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## SCIENCE-SPIRITUALITY ANTIPODAL DEBATE – RESOLVING LONG-TIME CLASH THROUGH SYNCRETISM? READING FROM THE ACCIDENTAL SANTERA

**Emmanuel Adeniyi**  
Federal University Oye Ekiti

### Abstract

The conflict between science and spirituality is an established fact, even though some scholars dispute this reality arguing that it is rather unfashionable for contemporary academic inquiry. The present study interrogates the foregoing position, submitting that the conflict between the two fields of knowledge still subsists. It advocates the recognition of spirituality as an alternative knowledge field, despite its lack of deductive, empirical procedures. The proposition builds on the reality of existential risks threatening humanity which can be adequately tackled if the two domains collaborate to develop mechanisms for ending human misery. Using syncretism/hybridity as a conceptual touchstone, the article attempts a postcolonial reading of Irete Lazo's *The Accidental Santera* (2008) to pontificate about the imperativeness of mutuality between science and spirituality, and the danger inherent in a branch of knowledge displaying hubristic, overweening attitude towards another knowledge field. The study further suggests a new order to reposition the knowledge fields.

**Keywords:** Santeria; African Studies; Afro-Cuban Faith; Albert Einstein; Syncretism; the Yorùbá

## Introduction

*“I know there are those who are saying that we should depend on science, not prayers. But I want to reassure you that even science needs God”* – Kenyan President, Uhuru Kenyatta

Apart from a few other contentious debates that have dragged on since the dawn of time and yet continue to agitate the minds of scholars, historians of science and religion, scientific materialists, and spiritual scientists till now, the science-spirituality<sup>1</sup> dichotomy has proved to be outstanding (Albert, 1999, p. 45; Evans, 2018, p. 52; Benson, 1996, p. 171; Scott, 2009, p. 321; Smith, 2019, p. 1). The complexity of this dichotomy somewhat makes it topical and compelling, despite the rejection of the conflict thesis between science and spirituality by some thinkers. Interestingly, not all scholars believe in the conflictive relationship between science and spirituality. Many contend that there is no conflict between the fields of knowledge since they are not related, and the question of a clash of interests may not even arise (Dawes, 2016, p. 7; McGrath, 2004, p. 87; Smith, 1999, p. 1). They argue that the 19th-century belief affirming the rivalry between science and spirituality is erroneous and absolutely misleading. Gregory Dawes (2016), for instance, writes that “the so-called ‘warfare’ or ‘conflict’ thesis has become deeply unfashionable [while a] plethora of books and articles have appeared arguing that it is badly mistaken” (p. 7). Alister McGrath (2004) also argues that the conflictive relationship between science and spirituality is no longer taken seriously by any major historian of science, despite its popularity in the late nineteenth century (p. 87).<sup>2</sup> McGrath further submits that the *supposed* rivalry is a mere “caricature clearly untrue in the present day, just as historical scholarship has determined it to be misleading and inaccurate even when it first discussed centuries ago” (p. 87).<sup>3</sup> However, a number of scholars validate the presence of clash and insuperable disagree-

<sup>1</sup>Spirituality is used interchangeably with religion and faith in this article.

<sup>2</sup> See also Gregory Dawes (2016, p. 7).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

ments between the two fields. In his defense of the validity and reliability of spiritual knowledge as a rival to scientific empiricism, Immanuel Kant (1998) claims that “I had to deny knowledge in order to make room for faith [...] and the dogmatism of metaphysics” (p. 117). In the same vein, among his four taxonomies of the relationship between science and spirituality, the conflict mode tops Ian Barbour’s (1997) typology<sup>4</sup> categorizing the relationship between the two fields. Barbour’s remaining modes of relationship between science and spirituality include what he identifies as *independence*, *dialogue* and *integration*. By independence, Barbour expresses the conflictive view or the existence of rivalry between the two fields. His view underscores the perception that each of the fields of knowledge has its own distinctive domain and characteristic methods of describing and verifying reality (Stenmark, 2013, p. 2310). By dialogue and integration, Barbour calls for a mutual understanding between the two domains, and the content of science and spirituality as well as an exchange of presuppositions (scientific and metaphysical), methods, and conceptual tools between the two domains (Stenmark, 2013, p. 2310). Mackenzie Brown (2003), Sam Harris (2004) and Richard Dawkins (2006) also believe that entrenched conflict exists between the two fields. Their positions on the conflict seemingly identify individual convictions as a major determinant of the question of existence or non-existence of science-spirituality rivalry.

The two knowledge domains do not agree, and their rift further accentuates the chasm between them. In his comment on Thomas Huxley’s agnosticism, Bernard Lightman (2011) corroborates this view that, “While religion belong[s] to the realm of feeling, science [is] a part of the world of intellect” (p. 252). Lightman’s exposition probably condemns spirituality to the margins of intellectualism. His approach is nothing short of intellectual and ideological pigeonholing of spirituality, and the construction of

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<sup>4</sup>Other models of classification include John Haught’s typology (conflict, contrast, contact, and confirmation), and Mikael Stenmark’s (2013) typology (irreconcilability, contact, independence, and replacement). The two build on Ian Barbour’s model of taxonomy and on one another, even though each makes attempts to avoid some of the shortcomings noticed in the preceding typology.

science as a domain of empiricism or superior knowledge (Herndon, 2007, p. 34). Jerry Coyne (2015) intensifies this debate by arguing that there is a conflict between science and spirituality, since both compete to describe reality, while “the toolkit of science, based on reason and empirical study, is reliable [...] that of religion – including faith, dogma, and revelation – is unreliable and leads to incorrect, untestable, or conflicting conclusions” (p. 11). The conflict, according to John Evans (2018), is moral and systemic, especially on how to name reality or describe knowledge by the two spheres, even though both fields are “perfectly coherent hierarchical structures of knowledge or belief” (p. 22).<sup>5</sup> Tiddy Smith (2019), similarly, posits that the supposed conflict between science and religion is as a result of difference in their functionality and methods of arriving at their respective conclusions. Drawing an inference from the biologist Stephen Jay Gould, he maintains that “science aims to uncover empirical knowledge, while religion aims to develop a sense of meaning and normative value” (Smith, 2019, p. 3). Gregory Dawes (2016) also expounds four different domains that may harbor the conflict between the two *knowledges*. These domains include: conflicting bodies of doctrine, which he calls “religious dogmas, on the one hand, and the theories of science on the other” (Dawes, 2016, p. 12); distinct communities comprising individuals who hold and employ “*contrastive norms* when dealing with knowledge claims, religious beliefs being treated quite differently from scientific theories” (Dawes, 2016, p. 14); modes of thought, as indicated in the belief that “religion and science represent differing *ways of thinking*” (Dawes, 2016, p. 14); and epistemic thought, pertaining to the dominant knowledge within religious and scientific communities (Dawes, 2016, p. 16).

In this article, I counter the prevalent submissions that science and spirituality are unrelated, and that no rivalry or conflict exists between them. While submitting that spirituality is not necessarily anti-science and sci-

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<sup>5</sup>Contrary to the views of many scholars that support the asymmetry between the two domains, Evans seems to spot equality in the strength, functions, and powers of the knowledge fields.

ence is not anti-religion,<sup>6</sup> I argue that the two fields of knowledge “express the same reality” (Gyekye, 2009, p. 1) in an attempt to understand cosmic mysteries and solve human problems. The article rejects the dismissive attitude of some scholars whose lack of intellectual empathy possibly blinds them to what John Evans (2018) calls “epistemological and moral conflict between religion and science” (p. 707).<sup>7</sup> As a matter of fact, the dichotomy between the two mutually exclusive disciplines ingeminates the age-long disagreement between rationalism and fideism. While rationalism advocates reason, knowledge, and evidence-based deductive logic, fideism favors the weaponization of faith as an alternative to reason in describing reality or solving human problems. The present study is anchored in the belief that the gulf between the domains of science and spirituality subsists. It disputes McGrath’s hypothesis highlighting the ingrained divisions between the worlds of science and faith (Dawes, 2016, p. 17), but points out how contemporary scholarship is making attempts to bridge the divisions. I employ Santeria, the Afro-Cuban religious code, to represent the pantheon of global religions and asseverate how the inherent positivity in the two knowledge domains can be harnessed to help define reality and solve human problems.

Using syncretic/hybrid postcolonial model as a conceptual touchstone of reading Irete Lazo’s *The Accidental Santera*, I point out the advantages of interconnectivity or mutuality between the knowledge fields and the problems of a discipline displaying hubristic, overweening attitude towards another knowledge field. I use syncretism or hybridity purposively so as to advocate a harmonious relationship expected to exist between science and spirituality. This harmony further builds on interdependence that some scholars believe should exist between the two fields of knowledge. Petteri

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<sup>6</sup>This is not absolute, though. This is because there are some scientists and scientific propositions that counter the existence of a supreme being. Some religious views also run contrary to certain scientific conceptions.

<sup>7</sup>This is the title of one of his articles.

Nieminen et al (2020), for instance, posit that “science and religion can share common goals to enhance human well-being [and that] the different types of evidence [they utilize] need not necessarily be obstacles for cooperation” (p. 448). Kwame Gyekye (2009) also contends that “religion and science will continue to be bed-fellows in the twenty-first century and beyond” (p. 19) as both share “perspectives on cosmic reality” (Gyekye, 2009, p. 1) and seek to understand “the wonders and mysteries of the created universe and the limitations of human intelligence” (Gyekye, 2009, p. 1), despite having different methods of interpreting reality.

Consequently, I argue that the two disciplines are enriching knowledge fields that can offer enormous opportunities and approaches for solving certain intractable human problems. Peter White (2014) acknowledges this coaction between the disciplines in the African health care system and emphasizes the existence of a symbiotic relationship between them. Syncretism or hybridity contemplates the fusion or conflation of ideas, concepts, and beliefs hitherto considered mutually exclusive. I have used it as a conceptual inquiry enabling me to clarify and probe into the possibility of uniting disparate elements from different cultural traditions to foster inclusion, equality and mine the strengths of the elements in a bid to engender and promote social harmony (Bentley, 1993; Ezenweke & Kanu, 2012; Gehman, 2001). This article leverages the benefits of interdisciplinary collaboration by examining the possibility of conflating spirituality with science to solve some human problems as fictionalized in Lazo’s text. The claim of non-verifiability and lack of objective empiricism about spirituality and the mantra of science being overweening and excessively hubristic present a major problem impeding collaborations. An effective way of resolving this contention is to deepen our understanding of the disciplines and encourage the conflation of both knowledge fields in view of the monumental benefits accruable to humanity through it.

## **Between Materiality, Spirituality and Knowledge Bifurcation**

The seemingly insuperable rivalry between science and spirituality and the intense scholarly debate generated has polarized scholars into two camps. The camps include that of those who believe science is not a promiscuous field, but a clinical endeavor that is unemotional in its approach to critically study nature, its forces, processes and development. The belief of this group is hinged on the claim that science should detach itself from any field of knowledge that lacks the nuances of empiricism, testability, provability, and observability. The other camp opposes the materialist philosophy in which science is anchored. It suggests a counter-discourse and holds the view that spirituality or religion possesses inherent qualities that enable it to identify and solve human, cosmic or environmental problems. Put succinctly, the science-is-unemotional-but-clinical group privileges science and reifies its assumptions as being the unparalleled or testable truth. To the group, science uses experimental evidence to understand nature, the environment, and man with a view to solving human problems through its materialist candor (Nieminen et al., 2020, p. 448). Spirituality, on the other hand, operates on the basis of experiential evidence (Nieminen et al., 2020, p. 448) as well as the revealed knowledge traceable to an incorporeal, immortal god/God whose wisdom is infinite, unparalleled and unquestionable. What those who essentialize spirituality do not want to let go of is that god/God has unparalleled, infinite status. Their perception of God/god is that of a numinous being possessing personal or impersonal character and particular properties or possibilities of action essential for the destiny and the welfare of humankind (Albert, 1999, p. 46). He/it does not have materiality, but possesses infinite energy, and He/it is the reality beyond human reality (Efori & Fătu-Hartmann, 2019, p. 323). Despite His/its lack of materiality, He/it has the ability to turn immateriality into materiality. The knotty point in science-spirituality antipodal debate and the supposed clash between the two fields, therefore, revolves around the possible testability and provability of the immaterial which is the genius

loci of religion or spirituality. In her estimation of the clash between reason and imagination, the relegation of spirituality in Nursing practice, and the construction of science/technology as the core of Nursing, Patricia Maher (2006) submits that three fundamental barriers separate the disciplines of (Nursing) science and spirituality (p. 423). Maher argues that spirituality does not possess objective scientific language to express spiritual concepts. Secondly, it lacks theoretical paradigms that can shape it as a “life-giving and integrating force essential for human healing” (Maher, 2006, p. 423). Thirdly, there is an absence of content in spirituality or religion.

Despite the polarity of scholars into two groups on the rivalry between science and spirituality, recent academic interest seems to tilt towards engendering synergy between the two domains. The synergy seeks a symbiosis between science and spirituality in order to aggregate the core benefits that the two fields of knowledge offer.<sup>8</sup> This certainly holds some significance in view of the fact that some scholars are calling for a paradigm shift from the supposedly science-spirituality dichotomy to an enduring clinical relationship beneficial to humanity. These scholars are of the opinion that “the idea [that] there is a conflict between religion and science is extremely unfashionable within contemporary academia” (Smith, 2009, p. 1), and call for “historical and epistemological interplay and exchange” (Smith, 2009, p. 4). They posit that science and religion need not be adversaries but complement each other in fundamentally important ways. To them, conflict is a pessimistic option among other optimistic alternatives which may create a more complete or more fulfilling picture of the world (Smith, 2009, p. 4). Irete Lazo, whose text is analyzed in this article, belongs to this category, considering her syncretic advocacy between science and spirituality as a way of describing reality and solving human problems. For modern schol-

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<sup>8</sup>Both science and spirituality are beneficial to society. Spirituality, for instance, ensures physical health of individuals by curing health challenges such as lower rates of coronary disease, emphysema and cirrhosis lower blood pressure and longer life expectancy and battle psychological disorders (see Mochon et al., 2011, p. 2). The benefits that science offers the society and individuals are not in any way different from the ones earlier highlighted.



ars in science and religious studies, they should be concerned with how rationalism can accommodate fideism in naming reality, or how both science and spirituality can borrow and learn from their respective knowledge principles. The present study dwells on this concern and draws from Lazo's authorial voice to expound the possibility of (re)naming reality and solving human problems through a careful utilization of scientific and metaphysical principles as well as research practices. The possible gap from the advocated symbiosis between the two fields may be on the workability of their hybridity, considering the existing gulf arising from their different views of naming reality, methodology, conceptualization, and problem-solution techniques. The study does not discuss this seemingly aporia by advancing propositions and philosophical thoughts needed for teasing out the possible synthesis of faith and science to solve human problems. It rather discusses the possibility of alignment of the two fields as fictionalized in Lazo's *faction*. The article leverages on the scientific orthodoxy and fideistic unorthodoxy to discuss the emerging collaboration between old and new orders, science and spirituality, and the attendant positivity from the synergy.

Since literature provides commentaries on society, it is understandable why one of the dominant tropes in Lazo's *faction* addresses the science-spirituality rivalry. While Lazo advocates a mutual understanding and possible collaboration (syncretism) between the two domains, her temperament tilts towards the grossly underestimated values and powers inherent in spirituality. This underestimation of potency of religion or spirituality to solve human problems is often perpetrated by scientists whose approach to arriving at truth is based solely on verifiable facts. It is a long-held belief in science that whatever does not have empirical evidence is outside the purview of science. Christine McLolland (2006) upholds this viewpoint, noting that "Science takes only the whole universe and any all phenomena in the natural world under its purview [...] Anything that cannot be observed or measured [...] is not amenable to scientific investigation (p. 1). Since Santeria is a religious code that is built on ancestral worship and animist

tradition, it has no place in the world of empirical scientific inquiry. This is because science is wont to query many of the practices, concepts, beliefs, and methods employed by both *santera*<sup>9</sup> and *santero*<sup>10</sup> to make their claims and confirm mostly their revealed knowledge. It is considered a mere “falsability” (McLelland, 2006, p. 1) and absolutely preposterous to claim that a terminal disease can be cured by carrying *ẹbọ*<sup>11</sup> (*ebbo*) to appease spiritual beings whom Santeria devotees and the Yorùbá believe hold the key to their existence, wellbeing, and have powers to heal the sick, cure sicknesses, and provide good health as well as material wealth (Awolalu, 1973, p. 81). Irete Lazo’s *The Accidental Santera* throws up the debate through her autobiographical narrative of how spirituality proves efficacious in the face of daunting opposition against its lack of scientific empiricism, while science seems to prove ineffectual despite its vaunted empirical values. Told through Gabrielle Segovia, an ichthyologist and professor of Biology at San Francisco State University, the novel reinforces the primality of spirituality over science. It opens the reader to the exciting and mystical world of Santeria, and the powers of preternatural beings who perform certain feats that defy scientific logic and query empirical knowledge. Through her protagonist narrator, Lazo does not leave the reader in doubt with regard to her motivation for writing the autobiography. Her intention is to advance her conviction that science and religion are part of modern society, and that it is imperative to reconcile the two if human society is going to make any appreciable progress (Lazo, 2008, p. 191). She believes in the idea that science and spirituality should mix, because science is an intellectual practice and religion a cultural domain possessing an interactive force that “provides cohesion in social order” (Akinfenwa et al., 2014, p. 9). By implication, she believes both disciplines complement each other, maintaining that to detach one from the other is inimical to social health of any

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<sup>9</sup>Female devotee of Santeria

<sup>10</sup>Male devotee of Santeria

<sup>11</sup>The Yorùbá word for sacrifice. It is called *ebbo* in Santeria to reflect Spanish orthography.

human community in view of the fact that the severance can damage inter-connectivity that should exist amongst different social elements. Speaking through Carol and Alex Littlefield (Gabrielle's colleagues), Lazo claims that "Science has done itself a disservice by dismissing religion, paranormal phenomena, and the like" (p. 190). Gabrielle expresses her concern about science and scientists whose duplicity and hatred for fideistic beliefs she finds disheartening:

The thing about scientists [...] is that they think that they make no assumptions. It's what we tell our students when we teach them the scientific method. Often scientists don't realize they carry around culturally and socially determined assumptions, a worldview that is mostly male, often white, and sometimes anti-religion. They don't see how they look at the white students differently than they look at the students of color. They assume some kids will do well in their classes and others will struggle. (Lazo, 2008, pp. 289-290)

If science or scientists make assumptions, it definitely removes from the objectivity, verifiability, and reliability principles that define the knowledge field. Gabrielle's bias is an imputation on the estimable image of science as a clinical discipline that arrives at conclusions through deductive and dispassionate logicity. This must have informed her declaration: "scientists have lost credibility in my eyes. For the majority of them, religion and science are mutually exclusive" (Lazo, 2008, p. 306). To further underscore the pre-eminence of science-spirituality antipodal debate in *The Accidental Santera*, Lazo uses the character of Lila Wong, Gabrielle's Chinese student, to typify the centrality of the dialectics in the text and, most importantly, the importance of ancestral worship, which she confirms to be an archetype in the collective unconscious of races across the globe: "In my culture, we worship our ancestors just as you do. We feed them and make altars and light candles. We also have many lesser gods, just like your saints. Every

New Year, we give thanks and sacrifices to the kitchen god. It's kind of the same with your people, my grandfather says" (Lazo, 2008, p. 227). In her dialogue with Gabrielle, Robin – a professor of African Studies and *santera* – avers that spirituality does not need to have scientific basis before proving its possibility, since science describes “life and the path of orisha as living it. It's only one path, like Buddhism and Christianity are paths. We're all going to the same place. We've just chosen different ways to get there” (Lazo, 2008, p. 290), and as such there should be no rivalry between the two modes of knowledge, since they appear complementary.

