defined it simply as “a process driven by technological advancement for greater inter-penetration and uniformity in life, safety and environmental standards, information requirement, monetary and economic policies⁸. But he noted that globalization “promotes integration. Yet, it is a very uneven process, with unequal distribution of benefits and loses... polarization, wealth concentration and marginalization are linked through the same process⁸.

Collaborating Eke, Nwosumba characterized globalization as a gigantic programme of global politics initiated and controlled by a few countries and their multinational companies and allies to make the poor countries to be perpetually poor and dependent on them. Behind the politics of globalization is the grand scheme of neo-colonialism and serfdom in the third world⁹.

Writing on “Globalization and the Nigerian Manufacturing Sector”, J.A. Ajayi observed that:

*Globalization has concentrated economic power in the hands of a few large multinational corporations, such as banks and petroleum companies. This greater economic power, added to the speed with which financial resources now circulate and the distribution of productive means, all contribute to the impoverishment of the smallest countries and loss of state power*¹⁰.

⁵ Chuka Enuka, “Globalization and Conflicts in Africa” *Journal of Gender and Globalization* Vol.1, No1, 2008, pp. 24.

⁶ Ibid p. 26.

⁷ Ibid p. 29.

⁸ Onyemaechi A. Eke, *Globalization Challenges and Nigeria Foreign Policy*, Abakaliki, Willy-Rose and Appleseed Publishers, 2009. p. 235.

⁹ V. Nwosumba, *Globalization in Africa: A Political Economy Approach*, Enugu, De-Verge Agencies Ltd, 2013. pp. 18-19.

¹⁰ J.A. Ajayi, “Globalization and Nigerian Manufacturing Sector”, *The Guardian Newspaper*, November 14, 2001.

In the view of I.K. Nwokike and S.I. Okoro, globalization is creating a world that is increasingly interconnected where natural boundaries are generating both possibilities and problems¹¹.

This observation of globalization as a latent carrier of good and evil leaves us with an inconclusive search for the true meaning of the concept.

The Historical Foundation of Globalization

Globalization in a way is not new to man. It has been a way of life, even in the ancient days when men travelled long distances outside their native lands for trade, agriculture, smithing, and other forms of commerce.

In the middle Ages unified nations as we know them now did not...exist... it was not until trade made ex-change of goods possible that men could fully use nature's gifts¹².

But the difference between that early globalization and what obtains today lie in the contributions of modern science and technology. While early globalization made use of crude technologies like floating woods and canoes for long distance travels by sea or river, gongs, flutes and hollowed trunks for information dissemination, and other such means that enabled contacts, communication and exchange, especially in Africa, modern globalization thrives, in most cases, on modernized models of the ancient technologies. Anthony Agbo, Molefi K. Asante and Joseph E. Harris contend that Africa is the cradle of civilization¹³.

The ancient Egyptians (Africans) undoubtedly were the pioneers in most of the endeavors that brought humanity to the present age of advancement. They invented the first alphabet and the art of writing, they invented the first calendar in (about) 4241 B.C. by dividing the year into 365 days, they were the first to discover metals, the first to make paper, the first to make glass; the first to invent and introduce door locks, they invented the potter's wheel; (they were) the first to build in stone; the first to build canals; the gave the world mathematics and geometry as evident in the ancient Egyptian book named the Rhind Papyrus¹⁴.

Before Europe developed any significant city, long distance trade between Africans and the Phoenicians, Hebrews and Arabs, turned many

¹¹ Nwosumba, V.C.; *Globalization in Africa: A Political Economy Approach*, Enugu, De-Verge Agencies Ltd, 2013. pp. 18-19.

¹² I.K. Nwokike and S.I. Okoro, *Introduction to International Relations: Analysis and Synthesis*, Enugu, Jones Communications Publishers, 2009. p.110.

¹³ Anthony O. Agbo, *Africa: The Glory, the Curse, the Remedy*, Enugu, Snaap Press Ltd, 2012. p.2.

¹⁴ Ibid. p.6

trade routes and trading centres into city-states that later developed into classical civilizations like Egypt, Axum (Ethiopia), Napata, Meroe/Sudan, Songhai, Zimbabwe, Ife, Benin, Igbo-Ukwu, to mention a few. Nonetheless, modern globalization actually started in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when new shipping technology was developed in Europe which made the internalization of economic activities easier. It was the availability of ships that enabled the Spanish colonization of the new world and the consequent exploitation of the gold and silver deposits of that territory. It was British envy of the great wealth that gold brought to Spain that was the remote cause of the 1588 British-Spanish War in which the Spanish Armada were destroyed, leaving Britain as “the new mistress of the seas”.