The leitmotif of mutual antagonism between science and spirituality and pain of contemptuousness likely to be suffered by whoever trapped in the crossfire thrown by the antipodes possibly inform Patricia's warning to Gabrielle, albeit jokingly: “Seriously Gabi. You better watch yourself. You know how the game of science is played. Your reputation is everything. If anyone finds out you're into the Religion, you'll never find another collaborator or get another grant” (Lazo, 2008, p. 202). Matt Flueger – Benito's<sup>12</sup> and Gabrielle's guileful and knavish colleague – later confirms Patricia's concern about science and scientists' snobbishness, more so when the religion in question is steeped in polytheistic *paganity*. In his characteristic wily manner, Flueger says:

“One of my students said that one of your students saw you buying live birds in Chinatown. Apparently, this student thinks you use them for religious purposes. “They were for an inner-city farming project,” I lied quickly. “Oh, I see. Well, you'd better set your student straight. It's bad enough we have animal rights people breathing down our necks about *research!*” (Lazo, 2008, p. 236)

The disclosure of Gabrielle's secret by Lila Wong, whom Gabrielle has earlier begged not to tell anyone for seeing her in Chinatown buying live

<sup>12</sup>Gabrielle's husband

birds for her *entracha*,<sup>13</sup> leaves Benito confused. He does not understand why his wife's great dreams of becoming a top-notch scientist will suddenly vanish upon her chance encounter with a pagan religion: "I sure would like to know what happened to the hot-shit scientist I married, the one that was going to cure skin cancer and change the face of academia" (Lazo, 2008, p. 238). His predicament is further deepened considering the near hatred of their colleagues and university for religion, let alone an Afro-Cuban spirituality that promotes ancestor worship and séances. In his conversation with Gabrielle, Benito believes that no one will work with his wife anymore should "Flueger [tell] the rest of the [their] committee, they may not want you in the department at all. I don't need this shit right now, Gabi. We've worked our whole adult lives on this. Your so-called curiosity could cost us both our jobs" (Lazo, 2008, p. 237).

To situate the debate properly within literary discourse, the conflicting intercourse between the domains of science and spirituality is given postcolonial reading. Science is seen as the language or weapon of Western hegemony that seeks to explain the world through its intrinsic logic. Besides, it seeks to browbeat and cow whatever violates its grammar of operations. Religion or spirituality,<sup>14</sup> on the other hand, is interpreted as a (psychic) platform of penetration into the metaphysical to connect or commune with the ancients in order to obtain information or ideas needed for solving human problems. Since Santeria is a religion that is in conflict with science in Lazo's text; the Afro-Cuban faith, with its conspicuous Yorùbá cultural and religious features, takes the center stage of my discussion. Seen from the prism of science as the *exotic Other* lacking canonization, recognition and materialist grounding; Santeria and its practitioners suffer stereotypes for encroaching on the domain of science. Worse still, it operates on the basis of faith and invocation of ancestral spirits, rituals, animal sacrifices, séances and other fetish practices promoting ancestor worship.

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<sup>13</sup>It is a religious performance for spiritual cleansing in Santeria.

<sup>14</sup>The religion or spirituality referred to in the text and in this article is Santeria, or better still the Yorùbá religion in the Americas.

Rather than manifesting Barbour's modes of dialogue and integrations to facilitate mutuality and complementariness, the domains have been at variance with each other. There is politics of resistance, opposition and inferiorization of religious (Santeria) practices by science and scientists. At the center of postcolonial thought, for instance, is the project of creating what Peter Barry (1995) calls "an awareness of representations of the non-European as exotic or immoral 'Other'" (p. 193). Science, being the logic of Western hegemony to *otherize*, inferiorize non-scientific or non-European religious practices, assumes the role of the colonialist or becomes a parallel and metaphor of colonialist ideology seeking to objectify any view lacking empirical validity or material existence. The depth of the clash between science and religion is even worsened by the perceived crudity or absurdly primitiveness of Santeria as a mediumistic religion that uses blood sacrifice akin to the Old Testament practice in the Judeo-Christian religion. However, science has proved incapable of solving certain human problems. Instead of seeking collaboration with religion or spirituality to come up with solutions, it has insulated itself and maintained a snobbish attitude by looking down on any domain of knowledge that operates without a proven empiricism. Irete Lazo further engages this debate and extends its frontiers to validate the potency of her newfound religion (Santeria) that not only surpasses science in solving some seemingly intractable medical problems, but also engenders self-discovery through communion with one's ancestors. She, nonetheless, believes that what could end the impasse is not the insularity and illiberality of science, but a syncretic condition that engenders a symbiosis between it and spirituality (Santeria), since none of the two can claim exclusiveness.

Irete Lazo deflates the overweening influence of science over spirituality by giving primality to Santeria (spirituality) in her novel. This primal influence is foregrounded through the incidents that happen at Marie Laveau's Voodoo Shop in New Orleans during Mr. John's life reading for Gabrielle Segovia who is unable to give birth to a child after years of marriage and

three miscarriages: “Spirits say, you need help, but not from a doctor. You need to find your true path in life. Then the babies will come” (Lazo, 2008, p. 43). In her argument with Benito on the plan to stop receiving medical treatments over her miscarriages and other gynecological problems, Gabrielle restates what Mr. John tells her earlier as a confirmation of the helplessness of modern science in solving her medical conditions:

Then there was our follow-up visit with the fertility specialist. She wanted us to consider IUI, intrauterine insemination – the turkey baster method. Benito agreed that we were under too much pressure to start the process until after our tenure packets were in. It was a relief that he had agreed to put it off. Still, I couldn’t help but worry about the day I would have to tell him I didn’t want to go through with the treatments. Mr. John had told me in New Orleans that medical science wasn’t the way to go. I had gotten confirmation on that from Orula since then. I was more than happy to avoid medical intervention. However, my doubts had grown after my diagnosis. (Lazo, 2008, p. 231)

As a matter of fact, medical science finds it difficult to establish the cause of her miscarriages, until after her initiation and several life readings where it is revealed that she has *unicornuate uterus* and a missing ovary (Lazo, 2008, p. 208). After her initiation, the cause of her miscarriages is also revealed in her dream by *òrìṣà*<sup>15</sup> in her cousin’s (Sofi Segovia’s) house in Miami, as “a kidney with its artery sticking out” (Lazo, 2008, p. 206). Her fertility doctor only diagnoses the cause of her barrenness much later in California. Before keeping her appointment with the fertility expert whom she and Benito go to see, and later orders for histosalpingogram, a live X-ray of Gabrielle’s uterus and fallopian tubes (Lazo, 2008, p. 203), she has cleaned herself with raw meat (Lazo, 2008, p. 203) as advised by

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<sup>15</sup>Deities

José (a *babalawo* and Sofi Segovia's husband) in Miami for good luck. Besides, she wears one of her *collares*<sup>16</sup> believing that all these rituals and cleansings work out in her favor, as they prepare the road for *òrìṣà* (Osun) to do "her job by allowing the doctors to see the truth" (Lazo, 2008, p. 209) about her fertility problem.

With Gabrielle's revelation, Lazo presents before the reader both ontological and epistemological conflicts. These conflicts reify the rivalry between science and spirituality. The reader is thrust into confusion as to how to validate the truth of life reading (divination) as a way of naming reality and its theory of problem-solving methodology. Considering the initiation of Lazo's protagonist into Santeria and how her problems receive supernatural solutions from *òrìṣà*, the ontology of life reading and its epistemology are called to question by science in its clinical approach of verifying and establishing empirical evidence or deductive logicity behind the accurate diagnosis and cure of a serious gynecological problem. Spirituality, similarly, wonders at the inability of medical science to solve the same problem. The total transformation that comes upon Gabrielle can be recapitulated as the corollary of the conflicts. These conflicts are externalities that produce psychic conflicts in her, as she begins to doubt the empirical values of science, just as her mind increasingly unlocks her ancestral powers to address existential puzzles. In the process, she ends up wrapping her mind around these spiritualities because of their provable efficacies which remain a mystery to science. Gabrielle's apprehension and dubiety of (medical) science is anchored in the transcendental knowledge of (her) self which is beyond the reach of science or empirical medical diagnosis. Her gynecological problem and other existential challenges are the upshot of her ignorance of her *òrìṣà* ancestral roots. This is revealed to her by Mr. John during (her) life reading and corroborated by *orula*<sup>17</sup> during her Santeria initiation. Gabrielle Segovia's disenchantment with science (medical), despite being

<sup>16</sup>Beaded necklace sacred to an *òrìṣà*

<sup>17</sup>Òrúnmìlà is the *òrìṣà* of divination.



a scientist of note, is perhaps heightened by Robin. Her (Robin's) view further underpins the project of stripping science of its superior myth. At Gabrielle's *ocha*, she claims to have successfully disabused the minds of her students as far as old/new or science/spirituality debate is concerned.

While pondering on what will be her fate should her scientist-colleagues find out about her new religious convictions, she gets uptight and notes that: "they would assume that I am crazy to believe in something that has no scientific basis, and that, in turn, will mean that my science is flawed, as well" (Lazo, 2008, p. 290). This motif of uncertainty runs through the *faction* revealing the troubled interiority of a character whose consciousness is torn between self-esteem and public image. Her mind is buffeted by the images of public shaming and social isolation once the information passes around that she (a scientist) now "communicates with dead relatives through psychics in her spare time" (Lazo, 2008, p. 54). This reads much like the effect of *culture shock* and the mental confusion it imposes on the sufferer. Gabrielle is in dire straits as her training as a scientist is in conflict with her newfound spirituality. She finds herself battling with an issue that calls her career to question, and yet leaves her wondering as to how to accentuate her new conviction of science-spirituality hybridity. This confused mental state underlies her statement: "A whole new world had opened up for me – one that both intrigued and terrified me. I was, however, consumed with worry about the consequences of going any further into that world" (Lazo, 2008, p. 170).

In spirituality, inductive logic/reasoning is employed contrary to the scientific deductive methodology of arriving at conclusion and describing reality. Commenting on this with regard to Christianity, Geran Dodson (2016) argues that the basis of inductive reasoning is insights and spiritual experiences, because it uses finiteness to describe infiniteness, even though it cannot prove infiniteness using finite categories (p. 130). Dodson also submits that inductive logic expresses the "possibility and necessity of truth

that is based on insight and spiritual experiences that are formulated in propositions believed to be true. Theology builds its foundation on an interpretation of God, the world, the condition of humanity, and accepts without question the celestial rules by which everything operates” (Dodson, 2016, p. 130). Lazo foregrounds the inductive reasoning that undergirds Santeria when Gabrielle soliloquizes telling herself that she “was operating faith, not facts” (Lazo, 2008, p. 256). Fact and faith dichotomy is, therefore, central to science and spirituality debate. Her statement is surely a reflection of the awareness that her aspirations and conditions may be beyond the grasp of (medical) science, hence her desperate acceptance of Santeria, albeit with doubts and concerns about its arcane rituals and cryptic codes. During her initiation rituals, she unfurls her mind:

I imagined purging my doubts as I vomited. I realized I wanted all of the good things the Religion had to offer: a connection to my family, protection from my enemies, guidance to ease the journey of life, a chance to feed my spiritual hunger – and, of course, I wanted to become a mother. I wanted these things without the embarrassment the ancient rituals would bring to my modern life. (Lazo, 2008, p. 271)

Drawing from the above quote, it is important to note that the thread of Lazo’s narrative has narrowed down to her belief in the victory of spirituality (Santeria) over science. It is probably her attempt to use the narrative to address the asymmetric relations between the duo. Since Gabrielle has had several medical tests and treatments over her miscarriages all to no avail and psychics’ predictions seem to be having the coloration of truth, what appears ineffectual has to give way for a seemingly effectual but stereotyped phenomenon, whether it has or lacks materialist candor. The miracle of Sofi Segovia’s daughter (Bella) overcoming her nephrological disorder after her initiation into Santeria further sustains Gabrielle’s interest in the religion, and clears her doubt about the possible victory spirituality can record where medical science fails. According to Sofi:

She was five. We found out she had bad kidneys. We were still in New York. Angie and Jose were already here. He had just become *babalawo*. He consulted Orula, who said Bella had to be initiated as soon as possible. We even told the doctors in New York what we were doing so they would teach us how to bathe her with all the tubes sticking out. [...] Even during the ceremony, she never cried – not even when they cut her hair. She had already been through worse with all the tests. After we got back, her kidneys began to respond to the treatment that hadn't been working before. The doctors couldn't believe it. (Lazo, 2008, p. 116)

Bella's miraculous recovery from chronic kidney disease (CKD) reiterates the importance of shared knowledge and complementariness between science and spirituality as well as the potency of spirituality to work out solutions to even the most dreaded illnesses, such as kidney failure. It is not impossible that Bella might have lost her life if her parents had insisted on medical science to treat her. Her speedy recovery from CKD says a lot about the possible primacy of spirituality over science in certain dire instances. As a matter of fact, the result is astounding because Bella's doctors find it difficult believing her miraculous recovery from the disease. The foregoing recapitulates Lazo's concern in *The Accidental Santera*, as she calls for an alternative means of naming reality and solving human problems.

### **Lazo's Three-World Orders**

In *The Accidental Santera*, Lazo suggests a three-world order. The orders: old (Santeria or ancestral religious worship); new (science); and the hybrid or syncretic order. While characters such as ancestral spirits, Grandma Segovia and her husband, *tia* Mayte, pantheon of Yorùbá gods, and devotees of Santeria typify old (religious) order; the new order comprises American university system, world of science, Benito, Matt Flueger, White

Americans, and the heavily gendered or racialized American space. The third order is a coalescence of the old and new orders, the conflation or a creation of dialogue between science and spirituality, which Santeria also metaphorises in the text. This is probably the thrust of Lazo's concern, calling for an understanding between old and new, ancient and modern, as well as between spirituality and science. The syncretic project that Lazo uses the novel to advocate also serves as a metaphor of the fusion of Yorùbá cultural traits with Catholicism in the Americas.

The syncretism negotiates harmony between two erstwhile mutually exclusive belief systems (Yorùbá *òrìṣà* worship and Catholic Christian faith), thus creating a religious unison in which one represents the other using religious ethos of the other, and vice versa, in the Americas, especially Cuba (see Adeniyi, 2010). Lazo's call for syncretism between science and spirituality is reinforced in defense of her newfound religion and decision to be initiated into Santeria. According to her, there is nothing bizarre in her becoming a *santera*, because some of her colleagues pursue their religious convictions without any fear. According to her, if "Alex Littlefield goes to powwows [and] no one shies away from his lab [...] Carol Wright goes to the Unitarian church in Oakland [and] nobody questions her science because of it" (Lazo, 2008, p. 238), no one has the right to query her Afro-Cuban religious convictions. The comments of Lila's Chinese grandparents, as related by Lila, is suggestive of syncretic motif that runs through the *faction*. While narrating what her grandfather tells her about Santeria and its adherents who patronize their store, Lila reveals that:

The people in your religion are the only ones who are not Chinese who go there [...] They told me that, years ago, one of their customers, this Cuban lady, invited them to a party in Oakland. They said the people danced and played drums and ate lots of good food, including some of the birds they bought in our store. There they met a Chinese man. He spoke

English, Spanish, and Cantonese. He explained a lot of things to my grandparents [...] My grandfather said that is why he loves this country. We can practice our ways. You can practice yours. He also said we are more the same than different. (Lazo, 2008, pp. 227-228)

Lazo's quote: "Spiritism, having taken the proportions of a science, requires a scientific language" (Lazo, 2008, p. 245)<sup>18</sup> is suggestive of the motif of syncretism that abounds in the text. Syncretism is further demonstrated in the text when an *oriate*<sup>19</sup> during Gabrielle's *ita*<sup>20</sup> delivers the message of Obatala to her concerning what will be the state of her health in future:

*"Si siente algo en el seno que vaya al medico a tiempo,"* the *oriate* said. I was being ordered to go to the doctor immediately if I ever felt something in my breast. Great. My mother made a funny choking sound. I gave her a brave smile and nodded my head yes. I thought about the advice, trying to imagine a diagnosis of breast cancer in my future. I might get it, but I would not die from it. (Lazo, 2008, p. 296)

Considering the above quote, Lazo seems to stress the importance of having spirituality work hand-in-hand with (medical) science. She seems to suggest that before any diagnosis of any disease is made; a *santera/santero*, through divination or revelation from the ancestors, would have had foreknowledge and prepared adequately for it either through (medical) science or revelation/*ebbo* and spiritual cleansing. However, the effectiveness of this method is problematic, because science will never approve of faith healing. This does not mean it is impossible as well. For example, Gabrielle

<sup>18</sup>The quote is taken from Allan Kardec's (1978) book, *The Book on Mediums: Guide for Mediums and Invocators*, and quoted in *The Accidental Santera*.

<sup>19</sup>It is "a Santero who delivers the *ita* during the initiation of a *iyawo*" (Lazo, 2008, p. 313).

<sup>20</sup>It is "a spiritual consultation or reading using divination systems of either Santeria or Ifa" (Lazo, 2008, p. 312). It also describes life reading performed for a *santero* or *santera* during which sterling revelations about their lives are made known to them.

informs Benito what *tia* Mayte tells her earlier about the powers of Òṣun<sup>21</sup> to cure any form of diseases and her power to give children to the needy, because Òṣun rules over fertility or infertility and she is the “patron of all things abdominal and medical” (Lazo, 2008, p. 205). Though an *othered* domain, Santeria still provides an avenue for Gabrielle and other *santeras* or *santeros* in the text to define her/their selfhood and social relations in a heavily gendered and racialized American space. With this revelation, Santeria becomes a weapon of negotiation, identification, and interrogation of Western hegemony as symbolized by modern science in the text. Through Gabrielle’s autobiographical narrative voice, it is clear that Santeria eventually affords her the opportunity to find a true path and destiny in life. Spirituality seems to take the place of science in her life. Even though a foremost scientist, she begins to realize the enormous opportunities that spirituality offers which are out of reach of scientific procedures. Though she does not reject science in its entirety, Gabrielle also contends that spirituality (Santeria) cannot be rejected due to its lack of scientific validity. She believes there are realities which defy scientific explanations, while science can also complement spirituality, hence the imperativeness of synthesizing the two domains for effective health care delivery and betterment of humanity. Gabrielle, however, struggles with herself for a long time before discovering this.

Benito embodies an uncompromising materialist-scientist. His background in science continues to blind him to realities of syncretism, even when confronted with the truth of powers that Yorùbá *òrìṣà* wield over nature and cosmos. Gabrielle describes his countenance during her *ita*, after Òṣun reveals that she will give birth to twins – a boy and a girl:

Now that fear in my eyes turned to panic as my head whipped around and I locked eyes with Benito. At first, his eyes held a look of shock. He believed in the prediction – for a split

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<sup>21</sup>The Yorùbá river goddess highly revered in Santeria.

second. Then, I saw him “come to his senses,” his rational mind visibly taking charge. He shrugged his shoulders and arched an eyebrow, silently saying to me, “We’ll just have to wait and see.” Ever the skeptic and scientist, he would keep an open, detached mind. (Lazo, 2008, p. 298)

Gabrielle’s doctor, too, fits into this character typology. Apparently for having her diagnosis proved wrong, she gets upset. She has earlier diagnosed Gabrielle with a half uterus, noting that that is the cause of Gabrielle’s inability to conceive. When it is later discovered that Gabrielle has two fetuses in her, she wonders its realness, considering the fact that it is medically impossible, hence the reason she is upset. Gabrielle notes that: “My doctor tried not to show that she was upset that a woman with half a uterus was carrying two fetuses” (Lazo, 2008, p. 305). Either angry or not at having her professional expertise proved wrong by the revelation of her patient having two fetuses in her, Gabrielle has got what she wants, and for the first time in her life, she is not going to have a miscarriage. Through the help of Yemanya,<sup>22</sup> her patron goddess; Òṣun, the goddess of motherhood, and a series of spiritual cleansing she has undergone, Gabrielle’s cycle of marital woes and child-bearing frustrations is broken. This cannot be explained scientifically; these events are beyond the grasp of science.

Besides, her marriage seems to have been restored having won back the heart of her husband, who has earlier expressed reservation over Gabrielle’s initiation into Santeria. Her rival at San Francisco State University, Matt Flueger, has withdrawn his services from the university to another. Gabrielle has seen in one of her dreams how “Yemanya” kisses the wily, racist academic (Flueger), indicating that the goddess has fought on her behalf. Her “hatred” or possibly fear of science, ever since Santeria creeps into her life, appears to have compelled her to resign her appointment and

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<sup>22</sup>The Yorùbá in Africa spell it Yemoja. Yemoja is the name of the Yorùbá goddess of the ocean and patron goddess of pregnant women.

possibly take over another job. However, taking a bed rest at home due to her pregnancy and getting more involved in Santeria does not mean she has abandoned science for good, or possibly she has seen in Santeria solutions to all her medical and spiritual problems. As a matter of fact, she still sees her gynecologist. *Òrìṣà*, too, has alerted her to the possibility of her getting breast cancer during her life reading with a piece of advice that she should see a doctor, and with the assurance that she will not die from it. The syncretic tenor of the text is further punctuated by the foregoing and science-spirituality synthesis that Lazo advocates. To Irete Lazo, the world will become a better place when no ideology, race, religion, belief, or a given system of knowledge (religious, political, economic, racial) hegemonizes itself or lords itself over another. This possibility explains the thrust of Santeria and other African-based religions in the New World.

## Conclusion

This article has examined the possibility of conflating science and spirituality, leveraging the resultant harmony between the disciplines for the benefit of humanity. It argues that Lazo's *The Accidental Santera* sets the tone aright for a rigorous debate of the age-long antipodal science-spirituality relationship. While the debate is considered unnecessary by some historians and philosophers of science, Lazo's text helps to reinforce the relevance of the debate by giving prominence to it in her *faction*. The debate is important because it provides an opportunity to narrate the efficacy of spirituality to solve human problems that appear to be out of reach of science and narrate her chance encounter with the religion of her progenitors. It also provides her an opportunity to define her identity in a tensely racialized American society, and establish contact with her ancestral roots. Lazo succeeds in weaving together a tapestry of events punctuating her *faction*, such as her experience as a scientist of note, career trajectories, marital problems, and her exploration of Afro-Cuban religious code to overcome her existential challenges. Using authorial voice, she unfolds her interiority to accentuate her advocacy on the construction of hybridity between science and spirituality for greater efficiency to humanity. Through the



novel, Lazo reconstructs a new order of syncretism or hybridity between two knowledge fields hitherto considered mutually exclusive to each other, maintaining that rather than emphasizing the age-long conflict between the domains of science and spirituality, both can share knowledge from each other. Her major concern is that instead of science pushing spirituality to the margins because it lacks deductive materialist principles, it should rather explore those enduring features that abound in it, while they jointly name reality and solve human problems.

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## THE ISSUE OF MARRIAGE IN JANE AUSTEN'S *EMMA*

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### **Abstract**

This article examines the issue of marriage in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Jane Austen's *Emma*. The article focuses on the issue of marriage in Victorian England in general illustrated with the marriages in the novel. Emma, the protagonist, gets involved in matchmaking while, at the same time, believing that she will never get married. Furthermore, the article aims to discuss the views, status and condition of the woman in family and marriage during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and to show how Jane Austen represents these views in the novel.

**Keywords:** Austen; marriage; family; choice; dependency; Victorian England, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

## Introduction

Firstly, we could start with the fact that women in Victorian England were supposed to get married, obey their husbands, be in charge of their homes as well as take care of children besides being ideal women both on the inside and on the outside. All in all, they needed to be “an Angel in the House” (Showalter, 1978, p. 14). Domestic chores for women without servants meant a great deal of washing and cleaning. They would usually wash the clothes and sheets once a week, whereas the curtains, which would turn black because of coal smoke, would be washed every other week (Horowitz, 1982, pp. 177-179).

Secondly, many women did not have a choice about a partner because it would meet the disapproval of the family, and it meant financial insecurity (since, naturally, the partner chosen by the family was “the best choice” for their daughter, and for the family as well – mainly financially). What is also important to emphasize here is that the young women of that time could not get a proper education, putting them in an inferior position and forcing them to obey men all their lives (fathers, brothers, husbands, etc.) because they did not have an independent financial means, among other things. A wealthy widow or spinster was a lucky exception. A woman who stayed single had to face social disapproval and pity. It was socially unacceptable as well to have a partner, let alone children, outside of marriage. All in all, as we can see, the woman’s only purpose in life was to marry and have children.

Thirdly, a woman could not obtain a divorce, even if she lived in the worst possible marriage, while men could get it – which clearly indicates the moral inequality of that time. What is more, if women had showed any signs of self-awareness, they would have been harshly sanctioned by the male members of the family. Divorce was difficult to obtain; the only acceptable reason for divorce was adultery, and even then it was a valid reason only for

a man. A woman could use adultery as an excuse to divorce her husband; however, she had to supplement it with evidence proving her husband engaged in incest, bigamy, or excessive cruelty. Even though this was a clear double standard, the reason for something like this was as follows: men were supposed to take care of their wives, and thus their fidelity was not as important and as terrible as that of a woman; if women, on the other hand, had been caught cheating, this would have been interpreted as them not respecting the care they were provided with by their husbands. However, things started to change in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in terms of giving women more rights to get a divorce as well as to gain custody of their children, especially with the introduction of the *Custody of Infants Act* (1838 and 1873) as well as the *Matrimonial Causes Act* (1890) (Hurvitz, "Women and Divorce in the Victorian Era", n.d.).

As we can see, the woman in the nineteenth century was clearly dependent on her father and, logically, on her husband once she got married. Getting married was also a necessity for a woman to survive at all since women were deprived of proper education. Consequently, they could not have careers as such, and would not have been able to provide for themselves, had they stayed single, or without any male members of their families. Another point worth mentioning here is how women were not equal to men in the eyes of the law of that time. It was much more difficult for a woman to get divorced than for a man. What is more, even when she did decide to get divorced, the consequences of such an act were extremely harsh on her.

Fernando (1977), when talking about George Eliot, states that she makes some nice distinctions. The woman is not all feeling; she herself must find a union of the two perceptions within her. Women, by virtue of their sex, can play an important role in the progress of the human race, since they are naturally gifted with more feelings and emotions, which have been thought to be more intellectually and morally valuable. Eliot never believed that

men's and women's interests and pursuits needed to be similar, or that women needed to change their personalities to fit the male pattern. At the same time, Eliot was aware of the difficulties of setting out a conception of a woman's place in such a way and of giving it such importance (pp. 30-31). Furthermore, the woman had to accept all the baggage of her marriage, even if it meant that she would be unhappy for the rest of her life, and getting divorced was not going to make her feel happy again (p. 51).

## Discussion

When it comes to *Emma*, it is interesting to consider to what extent Austen accepts or questions the idea that marriage represents a woman's maturity and fulfilment of identity in life – the same identity that men have in a patriarchal society. *Emma* revolves around a number of marriages, which are all recently anticipated or consummated, and in which the participants' social status is definitely more important than their mutual affection and relationship. In Austen's time, marriage was one of the main ways by which one could climb the social ladder. Marriage was determined by a combination of family background, reputation, and wealth. Women were denied a chance of improving their social status through their hard work or personal achievements, so marriage was the method of social advancement that was of the utmost significance to women.

Although the novel is narrated by the third person narrator, Austen often lets us see things from Emma's point of view and describes them in the language used by Emma. The result of this kind of narration is a complex mixture of the sympathy for Emma and the ironic judgement of her behaviour. The reader does not always find it easy to share Emma's points of view or to disagree with them. It is also not clear whether Austen expects us to judge Emma's behaviour at all. Even though the reader may be faced with some problems of interpretation, the style of narration makes Emma a

richly multi-dimensional character. It becomes even more obvious thanks to the implicit distinctions made between her and the other women in the novel and the context of the novel as well. Jane Fairfax and Emma are very similar to each other in many ways; they are intelligent, educated and very dedicated to their families, but Jane Fairfax is not financially independent or privileged like Emma. Mrs. Elton, just like Emma, is independent and imposes her will upon her friends, but her crudeness and vanity reinforce our sense of Emma's refinement and fundamentally good heart. Emma's sister, Isabella, is a typical young woman of her time – feminine, gentle, completely devoted to her family, dependant, and not very bright. The novel clearly favors Emma's independence and intelligence over her sister's more traditional manners and behaviour, but the paradox still remains that though Emma is clever, she is almost always mistaken. Emma is eventually "ashamed of every sensation but the one revealed to her – her affection for Mr. Knightley. Every other part of her is disgusting" (Gilbert & Gubar, 1979, p. 159).

Austen does not have any problems pointing out all the great characteristics of her heroines as well as all their weaknesses. She likes her heroines, but she does not make them perfect because she is aware of the fact that nobody is perfect and neither are her heroines. This is what makes Austen's characters so realistic. Another equally important point is that Austen allows her main female characters to regret some of their decisions, to feel sorry for making the mistakes they make, and in doing so, she makes them human with all their imperfections. So, Austen allows them to learn from their mistakes, to try to polish their imperfections, and to seek the ideal of perfection. Austen knows it is not an easy task, especially because her heroines live in a world dominated by men, and to achieve something, anything for that matter, they have to work twice as hard as their male counterparts. Mr. Knightley nicely explains the difference between Emma and her sister Isabella, but also, and more importantly, tells us more about Emma herself when he says the following:



[...] Emma is spoilt by being the cleverest in her family. At ten years old, she had the misfortune of being able to answer questions which puzzled her sister at seventeen. She was always quick and assured; Isabella slow and diffident. And ever since she was twelve, Emma has been mistress of the house and of you all. In her mother, she lost the only person able to cope with her. She inherits her mother's talents, and must have been under subjection to her. (Austen, 1993, p. 629)

What we witness here is the way Mr. Knightley admires Emma, her intelligence, talent, and skills, but, at the same time, by putting her mother forward as Emma's role model and influence in life, he admires Mrs. Woodhouse as well. When talking about these two ladies, he actually admires capable and strong women in general. The strongest influence on Emma could easily be her father, but Austen chooses Mrs. Woodhouse on purpose to show us the importance of the female influence and strength.

Despite the fact that Emma gets involved in matchmaking all the time, she neither has nor shows any intentions of wanting to get married. Mr. Knightley makes a good observation:

She always declares she will never marry, which, of course, means nothing at all. But I have no idea that she has yet ever seen a man she cared for. It would not be a bad thing for her to be very much in love with a proper object. I should like to see Emma in love, and in some doubt of a return; it would do her good. But there is nobody hereabouts to attach her, and she goes so seldom from house. (p. 631)

The novel suggests that marrying too far above oneself leads to difficulties and troubles. For instance, Mr. Weston's first marriage to Miss Churchill is a good move for him because she comes from a wealthy, well-connected

family. Mr. Weston is a tradesman who becomes engaged in trade after he quits his job in the militia of his country, but the inequality of the relationship is hard for both of them.

Captain Weston was a general favourite; and then his military life had introduced him to Miss Churchill, of a great Yorkshire family, and Miss Churchill fell in love with him, nobody was surprised, except her brother and his wife, who had never seen him, and who were full of pride and importance, which the connection would offend. Miss Churchill, however, being of age, and with the full command of her fortune – though her fortune bore no proportion to the family estate, was not to be dissuaded from the marriage, and it took place, to the infinite mortification of Mr. and Mrs. Churchill, who threw her off with due decorum. It was an unsuitable connection, and did not produce much happiness. (p. 618)

Mr. Weston marries Mrs. Weston just before the end of the novel, and this second marriage is happier because their social statuses are more equal. Mrs. Weston is a governess, and as such is very fortunate because she does not have to work any longer thanks to her marriage.

The other characters, especially Mr. Knightley, also find Emma's attempt to match Harriet with Mr. Elton inappropriate. Since Harriet's parentage is unknown, Emma believes that Harriet may have noble blood and encourages her to reject Robert Martin, who turns out to be a more appropriate match for her in the end. Mr. Knightley's objection to the match of Harriet and Mr. Elton is loud and clear. He states that Harriet is inferior to Mr. Elton, bearing in mind the fact that nobody knows who her parents are, she is not extremely intelligent and has not learnt anything useful nor gained any important experience. The only thing that can be considered an advantage

of hers is the fact that she is pretty and good-tempered and nothing else. Hence, in Mr. Knightley's opinion, it is Harriet who will benefit from this match, not Mr. Elton, and this is exactly why Robert Martin is a perfect match for Harriet.