Spain was the mistress of the seas. Then, in 1588, in one of the world's greatest naval battles, England defeated the Spanish Armada and broke the naval power of Spain¹⁵.

After defeating Spain, England was challenged by two other rivals-the Dutch and France. Her victories over these two nations later culminated into a series of conflicts and wars which turned Europe an unsafe continent of destruction. Then came the industrial revolution of 1750 with its contradictions which laid the foundation for the actual take off of modern globalization¹⁶. Within this period hand labour had become too slow and inefficient. The improvement in agriculture as a result of the enclosure system had brought about better crop yields and improved breeds of cattle and sheep. With time, the profitable enclosing system forced the small farmers out of their rented farms to the cities where they were forced to work in the factories for stipends. The growing city population soon became a reliable market for the food produced and supplied by the big landowners as well for factory goods like clothing¹⁷.

But the industries were turning up at an unprecedented rate, and their products soon grew more than the factory workers alone could consume. Again, the factories needed quite a high volume of raw materials to keep working and for the factory owners to keep the rule of maximizing profit. A larger market than England was, therefore, the answer.

Adam Smith, a Scottish economist in his influential book, *Wealth of Nations*, had analyzed the weakness of mercantilism, a doctrine that held that the wealth and power of a nation depended on how much gold it

¹⁵ Lester B. Rogers, et al, *Story of Nations*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1973. p. 301.

¹⁶ Henry R. Nau, *Perspectives on International Relations* (2nd edition), Washington D.C., CQ Press, 2009. p. 138.

¹⁷ Lester B. Rogers, et al, *Story of Nations*,... p. 280.

possessed. Smith called for the replacement of mercantilism with a policy of free trade under which all nations would be able to trade with one another without restriction, an idea that greatly influenced the adoption of the laissez faire policy. Mercantilism had encouraged fierce competition among the nations of Europe resulting to the violent scramble for colonies which was simply the characteristic of the eighteenth century¹⁸.

Britain abandoned her policy of mercantilism but continued to acquire colonies and naval bases to protect her merchant fleet. The Industrial Revolution made Britain depend so much on foreign trade that it became necessary she acquired key bases to control important routes to her markets and sources of raw materials.

*The English Navigation Act of 1651 had authorized the British government to acquire a good number of merchant fleet that could be deployed as auxiliary ships which its navy could use in case of war*¹⁹.

In the years after 1815, the population of Great Britain had grown larger as a result of the industrial revolution. Many of her subjects moved to her overseas possessions. Prior to 1870, the expansion of the empire was an outgrowth of commercial activity rather than the result of a campaign of conquest. However, toward the end of the nineteenth century, a renewed interest in acquiring colonies swept over Europe. Other nations like Germany, France, Italy, and so forth, wished to build colonial empires. The competition that resulted from that desire for colonies, especially in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East, was so keen that it created much tensions that eventually led to the First World War²⁰.

Stages of the Development of Modern Globalization

The race for colonies was the result of imperialism, or a desire by the more advanced or industrialized countries to extend their control over weaker nations. From 1890 to 1914, the major European nations, including the United States, shared in the great scramble for colonies. To maintain her role as leader of the foreign trade, Britain deliberately adopted a policy of balance of power, that is, playing one European nation against the other in order to prevent any of the nations from becoming too powerful²¹.

¹⁸ Ibid p. 280.

¹⁹ C.N. Mbalisi and C. Amechi; "Globalization and Developing Countries: Milestones on Nigeria's Economic Development", *UZU: Journal of History and International Studies* (UJHIS), Vol. 3, No. 1, 2012, p. 136.

²⁰ Lester B. Rogers, et al, *Story of Nations*, p. 305.

²¹ Ibid p.305.

At that stage, globalization was not yet complex. Industries still traded in goods that were not really in line with their areas of primary concern, and gold was the standard currency as well as the basic measurement for real wealth. Then, the British dominance of the global economy was to suffer a devastating blow from World War I with Britain thrown into huge debts to its colonies. Unable to restore the gold standard after concerted struggle, Britain failed to recover from the effects of World War I, and so lost its hegemonic hold on the world economy. That was the end of the first stage of modern globalization.

The United States was a potential successor to Britain but its policy of isolationism prevented it from stepping into the big shoes of leader of the global economy immediately after World War I. Thus, without a leader, the system collapsed and disintegrated. Mercantilism returned, nations resorted to policies of debt servicing (or reparations) and high tariff competitions to raise exports above imports to enable them acquire military equipment. The gold standard as a medium of foreign exchange was abandoned, and with the fluctuations of currencies and prices of gold, countries printed more money into circulation. The result was a hike in the prices of goods and services, leading to spiral inflation and then, the Great Depressions of the 1920s and 1930s²².