The advantage of the match I felt to be all on her side, and had not the smallest doubt (nor have I now) that there would be a general cry out upon her extreme good luck. Even your satisfaction I made sure of. It crossed my mind immediately that you would regret your friend's leaving Highbury, for the sake of her being settled so well. I remember saying to myself: "Even Emma, with all her partiality for Harriet, will think this a good match" (p. 641).

When the truth is revealed that Harriet is a tradesman's daughter, Emma has to admit that Mr. Martin is definitely a more suitable match for her friend. The relationship between marriage and social status is complicated for some other characters as well. Frank Churchill must not announce his engagement to the orphan Jane Fairfax, knowing that his rich aunt will disagree with his decision. As a result, Jane is forced to consider taking the position of a governess. Mr. Weston makes a fine observation of Frank Churchill's aunt's character:

Mr. Churchill has pride; but his pride is nothing to his wife's; he is a quiet, indolent, gentlemanlike sort of pride, that would harm nobody, and only make himself a little helpless and tiresome; but her pride is arrogance and insolence. And what inclines one less to bear, she has no fair pretence of family or blood. She was nobody when he married her, barely the daughter of a gentleman, but ever since her being turned into a Churchill, she has out-Churchill'd them all in high and mighty claims; but in herself, I assure you, she is an upstart. (pp. 765-766).

From the quotation, we can understand that Mrs. Churchill has to thank her marriage for everything she has. She has benefited from getting married to Mr. Churchill since she does not have any special family background. However, what is of significance to us here is that she feels free to order people around and to say who is to do what and how especially in terms of getting married. She has no right to forbid Frank to marry Jane Fairfax, especially to object to it because of Jane's background, since she is not in a better position herself. What makes it even worse is the fact that Jane Fairfax is an educated, smart, young woman with good manners, who would make a perfect wife for Frank Churchill. Another point worth looking at is how Mrs. Churchill becomes "a bigger and better Churchill" than all the other members of the family, which makes us realize how important this marriage is to her and her social status.

In the Victorian era, on the other hand, life was not easy for an unmarried girl. She was forced to marry because marriage was considered a means that not only gave her identity but also enabled her to manage financially in life. An unmarried middle or lower-class girl, who did not inherit anything nor had any financial means to support herself, could only become a nun or prostitute later in life. In *Emma*, the unmarried Miss Bates has to face the threat of living in poverty without a husband who would take care of her and her mother. Mrs. Bates is an elderly lady who is the widow of the former vicar of Highbury. She lives with a daughter who is "neither young, handsome, rich, nor married" (p. 621). She is taking care of her old mother, and due to her good nature, nobody speaks badly about her. Miss Bates is interested in everybody's happiness and does not pay too much attention to people's weaknesses. She simply loves people. "The simplicity and cheerfulness of her nature, her contented and grateful spirit, were a recommendation to everybody, and a mind of felicity to herself. She was a great talker upon little matters, which exactly suited Mr. Woodhouse, full of trivial communications and harmless gossip" (p. 621).

However, the conversation between Emma and Harriet clearly shows Emma's views on Miss Bates in particular, and marriage in general, with a special reference to the difference between poor girls or young women who stay single and unmarried and wealthy girls or young women who stay single or unmarried in the Victorian society. The latter, of course, have a choice, as Emma nicely explains, due to the fact *per se* that their wealth enables them to lead a normal life, without being looked at as outcasts, while those poor, unmarried young women are usually rejected by society as being outcasts, considered to be "not normal", simply because they are not fortunate enough to find suitable husbands for themselves. Emma says:

Never mind, Harriet. I shall not be a poor old maid; and it is poverty only which makes celibacy contemptible to a generous public! A single woman with a very narrow income must be a ridiculous, disagreeable old maid – the proper sport of boys and girls, but a single woman of good fortune is always respectable, and may be as sensible and pleasant as anybody else! And the distinction is not quite so much against the candour and common-sense of the world as appears at first; for a very narrow income has a tendency to contract the mind, and sour the temper. Those who can barely live, and who live perforce in a very small and, generally, very inferior society, may well be illiberal and cross. This does not apply, however, to Miss Bates: she's only too good-natured and too silly to suit me; but, in general, she is very much to the taste of everybody, though single and though poor. Poverty certainly has not contracted her mind: I really believe, if she had only a shilling in the world, she would be very likely to give sixpence of it; and nobody is afraid of her; that is a great charm. (p. 654)

Finally, the match between Emma and Mr. Knightley is considered a good one, not only because her characters are similar, but also, and maybe even more importantly because they come from the same social class. The very descriptions of Emma and Mr. Knightley give us an insight into many of their similarities both in terms of their characters as well as their social class. In the novel, Austen describes Emma as follows: “EMMA WOODHOUSE, handsome, clever, and rich, with a comfortable home and happy disposition, seemed to unite some of the best blessings of existence; and had lived nearly twenty-one years in the world with very little to distress or vex her” (p. 613).

Austen describes Mr. Knightley in the following way:

Mr. Knightley, a sensible man about seven or eight and thirty, was not only a very old and intimate friend of the family, but particularly connected with it, as the older brother of Isabella's husband. He lived about a mile from Highbury, was a frequent visitor, and always welcome, and at this time more welcome than usual, as coming directly from their mutual connections in London. He had returned to a late dinner after some days' absence, and now walked up to Hartfield to say that all were well in Brunswick Square. It was a happy circumstance, and animated Mr. Woodhouse for some time. Mr. Knightley had a cheerful manner, which always did him good; and his many inquires after “poor Isabella” and her children were answered most satisfactorily. (p. 615)

As it can be observed and concluded from the two descriptions, Emma and Mr. Knightley indeed share a lot of similarities. Both of them are clever, good-looking and rich. They also have mutual relatives, friends, and connections. Isabella, Emma's sister, is married to Mr. Knightley's brother,

which makes them even closer friends and more attached to each other because of Mr. Knightley's frequent visits to the Woodhouse mansion. All these previously mentioned things make the match between Emma and Mr. Knightley seem naturally suitable and absolutely logical.

Moffat (1991) discusses the issue of marriage and the genre of *Emma* and states the following: "Our difficulties with *Emma* reside in part in the resolution of the plot, her marriage to Knightley. These really comprise two problems: marriage itself and marriage specifically to Knightley" (p. 51). She argues that Knightley's suitability as a lover is an open-end question throughout the whole novel and that it is comical to observe his shift from mentor to lover. Bearing in mind the age difference between Emma and him, we also recognize the incest taboo in the novel, acknowledging that Knightley could be Emma's father in terms of the age difference between the two of them (pp. 53-54).

Furthermore, Moffat (1991) asks if Emma had to get married, or if her correction could have happened in some other way. The issue at hand here is that Austen usually has a male counterpart to her main female character, and all the flaws of the main female character are pointed out to her or to the reader by her male counterpart in the novel. Interestingly enough, in *Emma*, Austen not only lets Mr. Knightley criticize Emma, but the narrator does it as well. As a result, it feels like Emma needs to be criticized or preached to twice as much as any other Austen's heroine. The narrator in *Emma* is used to direct readers to come to conclusions that might affect their actions in the real world. The power that the narrator possesses is translated from the fictional world to our world. So, it can be argued that *Emma*, in terms of its structure, is written in the form of *bildungsroman* (pp. 53-55).

Apart from the issue of marriage, the novel also describes the nature of a woman's existence in eighteenth-century rural England, Emma is highly intelligent and full of energy, but she uses her intelligence and energy to guide the marital destinies of her friends. This project of hers gets her into a lot of trouble. Isabella is the only mother the story focuses on, and her description suggests that the life of a mother gives a woman little use of her intellect. For example, Mr. Knightley refers to her as "poor Isabella", most probably because her life revolves only around her children and family. The novel is focused on marriage because marriage offers women a chance to exert their power, even if only occasionally and to some extent, and to affect their own lives and destinies without having to adopt the work and efforts, or even the lifestyle, of the working class. Accepting or rejecting proposals of marriage is perhaps the most active role women are allowed to play in Emma's world. To illustrate what has been said, let's look at the following conversation between Emma and Mr. Woodhouse about Miss Taylor:

(Mr. Woodhouse) "Poor Miss Taylor! I wish she were here again. What a pity it is that Mr. Weston ever thought of her!"

(Emma) "I cannot agree with you, papa; you know I cannot. Mr. Weston is such a good-humoured, pleasant, excellent man, that he thoroughly deserves a good wife; and you would not have had Miss Taylor live with us forever, and bear all my odd humour, when she might have a house of her own?" (p. 614).

Unlike Marianne in *Sense and Sensibility* and Elizabeth in *Pride and Prejudice*, Emma Woodhouse's problems in *Emma* mostly lie in the fact that she is unable to understand her own personal flaws. During her matchmaking debacle between Mr. Elton and Harriet, Emma does not understand – or even accept – the fact that she is not the right person to completely understand the human personality; she does not even understand her personality



and is blind to her own mistakes for that matter. This leads to Mr. Elton admitting that he is actually in love with Emma, not Harriet. However, this does not change Emma at all. The moment that completely changes Emma occurs when Mr. Knightley expresses his discontent with Emma's cruelty that she expresses towards Miss Bates. This moment of self-discovery is followed by Emma's continuous efforts to change herself in all the ways possible.

The misunderstandings in the novel are all the result of the conventions of social propriety to which all the characters are subjected. The characters are unable to express their feelings directly and openly because of the social pressure, norms and moral values, which construct Victorian society and its culture, and, as a result, their feelings are misunderstood. Austen seems to prefer Knightley and Martin's tactfulness to the sometimes ironic, cynical and sarcastic comments of Emma, Mr. Elton and Frank. However, they have a major influence on the story as a whole. The conversation between Emma and Mr. Knightley seems to be a valid example of what has just been stated:

“Pray Mr. Knightley,” said Emma who had been smiling to herself through a great part of this speech, “how do you know that Mr. Martin did not speak yesterday?”

“Certainly,” replied he, surprised, “I do not absolutely know it, but it may be inferred. Was not she the whole day with you?”  
(p. 640)

Obviously, Emma enjoys knowing more or being better informed than her male counterparts. This gives her the joy of feeling superior to them by showing them that they do not possess the knowledge she does, and she feels needed at the same time, which generally makes her feel good about herself.

In Victorian England, men were dominant and were in charge of all important work, while the role of the woman was quite minor, and was mostly concentrated on doing housework and ensuring the right upbringing of children. Thus, women would get married very young, mostly by the choice of their parents, or sometimes and rarely to the man of their own choice, if they were lucky enough.

Austen's most important works are about young women who want to marry and go through a lot of troubles on their journey to achieving their goals. However, she herself never got married. Her relationship with Tom Lefroy broke up due to the circumstances in her life which were beyond her control, such as her finances, family background, and many other things. She also decided to reject her only potential suitor, and the one that proposed to her, Harris Bigg-Wither, because she would not ignore her feelings (Tomalin, 1997). What is also important is that she, as an early feminist, paid much more attention to one's personal independence, as it can be seen in all her works; all her protagonists are women who have dominant roles in her novels, and Austen conveys all her important messages by using different satirical devices (irony, humor, exaggeration, to name just a few), which are all the tools used by feminist writers.

Brown (1969) states that the didactic and sentimental tradition of eighteenth-century fiction has been well documented, and so has Jane Austen's parody of that tradition. Given Austen's preference for the realistic possibilities of fiction, and given the opposing standards of some reviewers and readers, she is left with the problem of how to conclude her story without sacrificing her comic view of reality to the rigid canons of poetic justice. She solves the problem by applying her moral judgement so that the characters and narrative details convey the relevant moral values as much as they embody a vision of life and reality. In *Emma*, for example, the resolution of the plot and themes does not depend on the celebration of marriage.

The crucial resolution is the process of Emma's development. It is Austen's conclusion that we must look for her reaction to the didacticism and sentimentality of the "happy ending", since the mocking self-consciousness of these essentially comic conclusions evokes a contrast between a literary convention and a novelist's preoccupation with reality. Moreover, this parody of a "hackneyed artifice" is supplemented by Austen's insistence on the kind of ending that is logically consistent with her characters and narrative. In *Emma*, where this kind of formal and self-conscious conclusion is absent, there is an implied contrast between the actual outcome and the conclusion envisaged by Emma in her earlier misinterpretations of characters and situations (pp. 1582-1583).

Throughout the novel, Emma realizes her own self-centeredness and admits that it is wrong to take an active part in bringing any two people together. At the end, she feels ashamed and very worried about what she has done and decides to never do it again. What Austen does here is let us see the good qualities of being oneself, but also the bad qualities that come with it. She also lets Emma change the weakness of her character, but does not compromise her for who she really is.

When the reader reads *Emma* and compares the plot with Austen's life, it is very obvious that Austen put a part of herself into the character of Emma. Like Austen herself, Emma is absolutely sure she will never marry because of the issue of independence, which is very much blocked by husbands in traditional societies. In this respect, Emma becomes a spokeswoman for Austen's feelings. However, Austen stayed single all her life, while Emma gets married at the end of the novel (Tomalin, 1997).

Gilbert and Gubar (1979) describe Emma, or to be more precise Austen's "avatar" as they call her, as someone who "manipulates people as if they were characters in her own stories" (p. 158). Emma gets involved in match-

making and stories of romance that she smartly resists in her own life. However, Emma does it out of boredom, and it is understandable why she does it – since she is an intelligent and imaginative girl who is capable of changing and willing to transform her dull reality into something more entertaining. She is also capable of figuring out people's personalities quite fast, even without getting to know them too well.

Showalter (1978) states a very interesting thing about the “the dangerous woman” whose resemblance to Emma is striking: “The dangerous woman is not the rebel or the bluestocking, but “the pretty girl” whose indoctrination in the female role has taught her secrecy and deceitfulness, almost as secondary sex characteristics. She is particularly dangerous because she looks so innocent” (p. 165). This goes to show that being a rebel is not the only way to be dangerous, but that deceitfulness and secrecy of innocent-looking young girls are even more dangerous. It is because we know exactly what to expect from rebels and how to deal with them, but we are not usually careful enough and do not pay too much attention to people, in this case women, who look innocent and unable to hurt anyone or anything. These women can change themselves, people around them, and even whole societies, and their deceitfulness, secrecy, and innocent looks are the tools they use to achieve their goals.

As we mentioned earlier, marriage is the main theme in almost all of Austen's works. What we need to understand here is how Austen uses marriage as a theme and the tone in her works. Marriage is always seen through the main female character's point of view – Elizabeth Bennet's in *Pride and Prejudice*, Marianne Dashwood's in *Sense and Sensibility*, and Emma's in *Emma*.

What we also need to notice here is that Austen is very ironic in the way she wants to get her messages across as to the role, status and condition of the

woman in the Victorian era. This is exactly the reason why her works are so popular all around the world and have remained popular for so long after her death. So, the question is: why did she use irony? She used irony to convey messages to the people of her time. She would do this by introducing an unexpected event into the plot to direct her readers to the message she wanted to convey. By using irony, Austen chose to direct her readers to the main message in her stories because of the “controversial” topics she portrayed in her novels, such as the rejection of marriage, a girl not wanting to get married at all, or even the female dominance in general. Furthermore, she uses comedy of manners as another segment of the tone of the novel in order to describe different characters, and to portray people’s characteristics (usually those negative ones) through it (Bradbury, 1962, pp. 86-87).

Since Austen was not just an author but also a critic (she criticized the social hierarchies of the time, gender roles, marriage and/or the behaviour of the wealthy), she was able to present her point of view to the reader in a more appealing way. She managed to portray her female characters in a dominant position, and the public did not seem to mind, object or take offense. Or if so, it was at a very low level. Austen’s women are strong, independent and ambitious, and they still manage to keep their reputations spotless, just like Austen was and did during her own life.

Austen is often derided because of her reputation of only writing about young women whose sole interest in life is to get married. However, this is not true. She wrote about relationships between men and women, and different problems women faced in her day, and she included some scathing criticism of society – especially as it affected women.

Bradbury (1962), when talking about *Emma*, also states that the whole novel is centred around the social and family life of that time. Austen is the author whose novels are about common people and common life – the

people and life she knows well. Obviously, marriage plays a vital role in her novels, so a lot of commentaries and moral discussions are about trying to define a good marriage (or the conditions of a good marriage), and then contrasting it to all the other marriages in the novel. "But marriage is a social pact, and so must answer to the public dimension. The general expectations of this book are that people will make the marriages they deserve, and that the climax will be Emma's marriage, made when she has answered to her faults and resolved her dilemmas" (p. 83). This goes back to the fact that Emma is criticized twice as much as the other Austen's heroines and that she has to come to terms with, accept and acknowledge all her flaws before she marries Mr. Knightley. The end, indeed, puts an end to Emma's flaws and leads her to self-realization, and Austen, obviously, wants to finish her novel with a sort of a happy end; however, the question remains if this end is ideal for Emma herself.

### **Conclusion**

Despite the fact that most of Austen's characters do want to marry, they always want to choose their own life partners and marry for love, which is something that was unthinkable (or hardly so) during Austen's lifetime. For example, Elizabeth Bennet (*Pride and Prejudice*) will stay dependent on her family or at the mercy of Mr. Collins, who will inherit the Bennet family house if she does not marry him, still decides not to marry him because she can only get married to someone she will love with all her heart and soul. Elizabeth is very intelligent; however, she is not the only smart female who has this strong feminine notion about marrying for love rather than for someone's wealth or inheritance.

What we can observe here is Austen breaking some ground rules of the laws and social norms and standards of her time and culture, which leads us to think that this can be interpreted as a sign of feminism in her works.