Consequently, all these developments returned the world to the field of battle in World War II. At the end of the war in 1945, America eventually assumed leadership of the global economy. It led the effort for post-war security, through the United Nations and later through NATO, opened its markets for imports, and fixed the dollar in terms of gold. It made generous loans through the Marshall plan to begin the reconstruction of War-torn economies in Europe, especially.

The United States was now clearly the dominant power among western countries... Already during the war, it had initiated discussions with Great Britain and other countries to design a more stable post-war international economic system. In July 1944, (it) convened the largest world economic conference in history. The conference at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, reached agreements that gave the post war economy its name, the Bretton Woods international economic system²³.

It will ever remain doubtful how many African countries were consulted by the US, and how many actually attended the Bretton Woods conference. But the conference drew on the experiences of the world economy in the pre-World War I times and the inter war period to create a

²² Ibid

²³ Henry R. Nau, *Perspectives on International Relations*, p.287.

middle ground that placed the objective of opening trade markets at the top of post-war economic agenda. That agenda was binding on the African continent and other developing regions. "A compromise was made between rigidly fixed and floating exchange rates and between domestic policy discipline and external finance"²⁴.

The Bretton Woods system re-organized economic activities among the Western economies from 1950 to 1973 when the rise in oil prices forced the coming together of oil exporting countries, under the aegis of Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in an attempt to undermine the re-organization efforts of the US. The absence of the developing world at Bretton Woods may have informed the co-operation of about seventy-seven developing countries (G-77) within the period which effectively threatened the leadership of the United States and actually jolted the global economy with their demand for a New International Economic Order (NIEO). That was the end of the second stage of modern globalization.

The third phase started in the 1980s when the economies of the United States and Britain especially, among other Western countries, bounced back under President Ronald Reagan and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, respectively. Through a re-shift of power through concerted competition and adroitness, these leaders pursued policies that encouraged the re-building of their military defenses and free market forces in the Cold War against the Soviet Union. Acting separately, they introduced domestic policies that reduced inflation in their countries, encouraged savings and investment, deregulated labour, liberalized their capital markets and trade. Reagan went a step further to break telecommunication monopoly in the US, a move that resulted to an information revolution that included the birth of the internet in 1991, the very year the Cold War ended. The Soviet Union lost that War to the United States, global inflation and oil prices crashed, the American dollar was stabilized as the strongest currency in the world. These changes left the US as the only true world power or super-power, militarily and economically²⁵.

Thus, globalization as operative today is the direct result of the restoration of unipolarism in world system under American leadership, from the economic crisis of the 1970s.

Africa in Globalization

Globalization has severally been identified as a process of growth for the Western World, and to the developing regions, an agent of

²⁴ Ibid p.305

²⁵ Henry R. Nau, *Perspectives on International Relations*, p. 287.

underdevelopment. It is evident that globalization is an extension of all the instrumentalities of Western capitalism and imperialism. As a policy of the western countries, globalization was never formulated with any part of the developing world, including Africa, in mind. It came as a corrective measure to salvage the economy of the advanced countries. First, from the contradictions of mercantilism which reigned in Europe and the entire Western world from the 16th to the 18th century, with the states fighting each other for higher exports over imports, to attain a balance of military power or dominance. Second, from the colossal consequences of World War I which crippled European economy and left America panting, developments that culminated into the Great Depressions of the 1920s and 1930s. Lastly, to save the Western economy from the failed efforts of OPEC and the agitation of the G-77 for a New International Economic Order in the 1970s.

Moreover, during British imperialism, exports and foreign trade expanded, affecting the North Atlantic trade and trade in Latin America. Trade with Australia and South Africa also expanded but trade with Africa and other developing regions in Asia, was left out. As countries in the North Atlantic area, South America, South Africa, and Australia, benefitted extensively from British heavy investment in agriculture and infrastructure which meant capital flows through loans, the developing regions of Asia and Africa were again left out. During this period, the world economy got to levels of interdependence before World War I, and it lasted up to the 1970s. It was a widely spread stage of early globalization³⁰. But Africa was never allowed any chance of benefit in it.