Although she criticized the social conduct of her time and culture, Austen was never an activist because she did not want to destroy the reputation and good name of her family. However, what perhaps can be looked at and discussed is the fact that maybe Austen was a forerunner of feminism, especially in terms of her literary corpus.

What we have to acknowledge is that without the Box Hill episode, in which Emma is severely and openly criticized by Mr. Knightley that helps her progress to her self-realization, this novel would not be as important today (Moore, 1969, p. 585). At the same time, the theme of dependency is depicted by using different characters, their lives and life stories. Frank Churchill and Harriet derive from the goodwill of others the status which is usually given or ensured by birth. Miss Bates and Mr. Woodhouse exemplify the reliance of age on youth. Mrs. Weston and Jane Fairfax must obtain the support of others to preserve their gentility. Finally, Emma, who believes to be independent of all dependent needs, cultivates a society of individuals of whom this is obviously not true.

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## INCOME INEQUALITY IN TODAY'S CUBA FIELD RESEARCH ON THE CUBAN PEOPLE'S QUALITY OF LIFE AND INCOME STRUCTURE

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### Abstract

Cuba has been a significant player in international and regional politics for a long while, particularly compared to its size. However, reliable data on the standard of living of its society is scarce. The literature review reflects how the Cuban state manipulated certain data forwarded to international organisations. Our objective was to implement field research and gain primary data on Cubans' quality of life and income structure that could help to identify the extent of income inequality among the different demographic clusters in the country. We used individual questionnaires, as well as descriptive, frequency and inferential statistics. The results show varying income inequalities among the different demographic clusters and a “perverse effect” in income distribution, leading to the formation of a “parasite” stratum in Cuban society.

**Keywords:** Cuba, field research, income inequality, income structure, quality of life, standard of living

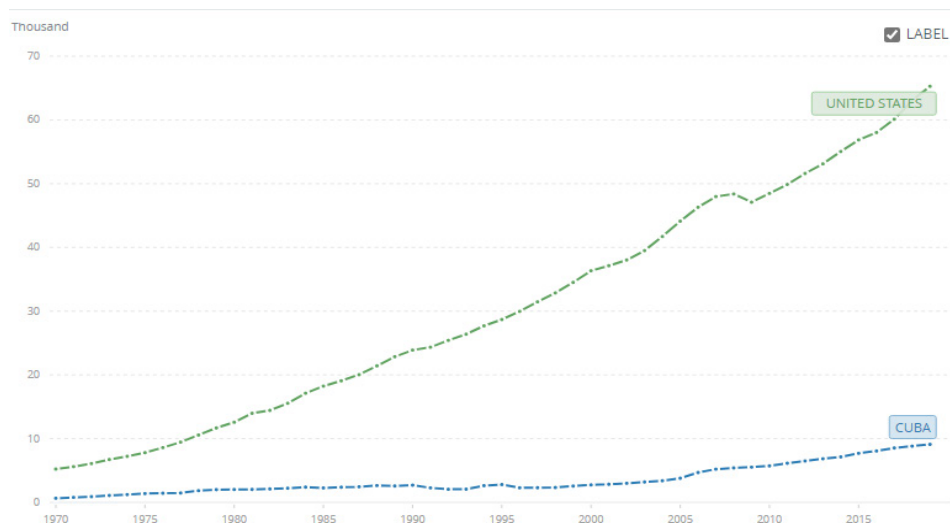
## Introduction

Throughout its history, Latin America has seen inequalities between different groups of people. As for the standards of living and inequalities in 20<sup>th</sup> century Latin America, datasets and analyses are available. By 2000, illiteracy in the region reached proportions between 5 and 20%, while life expectancy was estimated between 60 and 70 years (Kingstone, 2018). Meanwhile, in terms of economic performance, measured in GDP per capita, the region has been falling behind the United States. The convergence process in the region is very slow, compared to the countries of the European Union (Bernardelli et al., 2021). However, unlike economic performance, data on the quality of life show significant convergence. The most intensive period of catching up, both in terms of economic performance and quality of life, was in the period 1940-1970, marked by state-led import substitution industrialisation and the exponential increase of the urban population in the region (Kingstone, 2018). Nonetheless, factors impacting the quality of life, such as developments in the health and the education sector, depended more on the levels of urbanisation and state intervention than on the fiscal and industrial structure of the country (Astroga et al., 2005).

The Gini coefficient shows that the level of income inequality decreased significantly in the region in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, as a possible result of social and welfare policies introduced by political leaders, especially during the “pink tide” (Mesa-Lago, 2015). Even so, the countries of Latin America are second on the ranking of states with the most significant social inequalities, following Africa. According to 2017 data, Brazil, Honduras, Haiti, Guatemala, Paraguay, Colombia and Panama reached a Gini coefficient of 0.5, making these countries part of the 25 least equal societies in the world. For comparison, the worst-performing European country was Lithuania with an index value of 0.374 (The World Bank Group, 2019d). We have to highlight the phenomenon of remittances (incoming unilateral transfers) from family members working abroad. In Latin America, there

are several countries where remittances represent a high share of GDP and indispensable income for certain members of society. The countries with the highest levels, as a percentage of GDP, are El Salvador (21.4%), Honduras (20%), Guatemala (12%) and Nicaragua (11.3%) (CONAPO and BBVA, 2019). The Cuban GDP per capita is in line with the declining trend in other Latin American countries, falling behind the US's economic performance to less than 10.000 USD in 2019 (Figure 1), with a life expectancy of 78.8 years in the same year (World Bank, 2019b). GDP per capita increased by almost 14 times between 1970 and 2019. The data on the remittances of the Cuban people, the income structure, and the standard of living are scarce. It is estimated that remittances from relatives living abroad have increased significantly during the past years, from only 242 million in 1993 to 3.575 billion USD in 2017 (The Havana Consulting Group and Tech, 2017; 2018), which counts as nearly 4% of the Cuban GDP. However, the exact amount cannot be known as there is no registration by any bank or government (Hansing & Orozco, 2014). These data are not counting the income of the Cuban "missions," through which thousands of Cuban teachers, doctors, nurses, and similar occupations working abroad are paid by the Cuban state (Deutsche Welle, 2020). It is estimated that remittances dropped by 15% in 2020 (Economic Survey of Latin America and the Caribbean, 2020). CONAPO and BBVA (2019) highlight that the cost of sending money to Cuba is the highest in the region.

Figure 1. GDP in USD of Cuba and the United States from 1970 to 2019  
(in thousand)



Source: The World Bank (2019a)

The estimated Gini coefficients in Cuba increased from 0.24 in the 1980s to 0.38 in the 1990s (Espina, 2008), and to 0.41 in 1999. It then decreased again to 0.38 in 2005 (Brundenius, 2009).

Cuba has been a significant player in international and regional politics for a long time, especially compared to its size. And yet, there is a scarcity of reliable data that could give an insight into the standard of living of its society: specific data on household income, its structure, and income differences are not even surveyed on national censuses - or at least not published. Therefore, after a review of the scarce but available literature on the topic, we analyse key features of the Cuban economy, the matter of “equality” in practice after the victory of the Cuban Revolution, the dual currency system, income statistics and official versus real incomes. We also implemented field research in Cuba, conducted between December 2018 and January 2019, to gain primary data on Cubans’ quality of life and income structure. This can help to identify the extent to which income inequality exists among the different demographic clusters in the country.

While we mainly aimed to contribute methodologically to the topic, through primary and reliable data, our research also led to theoretical implications. Our results reveal income inequality between the examined clusters in the country, e.g., gender, levels of education, skin colour, and occupation. Moreover, the results explain how these clusters influence the amount of legal and illegal incomes, as well as remittances. Our results not only reinforce some of the former findings on the topic but led us to the supposition that Cuban society today is facing a kind of “perverted” distribution of income, where lower-skilled, or even officially unemployed, people could get a higher monthly income than highly skilled workers.

### **Characteristics of the Cuban Economy**

Cuba became independent from the Spanish crown in 1902 and went through a very eventful half-century until the victory of the revolution in 1959. According to the calculations by Ward and Devereux (2012), Cuba was on the same level as South Carolina or Mississippi in 1929 in terms of development and per capita GDP. In 1920, one-quarter of Latin American capital goods, specifically machinery and equipment, could be found in Cuba. This means that until 1930, the country was home to the highest level of capital investment per capita in the region (Ward & Devereux, 2012).

The country started to copy the communist model in the 1970s, and the expansion of state ownership resulted in a centralised economy. The collapse of the Soviet Union impacted Cuba heavily: in 1990/91, the Cuban economy contracted by 33% (Brundenius, 2009) and the country lost almost 75% of its international trade (Taylor & McGlynn, 2009). During this depression, doctors and lawyers earned salaries of 75 to 100 dollars per month (Calderon, 1995). To survive, the political leadership in Havana needed to give pragmatic responses to the crisis, introducing the “special period” (*Periodo Especial*), in which private companies were allowed to

operate in some two hundred sectors of services and commerce. A limited presence of foreign capital was also permitted, usually in the form of joint ventures (Banco Central de Cuba, 2017). As a result of stabilisation, Fidel Castro decided that the country's economy was strong enough to start the program of "recentralisation" in 2004 (Sweig, 2007). Part of the program saw a parallel introduction of the Convertible Peso (*Peso Cubano Convertible*, CUC) and the Cuban Peso (*Peso Cubano*, CUP), establishing the dual currency system. CUC was pegged to USD 1 to 1 since its introduction. On 1 January 2021, after years of building up, the system was unified (Granma, 2020; Sweig & Bustamante, 2013).

Cuba is a small country (11 million inhabitants) with an underdeveloped industrial sector (accounting for 20% of the GDP), a strong service sector (74.5% of the GDP) and an uncompetitive, low-efficiency agrarian sector (contributing only 5% to the GDP). 17% of the labour force works in the industrial sector, 65% in services, and 18.5% in agriculture. In 1989, Cuba's most important export product was sugarcane, but by 2011 industrial production dropped to 55% of the reference year (Font & Jancsics, 2016). The general academic literature, our field research, and personal experiences all confirm that agriculture and industry both need enormous technological and capital investment to compete on an international level (González Alonso & Lee, 2016; Nagy & Drexler, 2017), which is only possible in the long run and with the involvement of significant foreign capital.

The only Cuban "export product" with considerable competitiveness is tourism, which has been paralysed during the Covid-19 pandemic. Before the pandemic, up until 2019, the number of visitors to the island tended to grow: in 1990, 340.000 tourists visited the island (Kaufmann Purcell, 1991/92), and by 2018, this number went up to 4.75 million (Perelló, 2019), with a predominance of Canadian nationals. The United States would also be an important source of tourists, should the US government ease the trav-

el bans to Cuba, which were mostly reinstated by the Trump administration after lifts by Obama. A charter flight service operated for years between Miami and Havana, which was available for diplomatic, cultural, educational, and religious travels, as well as for family visits. Cruise ships would be another important possibility, but no American-owned cruisers call at Cuban ports. Therefore, Cuba could not reap any benefit from an industry that, until 2019, served 22 million passengers per year and had an economic impact of more than 100 billion USD (Cruise Lines International Association, 2017; Toro, 2015).

All in all, Cuba currently presents the features of a hybrid (state-owned and private) shortage economy (Kornai, 1980), which operates with a combination of legal forms regarding production, ownership, and investment. Cuba is also characterized by a withdrawing “welfare” state and a relative growth of individual freedoms, which coexist with military-run monopolies in strategic industries (Sweig & Bustamante, 2013). The importance of the latter is confirmed by the 87% share of public employment amongst Cuban workers, while in 2019 those working in registered private businesses amounted to 600.000 out of 4.5 million workers (Expansión, 2019).

## Literature Review

Questions of equality or the lack of it in Cuba can be approached through several dimensions: differences between the capital city and the rural areas, origin and skin colour, professional qualification, as well as income levels, consumption patterns, and available healthcare options of specific social groups.

Urban areas hosted half of the population in 1899; in 1957 this number was 57%, which was a high proportion in the Latin American context. The central role of Havana was already obvious in colonial and later in republican times: one-fifth of Cubans used to live in the capital city, which was largely

due to its geographical location, and because it was the most important and best-defended port of the island. The Castro era brought some changes in this regard: by 1990, the other 15 districts had started to catch up with the capital city, but this did not end social differences between urban and rural areas in terms of access to healthcare, education, electricity, a proper sewage system and even drinking water (Díaz-Briquets, 1988).

Cuban society has always attributed importance to origin and skin colour. In theory, the victory of the Revolution ended discrimination based on skin colour because Castro nationalized the economy to eliminate the middle and upper class, as well as absolute poverty of the lower class, which mostly consisted of Afro-Cubans (Mesa-Lago, 2002), who represented almost 50% of the population (Gonzales & McCarthy, 2004). The 1981 census was the first to provide some relevant information regarding demography, which did not change much until the next census in 2002: 10 % of the Cuban population identified as Afro-Cuban, 65% as white, and 25% said to be of mixed origin (de la Fuente, 2011). In reality, the country is still very far from full equality, especially regarding income. The Revolution introduced policies that nationalized education and healthcare, which increased life expectancy and literacy rates (Meso-Lago, 2002) and in the 1980s, the proportion of Afro-Cubans and mulattos with secondary education was higher than the proportion of whites (De la Fuente, 2001). However, by 2001, 15.4% of Afro-Cubans had a lower level of education compared to mulattos (6.1%) and whites (3.6%) (Gonzales & McCarthy, 2004).

It appears to be more relevant to look at the changes in incomes of different social groups to understand inequality in today's Cuba. According to Blue's (2007) survey, 70% of the white, 81% of the mulatto, and 84% of the black population had low-income public-sector jobs in 2000. Only 2% of Afro-Cubans and mulattos respectively were employed in the private sector, compared to 6% of whites (Blue, 2007). Afro-Cubans and mulattos



also rely on more informal and often more ethically compromising forms of income (Roland, 2013). Access to education was practically equal for all groups, which means inequality in education cannot be the reason for these differences. White parts of the population have better access to hard currencies, partly because they make up a larger part of Cubans living abroad than other groups, and partly because Afro-Cubans and mulattos make up only 5% of people who work in tourism (Espina & Rodriguez, 2010). Whites tend to live in nicer homes in tourist-friendly areas. The majority of those who have fled into exile since the rise of the Revolution were white and their (largely) white family members who remained in Cuba are the greatest beneficiaries of foreign remittances, meaning they can improve their homes to subsequently rent them to tourists (Roland, 2013, p. 404). During the 1990s, almost 90% of Cubans who lived abroad were white (Mesa-Lago, 2002). Therefore, remittances are one of the main reasons why income inequality has increased in Cuba. 40% of Cubans living in Havana receive remittances (Fitzgerald et al., 2016). The patterns of inequality in Cuba are visibly marked by race, but also by class and regional aspects. People who receive remittances and have occupations with access to hard currency enjoy a distinct economic advantage (Espina & Ruiz, 2010). Pensioners, the unemployed, those on sick or maternity leave, people employed in the public sector, medical personnel, and teachers were the ones with lower incomes. People who were receiving remittances, among other groups, saw their income increase (Brandenius, 2009).

Consumption in Cuba, unlike income status, is an indicator that is more easily measurable and has been documented. In the 2000s, inflation-adjusted consumption per capita reached 52% of the 1955 level, and in 2007, it approached 72% (Ward & Devereux, 2011). This growth is due to a remarkably low infant mortality rate of 6, which surpasses that in most developing countries, and even that of the United States (Pineo, 2019), and because of free healthcare and education which was outstanding at a regional

and even a global level. Related academic literature calls this phenomenon the “Cuban (Health) Paradox.” The main critics of the Cuban system are Cuban émigré authors, especially from emigrant communities in the United States. Morris (2014) formulates a somewhat leftist criticism of these authors, calling them the “Pittsburgh-Miami axis.” She emphasises that Cuba has indeed overtaken the United States and several member states of the European Union in some indicators measuring the quality of life, which is remarkable given the US embargos and blockades. However, she equally acknowledges the problems of growing social inequality. According to her calculations, the real value of state salaries was less worth in 2014 than in 1990, and those who did not have access to hard currencies (or CUC) had very limited possibilities for the purchase of even basic everyday products. According to Morris (2014), especially pensioners without families were practically bound to live in deep poverty. The best possibilities for earning an income were and are to be found in the grey and black sectors of the economy, above all in Havana, which means the rural population is disadvantaged, except for vacation areas or towns frequented by tourists. The author identified that about half of the population have access to some extra income, either through remittances from relatives abroad or through “creative” approaches at their workplace, i.e., theft or undocumented work. Most members of the state bureaucracy belonged to this group. Those with an even higher living standard make up a very thin layer of society: they are high-ranking state officials and “nouveau-riche” businessmen who obtained their wealth through legal or at least partially legal business activities. Their lifestyles reveal inequalities to everyone; inequalities that would otherwise be invisible. While political party leaders tend to enjoy their wealth in a rather secluded way, businessmen usually make no secret of their wealthy lifestyles. While in 1989, there was a 4.5-times difference between the highest and the lowest salaries, this relatively balanced income distribution became a thing of the past within a decade, especially due to the expansion of tourism – so much so, that by 2002, a waiter’s daily

tips were worth more than the monthly salary of a university professor (Burchardt, 2002).

To examine the livelihood of average people, one needs to understand the Cuban monetary and currency system. Until 1 January 2021, there were two official currencies in circulation: the *Peso Cubano Convertible* (Cuban Convertible Peso, CUC) and the *Peso Cubano* (Cuban Peso, CUP). Apart from these, USD and EUR are commonly used, typically in the form of banknotes. The official and actual exchange rates were not identical: The CUC was worth 24 CUP at official exchange offices while in the “street” the exchange rate for banknotes was 25 CUP. The situation was different for coins: a 25-cent CUC coin was worth 5 CUP when paying on the street, which means 1 CUC was only worth 20 CUP. However, according to the official set international exchange rate, which was also valid for the entrepreneurial sector, 1 CUC equalled 1 USD, which was a fixed exchange rate. At official exchange bureaus, transactions were taxed at 10%, so in reality, 1 USD bought only 0.9 CUC. To further complicate things, the Cuban Bureau of Statistics indicated a 1:1 CUP to USD exchange rate, for example in the yearly reports of the International Labour Organization (ILO). The CUC was phased out from circulation in the first 6 months of 2021, since July 2021 onwards the currency does not exist anymore.

One of the consequences of this dual, or even multiple, currency system is that the yearly reports of the ILO (2019) tend to mention Cuba in the group of “upper-middle” income countries, along with countries such as Brazil, Costa Rica, China, and Mexico. According to the 2016 report of the National Bureau of Statistics and Information, the average wage in Cuba amounted to 740 CUP (Oficina Nacional de Estadística e Información, 2017), which is less than 30 USD according to the official exchange rate. At the same time, the minimum wage was 16,503 kwanzas in Angola and the average salary amounted to 500 USD in 2017 (52.6 USD) (Agência An-

gola Press, 2018; 2019), yet it was categorized as a “lower-middle” income country. This demonstrates the opportunities for manipulation through the dual currency system and the possibility of publishing misleading information even in international statistics and the need to implement field research to uncover the actual situation within the country.

Most of the literature on the subject highlights the important differences between the legal and actual income of Cuban citizens (Escobar & Martinez, 2017; Fitzgerald et al., 2016; Mesa-Lago, 2015; Rapoza, 2016). This is no wonder as it would be virtually impossible to live off the average Cuban wages in a shortage economy (NUMBEO, 2019), since even basic hygiene products, e.g., soap, toothpaste, and food items cannot be bought, or only periodically and after a long queue. The situation has been deteriorating in the wake of the Venezuelan crisis and the subsequent American sanctions (BBC, 2019), not to mention the still immeasurably effects of the COVID-19 crisis. According to Dana (2016), the average monthly income of Cubans is much higher (50 to 100 CUC) than the average wages in the country. The difference between wages and actual income derives from foreign money transfers and income that is obtained illegally, e.g., prostitution, or semi-legally, e.g., street vending.

## **Research Design and Methods**

For our field research in Cuba, we used three primary data collection methods: observations, interviews, and questionnaires. Observations and interviews were conducted with small samples and were conducted on issues of which we wanted to have a deeper understanding. This, however, opens the door to researcher bias. Since this paper wishes to present generalizable research questions and answer the research questions, it also examines the questions from an external perspective. The questionnaire that we finally implemented was suitable for the recording and analysis of big samples,

allowed personal as well as online interaction, and was regularly used to measure certain habits and attitudes (Saunders et al., 2016). In our case, using online questionnaires in December 2018 and January 2019 was not possible due to the low level of internet coverage in Cuba. Cuba legalized private Wi-Fi networks only in July 2019. Only 5% of the population were using these networks, one of the lowest numbers in the world, and they were another privilege of the white population (Kahn, 2015) and of those who could afford high prices or have government authorization, for instance, diplomats (Hansing, 2017). As such, the personal questionnaire remained the only feasible data collection method. It could involve open-, semi-open- and closed-ended questions, depending on the type of expected data. To meet our research objective, we applied close-ended questions that recorded quantitative data or facilitated the quantification of data, both of which contributed to the results' generalisability. When we designed the questionnaire, we drew two similar surveys (Escobar & Martinez, 2017; Fitzgerald et al., 2016). However, it was not possible to use standardised, conventional surveys that are often found in databases to assess household and income data (see for instance Hellwig's (1968) method). We also aimed to formulate questions that could be answered relatively fast, and that would not embarrass an average Cuban citizen. Therefore, our questions covered demography, quality of life with questions of residence, and income structure.

The field research was implemented in Cuba between December 2018 and January 2019 by one of the authors. For the primary data collection, three non-researcher assistants were involved to help record the data. Regarding ethics and due to the topic of our research, we targeted the adult population, aged 15 years and above. The sample minimum was 209 persons, at a 95% confidence level, with a 5% margin of error, in the first year of data collection (2018), on the adult population ( $p=9.500.093$ ) in Cuba ( $N=11.338.145$ ) (Population Pyramid, 2018). Official research requires the

permission of Cuban authorities, which would have prolonged our stay and may have needed more assistants. Moreover, it was not guaranteed that we would receive this permit. Therefore, we conducted a concealed or non-official research. We chose a non-probability sampling technique, snowball sampling (see Saunders et al., 2016) to avoid the unwanted spotlight of Cuban authorities. The team finally gathered a valid, error-cleared, sample of 231 people, more than the sample minimum, which means it was representative. In line with the principles of research ethics, data recording always occurred informally and anonymously, to prevent malfeasance and any mental, psychological, or physical harm to the subjects. Although our data are based on the participants' declarations, we considered anonymity a good enough guarantee of their truthfulness. The questionnaire was designed to gain both categorical, such as gender, highest level of education, place of residence, and numerical data, such as age, number of people living in the same household, and official income. Passing descriptive, frequency and inferential statistics according to the Spearman correlation and analysis of variance was another important factor influencing the design of the questionnaire. To increase the internal validity of the results, while simultaneously minimising researcher bias and errors, the compilation of the codebook, the coding and the analyses were conducted by the other author of the paper.

### *Methodology*

The categorical and numerical data were analysed together. First, histograms with a frequency polygon, and contingency tables were used to evaluate and interpret data coherence. We used several measures of income inequality. The most obvious measure is the coefficient of variation, which shows if the dispersion of income is larger or smaller within a specific group. However, the most frequently used measure is the ratio of the first and fifth quantile, which shows the ratio of total income received by the 20% of the population with the highest income to that of the 20% of the

population with the lowest income (European Commission, 2018). Inferential statistical methods, concerning the type of data, i.e., the Spearman correlation and analysis of variance, were applied to show the relationships between variables, i.e., covariance, cause, and effect, which did not occur alone in the sample. We show data on income in USD for better understanding and comparison.

For the analysis of variance (ANOVA), which requires the comparison of at least three groups, we built one model for each dependent variable (DV), in this case, official legal income, remittances, and illegal income. The independent variables (IV) were ethnic origin, highest level of education, and occupation. However, since Christensen et al. (2015) suggest the use of ANOVA in two groups as well, we also included gender and place of residence as independent variables in the models. We regarded all independent variables as fixed factors in the models. We checked the homogeneity of variance as an assumption of the method using Levene's test. For effect sizes, we calculated partial eta squared. We used the coefficient of correlation to analyse the linear association and strength between the included variables. The Spearman correlation was used to find statistically significant ( $p < .05$ ) correlations among the examined variables.

#### *Primary Data Collection and Preliminary Analysis*

The concealed data collection with the snowball sampling technique led to a representative sample ( $n=231$ ) of the adult Cuban population. The codebook of the personal questionnaire was composed of three main and one additional section in line with the expected type of data: (1) demography, i.e., gender, ethnic origin, age, education, occupation; (2) quality of life, i.e. place, type and ownership of residence; (3) income structure, i.e., official, legal and other, illegal income, remittances; and as an additional category, own immediate calculations, i.e., the sum of incomes, monthly average income.

In the preliminary analysis, numerical data were evaluated by descriptive, and categorical data were evaluated by frequency statistics. There were some variables for which we could not gather data from all subjects, these smaller sample sizes are indicated in brackets. Table 1 shows the descriptive statistics of the analysed variables. While the results on non-income-related variables refer to relatively normal distributions, the values of income-related variables definitely refer to positive-skewed distributions, meaning they refer to significant income inequalities in the sample, where the majority of the interviewees declared a very low and low income, and only a few interviewees declared a very high income.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics: Numerical Data

	<b>N</b>	<b>Min.</b>	<b>Max.</b>	<i>Mean</i>	<b>Std. d.</b>
<i>Age</i>	231	19	96	46.81	18.392
<i>No. of people living in the same household</i>	231	1	9	3.66	1.881
<i>Official, legal income</i>	211	0,00	25,000.00	1,085.5877	2,287.90970
<i>Incoming unilateral transfers (remittances)</i>	31	500.00	5,000.00	1,463.7097	962.41534
<i>Other, illegal income</i>	74	200.00	10,000.00	2,064.2568	1,576.32846
<i>SUM (non-convertible Cuban Peso, CUP)</i>	231	200,00	25.000,00	1.849,3030	2.420,01660
<i>Average monthly income (convertible Peso, CUC; 1 USD = 1 CUC)</i>	231	8,00	1.000,00	73,9721	96,80066

Source: authors' calculations



Table 2 shows the frequency statistics distribution of the respondents in the sample.

Table 2. Frequency Statistics: Categorical Data

<i>Gender</i>	Male	109 (47.2%)
	Female	122 (52.8%)
<i>Ethnic origin</i>	Black (Afro-Cuban)	81 (35.1%)
	Mulatto	109 (47.2%)
	White	41 (17.7%)
<i>Highest level of education</i>	Primary education	41 (17.7%)
	Secondary education (incl. advanced vocational training)	143 (61.9%)
	University	47 (20.4%)
<i>Occupation</i>	Unemployed	22 (9.5%)
	Student	3 (1.3%)
	Public servant	133 (57.6%)
	Entrepreneur	29 (12.6%)
	Pensioner	44 (19%)
<i>Place of residence</i>	Havana and its surroundings	200 (86.6%)
	Countryside	31 (13.4%)
<i>Type of residence</i>	Apartment	80 (34.6%)
	Part of a house	68 (29.4%)
	House (detached)	83 (36%)
<i>Ownership of residence</i>	Rental	7 (3%)
	Own	224 (97%)

Source: authors' calculations

### Main Analysis and Results

We analysed income inequality in Cuba regarding gender, ethnic origin, education, and occupation. An average Cuban citizen represented in the sample legally earned 43 USD worth of Cuban Pesos. Only one in eight respondents received money from abroad and their income could reach the level of the monthly average legal income, 58 USD. Income from other sources,

typically from the grey economy, such as the monetisation of products stolen from the workplace or street vending of handmade products, contributed to the livelihood of one-third of the respondents and represented significant amounts, 83 USD on average. To analyse income inequality, we utilised the most frequently used measures, percentiles, the coefficient of variation and the analysis of correlation, and variance (ANOVA) were used.

### *Measuring Income Inequality*

While the coefficient of variation is the most obvious measure of inequality, comparing shares of total income received by the top and bottom fifth of households in the population is a widely used measure of income (Ehrenberg & Smith, 2016, p. 536). Income inequality in Cuba is reflected by the data. The coefficient of variation for the entire sample is 137%. Using percentiles as a measure of inequality, we find that people in the top fifth of the income distribution received 51.9% of all income, while people in the bottom fifth received only 3.4%. People with an income of 20.6 USD or less were in the 20<sup>th</sup> percentile of the income distribution (33 women and 14 men), while people with an income of 104 USD or more were in the 80<sup>th</sup> percentile (18 women and 29 men). The ratio of earnings of the two groups shows that people in the 80<sup>th</sup> percentile of the income distribution earned 15.2 times more than people in the 20<sup>th</sup>.

Income inequality between genders is present. On average, men earn 1.5 times more (93 USD monthly average) than women (57 USD). When using the coefficient of variation as a measure of income dispersion, we can conclude that inequality is higher among men than among women, as the official income among men ranges between 8.8 USD and 1000 USD and that of women between 8 USD and 422.4 USD. The income ratio between the two quantiles shows that the total income of men in the 80<sup>th</sup> percentile is 12.4 times higher than the income of men in the 20<sup>th</sup> percentile. The ratio is higher for women: The income of women in the 80<sup>th</sup> percentile is 14.6 times higher than that of women in the 20<sup>th</sup> percentile.

On average, white respondents have twice the total income (125 USD) than mulatto (68 USD) or black/Afro-Cuban respondents (57 USD). Income inequality is the highest among white respondents as they earn between 9 and 1000 USD and the coefficient of variation is 150.3%. The analysis of the quantiles shows that the ratio of the average income of the white respondents with the highest income to those with the lowest income is 14.3. Inequality is almost the same among mulattos and Afro-Cubans, as they earn between 8 and 422.4 USD and 8.6 and 344 USD, respectively. The coefficient of variation for the two groups is almost identical (89.7% and 89.4%, respectively). However, the analysis of the quantiles shows that income inequality between the 20% richest and 20% poorest within the mulatto group is higher (14) than within the Afro-Cuban group (10.9). Regarding legal income, white respondents earn 2.4 times more than mulattos and 3.2 times more than Afro-Cubans. The biggest wave of Cuban emigration (until 1990) saw primarily white, high-class/rich Cubans leave the country. After 1990, lower classes, mostly mulattos and black/Afro-Cubans were leaving the country. While the overall picture is mixed, it is still apparent that white people have richer families in the United States and the European Union, as they receive on average more remittances. So, Afro-Cubans (35%) and mulattos (31%) in Cuba must make money however they can –illegally. These results confirm the findings by Blue (2007). This can be explained by the difficulties of obtaining hard currencies on the one hand and by the relatively low representation of mulatto and black population in the tourism industry on the other hand. The author in charge of the data collection personally observed<sup>1</sup> that in shops and restaurants frequented by tourists, white salespeople, and waiters were overrepresented compared to their share of the population. After interviews with restaurant owners, it also became clear that “lighter” skin colour was a criterion for hiring because it is perceived as a better “magnet” for tourists. The percentage of whites with illegal income is 29%. Mulattos and Afro-Cubans gather

<sup>1</sup>The author in charge of data collection has conducted a combined three months of research in Cuba in four installments (in 2006, 2016, 2017, and 2018/19).

more illegal income than whites (1.5 and 1.4 times more, respectively). The average illegal income of these two groups combined is 87 USD while the average illegal income is 66 USD for the white population.

Those with the lowest level of education (elementary school level) gave accounts of a significantly below-average income (40 USD), while the respondents with a secondary level of education reported the highest average income (86 USD). The poorest 20% of the Cuban population have mostly primary education (55%), followed by high school graduates (38.3%), and university graduates (6.4%). The highest incomes are earned by high school graduates (76.6%), people with a university degree (12.8%) and people with only primary education (10.6%).

The biggest beneficiaries of money transfers from abroad are people with a high school degree (48.2% of all remittances), followed by people with primary education (40.2% of remittances), and those with a university degree (11.6% of remittances). Legal incomes are rather evenly distributed between university and high school graduates, but the latter group's earnings (86 USD) surpass those of the former in terms of illegal and consequently total income (66 USD). Using the coefficient of variation, we can conclude that income inequality is very similar in the first two groups (138% and 134%), and it is much lower among the people with university education (48%).

Regarding occupation, legal incomes were distributed as expected (student, unemployed < pensioner < public servant < entrepreneur), but as for remittances and other illegal income, the results were surprising. The average monthly income of public servants was 66 USD; entrepreneurs earned 2.4 times as much (158 USD), while unemployed people and students earned 1.5 times that amount (97 and 93 USD). This is because state employees, such as teachers, doctors, and members of the police, have fewer opportu-

nities to access illegal sources of income compared to these other groups. That is why a business-oriented and well-trained baker, hairdresser, pedicurist, restaurateur, street vendor, and even a student or an officially “unemployed” person could reach higher levels of income than an average university graduate. Employed people have a higher income (84 USD) than those who are unemployed or are not counted as labour force, like students and pensioners (52 USD). This means that higher education is simply not “paying off.” Teachers and engineers could earn multiple times their state-sponsored income as waiters, bartenders, or street vendors, or could ensure their livelihood only through remittances, the amount of which may equal or supersede their wages. These tendencies are bound to have a deteriorating long- or even mid-term effect on Cuban society. On the one hand, the esteem of socially important professions could be eroded, and counterselection could occur among teachers, doctors, engineers, and other white-collar positions. Someone can earn a much higher income with the remittances from their family abroad than from working hard. Furthermore, a part of the society can be “deterred” from work and – to refer to historian Irén Suskó, who lived most of her life in Cuba – turn into a “parasite society” (Breier, 2016), where people live off other people’s work, like tourists or relatives living abroad. A sad conclusion is that the Cuban Communist Party prefers having a monopoly on power in a poor country to sharing power in a prosperous country (Totten, 2014).

Income inequality among people who are employed is higher than among people who are unemployed or who are not in the labour force. The coefficient of variation for the first group is 130.8%, compared to the coefficient of 101.7% in the second group. However, the analysis of quantiles within the groups shows a different picture. The ratio of 20% of people with the highest incomes to 20% of those with the lowest incomes is higher among people who are unemployed or not in the labour force (15.9) than those who are employed (9.8). The poorest 10% of respondents (exclusively pen-

sioners) lived off less than 10 USD per month. Among the poorest 20% we also found many state employees. Independent business owners reported a minimum monthly income of 30 USD, while the upper 10% of respondents admitted to an average of 257 USD, and the upper 20% reported an average of 190 USD. 59% of the latter cluster are entrepreneurs, the remaining 41% are public servants. Their extra income typically came from sources other than foreign money transfers. The average business owner had a monthly income of 158 USD, which is more than twice the general average. 80 % of them finished middle school education, while elementary school and university graduates accounted for 10% each.