Daniel Offiong correctly observed that “although an African economic market is a desirable advance, one must be aware of the possibility of its serving the interests of our economic and political enemies instead of ours” because some African leaders will help to sabotage it. He maintained that “even if there were no willing (African) collaborators the western powers through their NATO allies would bribe their way through or use some kind of force to break” the African unity.²⁶

When the United States succeeded Great Britain as the leader of the world economy, one of its early outings was the issuance of generous loans for the reconstruction of War devastated Europe. The American reign actually began with the creation of the Bretton Woods system which re-organized economic activities among western economies from 1950 up to 1973. Through the Bretton Woods, created to overcome the weaknesses of the laissez-faire trade system, America promoted multilateral trade liberalization where nations negotiated reciprocal tariff reductions, using

²⁶ Daniel A. Offiong, *Imperialism and Dependency (Obstacles to African Development)*, United States, Howard University Press, 1982. p.248.

what they called Most-Favored Nations (MFNs), a principle by which all nations enjoyed low tariffs as were guaranteed the most-favored-nation; that is, the nation that paid the lowest tariffs. Agricultural products and mineral commodities such as cocoa, cotton, coal and copper, were excluded from the export boosting arrangement which meant that Africa and other developing regions, except few in Latin America and Asia, had no chance of enjoying the advantages of the MFNs. They were still agrarian colonies. Worse for the developing regions, early post war trade negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) lowered tariffs on manufactured goods only and only for industrialized countries.

Excluded from all the policies, agreements and institutions of development, it is certain that Africa has no place in globalization except to serve as a dumping site for goods manufactured in the advanced countries. Critical Marxist theorists observed that globalization is the product of long centuries of domination and exploitation²⁷. Today's economy is rigged against the interests of the powerless and poor. Developing countries, for instance, are systematically tied to the needs of colonial powers. They produce cash crops such as tobacco and rubber, for advanced markets rather than food for their people. These patterns persist today... under globalization²⁸.

To Mbalisi and Amechi, globalization has an avalanche of operational agents and institutions, through which it has wrought far-reaching effects. It manifests through different economic and political policies that have provided unequal opportunities for all people of the world²⁹. In Edukugho's view, globalization is tantamount to neo-colonialism, if not reinvented slavery. It is the worst set-back that could happen to (Africa's) industrialization aspirations, in so far as the world economy is structured on specialization, comparative advantage, competition and narrow national interests. It ensures that the producers of raw materials would remain as such for all time, deprived of the liberty to determine the prices of their trade³⁰.

The worst aspect of globalization as a social economic system is its tendency to inequality. While the Western countries, initiators of the policy of globalization, take and enjoy maximum advantages of the system, developing countries are increasing in poverty and underdevelopment.

²⁷ Adesokan, Akin, 'African Marxist Discourses on the Cusp of "globalization": A Preliminary Review', *Journal of the African Literature Association*, 12 (2018), p. 72.

²⁸ Adesokan, Akin, 'African Marxist Discourses on the Cusp of "globalization"', p. 45.

²⁹ C.N. Mbalisi and C. Amechi; "Globalization and Developing Countries: Milestones on Nigeria's Economic Development", *UZU: Journal of History and International Studies* (UJHIS), Vol. 3, No. 1, 2012. p. 136.

³⁰ Edukugho, E., "Globalization Under Scrutiny," Vanguard Newspaper, June 2002.

Again, the major economic powers influence most of the institutions of globalization like WTO, IMF, World Bank, Bretton Woods, and many others, to their advantage and to the detriment of the developing world. Also, the level of protectionism the major powers accord their agriculture has “been estimated to be around five times what they” offer the poor countries³¹.

A change in the status quo will come about only when the underdeveloped countries come together to take a common stand against their exploiters. But as of now the underdeveloped countries are balkanized and the divide and rule policy of the rich and powerful nations is very successful...³²

The big question remains: how can Africa overcome these hydra-headed problems that hinder her coordination of progressive and national economic policies?

Conclusion

Globalization is a social economic system that demands the dismantling of borders for free flow of trade and exchange of ideas, culture, information, technology, and many others, between and among nations. Although it is not a new system, its modern form began at the end of the Second World War when the United States took over the leadership of the world economy. But modern globalization tends toward pronounced inequality, oppression and exploitation of the less powerful countries. It is now proven to be a neo-imperial tool of the West to keep Africa and other developing regions perpetually poor and under-developed. It has been condemned by many scholars as a reinvented capitalist imperialism; and so, the worst set-back to Africa’s development.

One sure way to overcome this is for the countries of the continent to take a firm stand in one strong economic bloc, and work as a team with other developing regions. The ideals of the defunct G.77 should be revisited and re-activated with new vigor for a truly New International Economic Order, NIEO, where all nations will be equal players. In doing that caution must be the watch word to note and avoid the booby-traps of capitalist America and conservative imperial Great Britain.

³¹ Öniş, Ziya, and Fikret Şenses, ‘Rethinking the Emerging Post-Washington Consensus’, *Development and Change*, 36 (2005), p. 263.

³² Daniel A. Offiong, *Imperialism and Dependency (Obstacles to African Development)*, United States, Howard University Press, 1982.p. 248.

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