A difference in monthly average income between the capital city and the countryside (73 and 79 USD) could not be demonstrated from the collected data. However, official legal incomes and remittances accounted for multiple times more in the countryside, while inhabitants of Havana had to “compensate” through other illegal sources of revenue. The total income in the countryside is 1.5 times higher than in Havana, and income inequality is lower.

### *Coefficient of correlation*

We used the coefficient of correlation to analyse the relationship between the included variables. The Spearman correlation (Annex 1) found 22 statistically significant ( $p < .05$ ) correlations among the examined variables<sup>2</sup>, among which 6 coefficients reflect a very weak, almost non-existing relationship (yellow cells), 10 reflect a weak (orange cells), and 6 reflect a moderate (red cells) relationship<sup>3</sup>. Positive relationships can be found between ethnic origin and place of residence and the number of people living in the same household, respectively, as well as between place of residence

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<sup>2</sup> Only the three main, individual income variables were examined, the sum and average incomes were not included, since they are made up by the values of the main three income variables.

<sup>3</sup> The correlation values are evaluated along Saunders et al.'s (2016) correlation scale.

and the number of people living in the same household. Afro-Cuban people were more associated with living in Havana and its surroundings with more people in one household, while white people were associated with living in the countryside.

The correlation analysis results show that women were more associated with older age in the sample and males with younger age. Older people are more associated with being entrepreneurs and pensioners, while younger people are mostly unemployed and students. Most middle-aged people work as public servants. People who graduated from university are more associated with a high official legal income and people with primary and secondary education are associated with less legal income. Furthermore, older people and/or entrepreneurs and pensioners were more associated with lower levels of education (younger people and/or unemployed, students and public servants with a higher level of education); black people more with living in apartments (white people living in detached houses); apartments more with being located in Havana and its surroundings (detached houses in the countryside); females with less legal income (males with more legal income); unemployed and students with less legal income (public servants, entrepreneurs, pensioners with more legal income); people gaining more illegal income with rentals (people gaining less with ownership). Older people were more associated with less legal income (younger with more legal income); unemployed and students with more illegal income (public servants, entrepreneurs, and pensioners with less illegal income); people living in detached houses with fewer remittances (people living in apartments with more money coming from abroad).

### *Analysis of Variance*

The analysis of variance requires comparing at least three groups. We built one model for each dependent variable, namely official legal income, remittances, and illegal income. The independent variables are ethnic origin,

highest level of education and occupation. We also included gender and place of residence as independent variables in the models (Annex 2). The model for official and legal income shows that there is a statistically significant difference in the DV symptom level for four IVs: ethnic origin, highest level of education, occupation, and type of residence, while gender and place of residence did not contribute to it. Hence, whether the fact that the respondents had a diploma, were white or mulatto or Afro-Cuban, students or public servants or entrepreneurs, lived in an apartment or house, did impact their official earnings, while whether they were male or female, lived in the capital or the countryside, had no impact. The interaction effects show that ethnic origin and type of residence together could contribute to the DV's variance at an even greater level, while ethnic origin and occupation weakened each other's power in contribution.

Pairwise comparisons show that the statistically significant differences are between whites and mulattos, whites and Afro-Cuban groups in ethnic origins; among all groups at the highest level of education; in terms of education between the groups unemployed and public servant, unemployed and entrepreneur, public servant and entrepreneur, public servant and pensioner, entrepreneur, and pensioner; and between apartment and detached house in the category "type of residence." The estimated marginal effects show that "white" in ethnic origins, "secondary education" in education levels, "entrepreneur" in occupation, and the "detached house" in types of residence had the greatest impact on the amount of official and legal income. In the model on remittances, the test of between-subjects effects shows that there is a statistically significant difference in the DV symptom level for the place of residence only, and no interaction effects were found. Among the places of residence, living in Havana and its surroundings had a major impact on the amount of money transferred from abroad. In the model on other, illegal income, the test of between-subjects effects shows no statistically significant differences in the DV symptom level for IVs, but one interaction



effect: gender and ethnic origin, where males and mulattos had the greatest impact on the amount of other illegal income within their clusters.

## Conclusion

The field research and the use of a personal questionnaire offered a comprehensive guide to the quality of life regarding residence and the income structure of the Cuban people. It generated data that was missing so far when discussing income (in)equality in the country. Since our sample could be regarded as representative, we arrived at important conclusions. The preliminary analysis already highlighted huge differences in income structures, which was confirmed later in the main analysis in relation to different demographic clusters. The results showed income inequality between genders, ethnicities, educational backgrounds, and occupation since entrepreneurs, unemployed people, and students earned more than public servants. We also found income inequality within these demographic groups.

The inferential statistics revealed statistically significant relationships among the variables. Respondents with university graduation were more associated with a high official, legal income; older people with less legal income; unemployed people and students with more illegal income; people living in detached houses with less incoming unilateral transfers. The analysis of variance (ANOVA) shows that a type 1 error possibly violated the variance analyses which is the main limitation of the study. Thus, in interpreting the results, we focused solely on Cuba without taking other benchmark countries into account. Regarding these results and limitations, future research should focus on collecting greater samples, for instance through non-probability, and quota sampling. Future research should also be extended to people living outside Havana. The research should also be extended to the calculations with equal sample sizes within different clusters. As a result, comparative studies on the chronological horizon of Cuba will be possible. Also, regional and non-regional countries should be included in the analysis. Our literature review reflected how the Cuban state had the

opportunity to manipulate certain data forwarded to international organisations, which is important to be noted for future research. Our core results admittedly do not differ greatly from those in recently published papers on the topic; rather, they reinforce them. However, it should be added that this could mean that today's Cuban society has to face a kind of "perverted" distribution of income, where highly skilled university graduates are not rewarded with a higher level of income. The results showed a "perverse effect" on income distribution, a phenomenon that leads to the formation of a "parasite" stratum in Cuban society.

Sanctions imposed by the Trump administration which saw the hardening of a sanctions-based policy might lead to consequences that are the exact opposite of its objectives, such as more and more Cuban refugees trying to leave their country and join their relatives living in the United States, more Cubans living in extreme levels of poverty, or perhaps another generation that have to live through a "*periodo especial*." There is almost no chance for the short- or mid-term collapse of the regime, no matter what sanctions are imposed by the US government; the Party and the forces of order have enough power and money to guarantee survival. Thus, the COVID-19 crisis is affecting mostly the society rather than the elites and deepens the scarcity of basic goods even more. Since our field research took place before the COVID-19 pandemic, it would be worth implementing a primary data collection after the pandemic in Cuba and preparing a comparative study. Another theoretical limitation which was not foreseen prior to the publication of this paper was that the Cuban government decided with immediate effect in July 2019 to raise the minimum wage to the equivalent of 17 USD (Granma, 2019) and with it the average wage level in Cuba, which could have brought some favourable developments to the population, and the elimination of the dual currency system (the so-called monetary unification), which was finally introduced in January 2021. An important detail is that the value of social benefits and pensions will be increased and the

fixed prices of basic consumer goods, mostly food, will be lifted, so the measures will not give help to those in most need of it. Therefore, another study could target these regulations, their impacts, and the situation since the COVID-19 crisis.

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Annex 1: Spearman Correlation Matrix

	Gender	Ethnic origin	Age	Highest level of education	Occupation	Place of residence	Type of residence	Ownership of residence	No. of people living in the same household	Official, legal income (CUP)	Incoming unilateral transfers (CUP)	Other, illegal income (CUP)
Gender	1,000											
Ethnic origin	0,016	1,000										
Age	<b>.384*</b>	0,097	1,000									
Highest level of education	<b>-.148*</b>	-0,013	<b>-.334**</b>	1,000								
Occupation	0,109	<b>-.163*</b>	<b>-.515**</b>	<b>-.262**</b>	1,000							
Place of residence	-0,041	<b>.216**</b>	<b>-.139*</b>	0,095	-0,084	1,000						
Type of residence	-0,031	<b>-.259**</b>	-0,002	0,017	-0,075	<b>-.301**</b>	1,000					
Ownership of residence	0,086	0,041	<b>.200**</b>	0,048	<b>.173**</b>	-0,070	-0,111	1,000				
No. of people living in the same household	0,019	<b>.263**</b>	-0,065	-0,057	-0,026	<b>.253**</b>	<b>-.196**</b>	-0,068	1,000			
Official, legal income (CUP)	<b>-.349**</b>	-0,061	<b>-.487**</b>	<b>.528**</b>	<b>-.271**</b>	-0,053	0,018	-0,042	-0,042	1,000		
Incoming unilateral transfers (CUP)	0,066	0,322	-0,044	-0,120	-0,125	-0,051	<b>-.399*</b>	-0,317	-0,024	0,261	1,000	
Other, illegal income (CUP)	-0,133	-0,059	-0,172	-0,074	<b>-.393**</b>	-0,070	0,029	<b>-.256*</b>	-0,092	-0,176	0,000	1,000

Source: authors' calculations

## Annex 2: Test of Between-Subjects Effects at Official, Legal Income

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects						
Dependent Variable:						
Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Corrected Model	1053731165,597 <sup>a</sup>	84	12544418,638	34,723	0,000	0,959
Intercept	68129235,755	1	68129235,755	188,581	0,000	0,599
Gender	514964,650	1	514964,650	1,425	0,235	0,011
Ethnic origin	25581666,503	2	12790833,252	35,405	0,000	0,360
Highest level of education	67997000,762	2	33998500,381	94,108	0,000	0,599
Occupation	19427300,544	3	6475766,848	17,925	0,000	0,299
Place of residence	433784,413	1	433784,413	1,201	0,275	0,009
Type of residence	11422062,372	2	5711031,186	15,808	0,000	0,201
Gender * Ethnic origin	240367,195	2	120183,598	0,333	0,718	0,005
Gender * Highest level of education	401960,937	2	200980,468	0,556	0,575	0,009
Gender * Occupation	84913,670	1	84913,670	0,235	0,629	0,002
Gender * Place of residence	0,000	0				0,000
Gender * Type of residence	474979,484	2	237489,742	0,657	0,520	0,010
Ethnic origin * Highest level of education	438047,319	4	109511,830	0,303	0,875	0,010
Ethnic origin * Occupation	4865183,618	3	1621727,873	4,489	0,005	0,097
Ethnic origin * Place of residence	0,000	0				0,000
Ethnic origin * Type of residence	78538777,358	4	19634694,340	54,349	0,000	0,633
Highest level of education * Occupation	76259,411	2	38129,705	0,106	0,900	0,002
Highest level of education * Place of residence	0,000	0				0,000
Highest level of education * Type of residence	235022,880	3	78340,960	0,217	0,885	0,005
Occupation * Place of residence	0,000	0				0,000
Occupation * Type of residence	778520,318	3	259506,773	0,718	0,543	0,017
Place of residence * Type of residence	15602,500	1	15602,500	0,043	0,836	0,000
Error	45520299,531	126	361272,219			
Total	1347915093,000	211				
Corrected Total	1099251465,128	210				

a. R Squared = ,959 (Adjusted R Squared = ,931)

Source: authors' calculations

## INTERNATIONALIZATION OF TERTIARY EDUCATION AS SOFT POWER BY THE REVISIONIST FORCES

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### **Abstract**

This article covers the use of the internationalization of higher education as a soft power tool by revisionist countries in international relations. Whereas the common view of scholars is that revisionist forces tend to activate their hard power means as in the case of India about her dispute with Pakistan and Russia against Ukraine, their soft power engagement is tremendously important. While internationalization in higher education was the monopoly of the hegemonic and colonial powers previously, in recent years the progress of revisionist forces in this regard has been noted. Since soft power engagement forms vary with the stunning transformations after the millennium, internationalization of higher education is the latest trend. When examining the published data on international student mobility, we have determined that revisionist powers China, Türkiye, and Russia are among the top ten countries hosting the most international students.

**Keywords:** internationalization; internationalization in higher education; hard power; soft power; revisionist forces

## Introduction

In the late 1980s, Joseph Nye introduced the term ‘soft power’ in international relations literature. He defined soft power as making others want the results you want rather than forcing them to do something (Nye, 2004, p. 68). Compared to hard power, he suggested that apart from the states, the main actor in international politics, Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs) or international institutions can also use soft power (Nye, 2004, p. 17). According to Nye, the basic soft power sources of a country are culture, political values, and foreign policies (Nye, 2011, p. 84). He mentioned that culture is a set of values and practices with many manifestations such as literature, art, and education (Nye, 2004, p. 11). Some scholars like Wojciuk et al. (2015, p. 298) claim that a high-quality education contributes to a country’s soft power. Since education is not adequately addressed in the current International Relations literature, they discussed the educational aspect of soft power, and its conceptual and functional dimensions (Wojciuk et al., 2015, p. 300). They claim that the concept of educational soft power in IR works through three mechanisms. First, higher education is a carrier of genuine values which may attract students from abroad. The values that attract more students are modernization, equality, good life, and competitiveness. Second, soft power is related to the most stunning resources a country owns such as the quality of education whose effect is observed by the products it manufactured and the level of its internationalization. The third mechanism of educational soft power is a country’s utilization of higher education as a tool for achieving certain foreign policy goals. This may happen in cases of successful domestic development or security policies or foreign development aid (Wojciuk et al., 2015, p. 314).

Kelkitli (2021, p. 41) regards the student exchange programs developed by Türkiye as a soft power tool in foreign policy. Based on the assumption that education may serve as a soft power tool in International Relations, we have analyzed the internationalization of tertiary education by the new

revisionist forces<sup>1</sup> by comparing them with the top ten countries hosting the most international students. In the first section of the article, we will define what internationalization in higher education means, trendy global higher education destinations for internationally mobile students, and some collocations related to international student mobility. In the second part, we will try to figure out internationalization of higher education by means of approaches and methods in international relations and some recent changes in student mobility and their reasons. The following part includes some statistics regarding in and outbound student flow. In the conclusion, I discuss the recent change in student mobility in and out of Türkiye and explain its reasons by means of its policy change in international relations demanding change.

## **Internationalization of Tertiary Education<sup>2</sup>**

Internationalization in higher education, unlike the practices in the past, has ceased to be a goal only for prestigious universities in developed countries and is now important for higher education institutions at the global level in different ways (de Wit et al., 2015, p. 37). Many institutions usually internationalize for talented and qualified or wealthy foreign students (Lipsett, 2009; Matloff, 2013, p. 2). Some universities are internationalizing to allure the best quality faculty and professional researchers and research staff (Delgado-Márquez et al., 2011, p. 269; van der Wende, 2007, p. 277). The dominant trend is mainly towards economic justification, branding, and competition to obtain talented international students (Douglass & Edelstein, 2009, p. 2; Knight, 2011, p. 25). Internationalization of Tertiary Education might be described as “Internationalization at the national, sector, and institutional levels is defined as the process of integrating an

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<sup>1</sup>Revisionist is a term describing states whose objective is to change or put an end to the current international system. According to power transition theory countries stand as either a status quo or a revisionist state.

<sup>2</sup>As a concept, ‘the internationalization of tertiary education’ will be abbreviated as ITE hereafter.

international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of postsecondary education” (Knight, 2015, p. 2). International student mobility can be considered legitimizing international migration as a sub-branch. Especially Anglo-Saxon countries as historically popular international migration destinations have an extensive institutional structure with migration planning, organization mechanisms, competitive and interest-oriented policies (Türk, 2020, p. 353). The United Nations (UN) and Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) place special emphasis on the subject and collect and share statistical data. In a handbook prepared by the OECD, an international student is described as “an individual who has physically crossed an international border between two countries with the objective to participate in educational activities in a destination country, where the destination country is different from his or her country of origin” (OECD, 2018a, p. 38).

Internationalization of higher education is defined as “the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of postsecondary education” (Knight, 2015, p. 2). The internationalization of higher education is becoming more and more widespread among countries day by day. To determine the reasons, it is necessary to consider the incident from a multidisciplinary point of view. Contrary to the common view that the most important reason for internationalization in higher education is the exchange of ideas and information, universities accept international students to increase student diversity and improve their global ranking in internationalization in higher education. However, their aim is sometimes to increase revenues for universities (UNESCO, 2019, p. 96). The phenomenon of international migration increasing day by day has been in the interest of many different disciplines in academia. In the face of increasing international immigration pressure, different policies determined by the countries that are exposed to receiving or sending immigrants attract the attention of political scientists. Negotiations and agreements among

states, and international institutions and organizations like the United Nations and its subordinate bodies, and their decisions have naturally made migration an important issue for the discipline of international relations. While the effects of immigration on immigrants and receiving and sending societies attract the attention of sociologists, the feelings and thoughts of immigrants, as well as individuals in receiving and sending societies attract the attention of experts in the field of psychology to deal with the subject. Therefore, although the phenomenon of migration may be domestic, which requires a multidisciplinary perspective with many different dimensions, it is an indispensable research topic in the field of international relations, as it has an international character.

The OECD defines three types of international student mobility. “International mobile students are individuals who physically cross an international border between two countries to participate in educational activities in the country of destination” (OECD, 2018b, p. 41). The students in this group are enrolled as regular students at any higher education program in the host country. They are to physically attend the courses given like other regular students of the program. So in its definition system distant learners are not accepted as internationally mobile. The second group is foreign students who are not citizens of the country in which they are studying and have not moved to this country for the sole purpose of studying; for instance, those who arrive as a result of other movements such as international migration or asylum like Syrian students with temporary protection status in Türkiye. The third group is exchange program students. Within the scope of Erasmus+ and Mevlana programs, students receive some of their education in an educational institution abroad. “Exchange programs are mobility programs that normally last between three months and less than a full academic year” (OECD, 2018b, p. 39).



## **Internationalization in Theory and Practice**

International relations theories, such as realism, liberalism, and world system approaches, have developed different perspectives on the phenomenon of migration. Although the issue of migration, like many other international issues, cannot be fully explained with a single theory, the different theoretical approaches, while examining different aspects of the issue in detail, contribute to our examination of all the predictable or unpredictable elements of the migration phenomenon in terms of international relations. While other aspects of migration such as politics, sociology, and psychology are fixed, we will discuss its impact on international relations and especially the issue of internationalization in higher education as a sub-type of international migration using the *ceteris paribus* approach in social sciences and economics.

Students primarily pay attention to the availability of university opportunities in their own country, the costs, and the relative quality of education at home and abroad, when making decisions about where to pursue higher education (OECD, 2019, p. 233). Accommodation, transportation, education, and nutrition expenses in the country of destination are the most important reasons for choosing any country. Part-time work opportunities during education can also be a reason for students' preferences. More importantly, they pay attention to employment opportunities after graduation. This means the opportunity to reside and find a job in the country of study, or a feature that employers in the home country attach importance to in the CVs of the candidates. The opportunity to gain work experience is a growing driver of student mobility (OECD, 2019, p. 236). Learning a foreign language or gaining the ability to communicate in the target language can also affect student decisions. Getting to know different cultures can contribute to making friends from different countries. The desire to gain individual responsibility and act freely also influences this decision. Increasing scholarship opportunities, education, and internship mobility support offered by different institutions

provide this opportunity, especially to students with limited finance.

Governments often attribute student mobility as a way to develop closer cooperation with other countries (UNESCO, 2019, p. 96). Starting after the industrial revolution, students were sent to developed countries with the idea of transferring up-to-date technology idea. Today, students are mutually financed by states in higher education with the idea of contributing to international relations. Education abroad is supported with special funds, especially in highly demanded professional fields. Individuals who have studied abroad are seen as honorary goodwill ambassadors and are thought to play an important role in the advancement of international relations in many fields such as education, trade, finance, and military (de Wit et al., 2015, p. 48; Kelkitli, 2021, p. 44; Taskoh & Larsen, 2014, p. 43).

Universities that encourage international student mobility offer a different campus environment to their students. A campus with students of diverse nationalities prepares all students for life in the 21st century and a career in a global economy. For most students, a multicultural campus is the first chance to live, study, and work with people who are not from their home country and cultural background. Universities that bring foreign students and foster a culturally diverse campus environment offer students unique opportunities to learn about themselves and the world they live in. A multicultural campus offers a multicultural classroom environment. Bringing people from different cultures together in one classroom allows students with different perspectives to benefit from each other's experiences, cultures, and skills. In addition, international students also offer important income opportunities to the universities, cities, and countries where they study. In accordance with their economic conditions to afford to study abroad, more and more people are trying to provide the best possible education for themselves and their children. This increases the competition to attract international students between universities and countries for this high amount allocated for higher education. In the bipolar order of the Cold

War period, this movement from pro-capitalist countries towards the western prosperous core countries and the Americas; on the other hand, was towards the USSR, the centre country from the Warsaw Pact countries (de Wit et al., 2015, p. 257). In the multi-polar world after the Cold War, international student mobility has changed, with bipolar mobility shifting to different power centers.

### **Recent Changes in ITE**

The world's most powerful nations and leaders today are all “politically modern and industrial” (Organski, 1958, p. 339). Scholars like Altbach & Knight (2007, p. 294) and Yeom (2019, pp. 17–18) try to explain the nature and trend of international student mobility by associating it with the development of states. Since universities in developed countries have a relatively comparative advantage in research and teaching capacity, ITE is directly related to the economic and social enhancement level of the country where a university is located. Applying development theories explaining the economic and social change processes could help us to determine the status of ITE since the flow of mobility is from the undeveloped or developing countries to the prosperous West. He states that there are several theories focusing on various social scientific approaches to determine the change in society. Modernization, Dependency and World Systems theories focus on social mobility effects of higher education, and they explain the existing unequal structure between bodies, structures, and even states (Yeom, 2019, p. 20).

However, after the Cold War period, the more recently industrialized nations challenging the prosperous ones for leadership have a say in attracting internationally mobile students. Some revisionist<sup>3</sup> forces come to the fore

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<sup>3</sup> The countries have traditionally been divided by historians and political scientists; status quo countries that accept the existing international system as it is and revisionist powers that “reject the prevailing legitimacy of the international system and seek to alter it considerably or to overthrow it entirely” (Tenenbaum, 2012)

in their regions. Russia invaded Georgia in 2008 and annexed some parts of Ukraine in 2014. Türkiye has declared by military and diplomatic means that it will not compromise its sovereign rights over the Eastern Mediterranean against countries such as Greece, Egypt, Cyprus, and Israel (van der Schalk, 2020). By directly intervening in the Libyan civil war, it supported the Government of National Accord headquartered in Tripoli and recognized by the United Nations and the European Union. After the successful Syrian intervention, it confirmed the successes of the unmanned aerial vehicles and drones it produced against the Tobruk-based Haftar forces, which provided support and weapons from Egypt, the USA, the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, France, and Russia. The effectiveness of these weapons was also tested in the 40-day war between Azerbaijan and Armenia, which resulted in the decisive victory of Azerbaijan. President Erdoğan's one-minute scolding and his address in the Justice Forum "the world is bigger than 5" are the most important instances that reveal that he wants to change the current distorted world order (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2018).

Meanwhile, India stepped up aggression with its neighbor, Pakistan, which started the process of revoking the autonomous status of Jammu and Kashmir (van der Schalk, 2020). Brazil and Indonesia are in the category of revisionist countries (van der Schalk, 2020). In this study, the effects of the emerging powers in the international arena on international student mobility will be examined since it might be used as a massive soft power tool. The globalization process, which threatens the border separation, allows strategic power centers to be effective in the international arena by using different methods. This may be in the form of "Russia's interference in the US elections," "Türkiye's mobilization of Turkish communities in different countries" through the Yunus Emre Institute and the Maarif Foundation, and "Saudi Arabia's funding of mosques in Pakistan and some other countries" (van der Schalk, 2020).

The UNESCO Institute of Statistics (UIS) data, which is the most comprehensive database on international student mobility, will be used to test whether the growing international impact of revisionist forces is affecting international student mobility. Within the category of new revisionists, the statistics of mobile students hosted and sent abroad by Russia, China and Türkiye will be examined. To decide on the impact of the revisionist powers, student mobility from and to these countries will be examined. The top ten most international student-attracting states will be determined and the statistics of the revisionists will be compared with the other countries in the top ten lists.

The provisions regarding the continuation of education in higher education institutions in Türkiye for foreign nationals and Turkish citizens who have completed their secondary education abroad are determined by the Higher Education Council as stated in Article 45 of the Higher Education Law No 2547 (Türkiye-Legal Gazette, 2013). Pursuant to this article and in accordance with the decision taken by the Higher Education Executive Board, universities send their quota requests to the Higher Education Council (YOK) within the determined calendar, limited to the programs included in the Higher Education Institutions Exam (YKS) Higher Education Programs and Quotas Guide. The requests submitted by universities are evaluated by YOK, the decisions taken are communicated to the universities, and the quotas of the programs, the language of instruction, and the preparatory class conditions are published on the website of YOK. While the quotas that universities can request for international students before 2019 were limited to 50% of the quotas announced in the YOK guide, this limitation was lifted in 2019 and much more internationalization of universities was targeted (YÖK). Starting in 2019, universities made great efforts to increase the number of international students. According to the current data published by UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS), the information of students who went abroad for higher education from Türkiye and students who came to

Türkiye for university education from abroad are given in the table below. Meanwhile, UIS statistics do not reveal data for the year 2019 and beyond. Thus, some other sources like the OECD and HEC are used to reveal some facts on inbound and outbound student flow.

### **Some Signs of Soft Power in ITE**

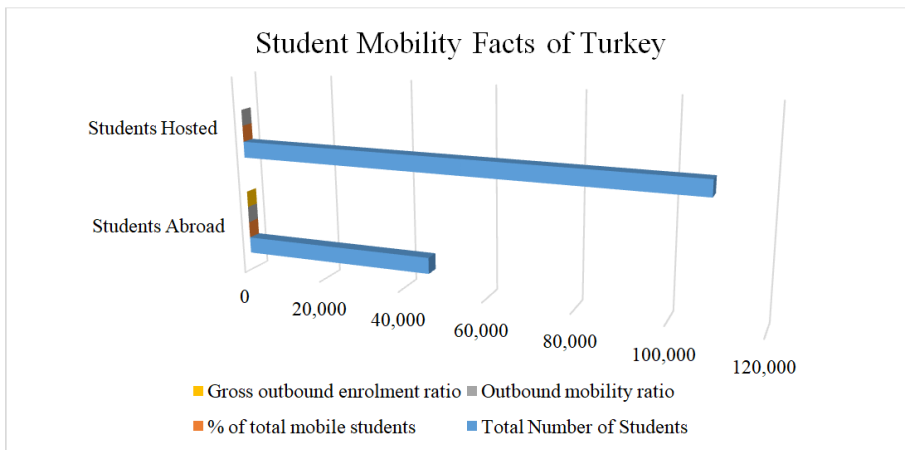
As Wojciuk et al. (2015, p. 314) state, higher education is a carrier of genuine values which may attract students from abroad. Among the most important genuine values, democracy, human rights, justice, modernization, equality, good life, and competitiveness are on top. Although it is controversial to regard a state as having or lacking these values, there are some strategies to convince the target country and its people. It is easy for Türkiye to win the African people's hearts because it was not once a colonial power, and it is a spectacular instance for them to stand as an alternative competitive power suffered from the colonials. The most important of all is that Türkiye's relationship with African countries is based on the principle of forging a win-win partnership to build a better future for them and help each other on the international scene (Idriss, 2020). Before the Covid-19 pandemic and recent economic crisis, Türkiye had relatively all of the abovementioned genuine values. This is the first evidence that shows its attractiveness in getting so many international students.

A second indicator of soft power use in tertiary education is that it is generated by the resources a country possesses. The one particularly visible in the Turkish case is the quality of education it offers. The industrial products manufactured in Türkiye by Turkish engineers are now globally demanded, which shows the quality of higher education in Türkiye. African countries which have been suffering from contradictory political discrepancy would like to have military equipment like TB-2 Bayraktar drones whose positive effect was tested in various cases. Ankara has now military bases and training centers as in the Somali capital Mogadishu and in Libya. "Turkey is now providing support to international peacekeeping missions ongoing in Africa" (Idriss, 2020).

The third soft power dimension is a country’s use of education to achieve specific policy goals. It might be in the form of successful domestic development policies, based on knowledge and education or foreign development aid (Wojciuk et al., 2015, p. 314). According to Idriss (2020), Turkish companies are now making infrastructure contracts, such as the Ethiopian Awash Weldiya Railway, which costs more than 1.000.000.000 US dollars. “Türkiye’s investments have helped to reduce unemployment by generating jobs throughout the continent” (Idriss, 2020). “Aid for development and humanitarian affairs is also a highly essential pillar of Türkiye’s presence in the continent” (Orakçi, 2022). Access to clean water and electricity is still a vital problem for most Africans. Turkey pays special attention to infrastructure projects and TIKA and other Turkish non-governmental civil society organizations (NGOs) are very active in the development and humanitarian issues in Africa. On the other hand, Türkiye supports African youth development by supplying scholarship opportunities for free higher education in Turkey (Idriss, 2020; Orakçi, 2022).

### Facts And Figures on Türkiye’s Inbound and Outbound Student Flow at Tertiary Level

Graphic 1: Türkiye’s key indicators for students abroad and students hosted (UNESCO UIS, 2021)



According to the data in the table above, Türkiye is among the countries preferred by international students for university education in the developing countries group. The number of students coming to Türkiye for tertiary level education is more than twice the number of students going abroad. The distribution of students going abroad from Türkiye to receive higher education is given by country in the table below.

Table 1: Distribution of Students Who Went Abroad to Get Higher Education by Country (UNESCO UIS, 2021)

STUDENTS ABROAD					
	Country of Destination	Number		Country of Destination	Number
1	United States	9,692	38	Republic of Moldova	116
2	Germany	6,074	39	Lithuania	101
3	United Kingdom	3,101	40	United Arab Emirates	99
4	Austria	2,405	41	Portugal	96
5	France	2,384	42	Belarus	90
6	Bulgaria	2,018	43	Iran, Islamic Rep.	74
7	Azerbaijan	2,002	44	South Africa	66
8	Italy	1,804	45	Thailand	61
9	Bosnia/Herzegovina	1,500	46	Croatia	60
10	Ukraine	1,406	47	Qatar	55
11	Poland	1,232	48	Ireland	54
12	North Macedonia	1,183	49	Morocco	52
13	Canada	1,161	50	Norway	52
14	Hungary	967	51	Latvia	42
15	Netherlands	660	52	Slovakia	42
16	Switzerland	644	53	India	37
17	Kyrgyzstan	624	54	Slovenia	36
18	Australia	610	55	Serbia	34
19	Saudi Arabia	483	56	Niger	33
20	Russian Federation	442	57	Brazil	30
21	Egypt	397	58	Mongolia	28
22	Romania	311	59	Argentina	27
23	Spain	285	60	Tunisia	24
24	Kazakhstan	257	61	New Zealand	22
25	Sweden	252	62	Indonesia	15



26	Georgia	243	63	Luxembourg	15
27	Jordan	225	64	Vietnam	13
28	Finland	214	65	Bahrain	12
29	Japan	206	66	Dominican Republic	11
30	Belgium	176	67	Malta	11
31	Korea, Rep.	155	68	Colombia	10
32	Malaysia	141	69	Oman	8
33	Denmark	127	70	Chile	7
34	Czechia	126	71	Tajikistan	7
35	Estonia	124	72	Armenia	6
36	Albania	123	73	Iceland	6
37	Greece	116			

The distribution of students coming from abroad to receive higher education in Türkiye by country is also given in the table below. Especially Syrian students with temporary protection status in Türkiye take the lead in the table.

Table 2: Students' Countries of Origin Coming From Abroad to Get Higher Education in Türkiye (UNESCO UIS, 2021)

STUDENTS HOSTED					
	Country of Origin	Number		Country of Origin	Number
1	Syrian Arab Republic	15,042	72	Malawi	124
2	Azerbaijan	14,878	73	Central African Rep.	112
3	Turkmenistan	10,418	74	Benin	110
4	Iran, Islamic Rep.	6,099	75	Canada	108
5	Afghanistan	5,251	76	Colombia	105
6	Iraq	5,012	77	Belgium	104
7	Germany	3,755	78	Congo, DR	96
8	Greece	2,285	79	Mozambique	93
9	Kyrgyzstan	2,032	80	Madagascar	92
10	Bulgaria	2,030	81	Italy	86
11	Kazakhstan	2,015	82	Zimbabwe	79
12	Libya	1,943	83	Israel	79
13	Somalia	1,735	84	Myanmar	78
14	Pakistan	1,606	85	Guinea-Bissau	76

15	China	1,517	86	Australia	76
16	Palestine	1,472	87	Liberia	73
17	Yemen	1,380	88	Comoros	71
18	Russian Federation	1,376	89	Togo	71
19	Nigeria	1,287	90	Poland	68
20	Egypt	1,217	91	Gabon	62
21	Jordan	1,006	92	Rwanda	59
22	Albania	989	93	Haiti	57
23	North Macedonia	891	94	Sierra Leone	47
24	Mongolia	833	95	Sri Lanka	45
25	Georgia	753	96	Denmark	44
26	Uzbekistan	736	97	Eritrea	43
27	Indonesia	732	98	Japan	42
28	Serbia	709	99	Spain	42
29	Tajikistan	692	100	Qatar	41
30	Morocco	649	101	Sweden	38
31	Ukraine	579	102	Viet Nam	37
32	Ethiopia	477	103	Brazil	36
33	Bosnia/Herzegovina	477	104	Cambodia	36
34	United States	472	105	Nepal	36
35	Netherlands	446	106	Norway	31
36	Cameroon	444	107	Mauritius	28
37	Kenya	432	108	Belarus	28
38	Republic of Moldova	416	109	Lithuania	28
39	Bangladesh	410	110	Hungary	27
40	Tanzania	397	111	Slovakia	25
41	Austria	354	112	Croatia	24
42	Mali	353	113	Angola	22
43	Ghana	351	114	Mexico	22
44	Algeria	332	115	Maldives	22
45	Guinea	262	116	Eswatini	20
46	Lebanon	258	117	Venezuela	19
47	Saudi Arabia	257	118	United Arab Emirates	19
48	Tunisia	254	119	Armenia	18
49	Djibouti	243	120	Papua New Guinea	18
50	Chad	223	121	Bahrain	17
51	Thailand	221	122	Kuwait	15

52	Uganda	220	123	Finland	15
53	Korea, Rep.	216	124	Slovenia	14
54	Montenegro	214	125	Botswana	13
55	Niger	208	126	Namibia	13
56	India	206	127	Peru	13
57	France	204	128	Czechia	13
58	Congo	183	129	Singapore	12
59	Malaysia	182	130	Equatorial Guinea	10
60	South Africa	172	131	Suriname	10
61	Senegal	171	132	Ireland	10
62	Mauritania	168	133	Portugal	10
63	Zambia	163	134	Lesotho	8
64	Romania	157	135	Lao PDR	7
65	United Kingdom	154	136	Estonia	7
66	Burundi	153	137	Dominican Republic	6
67	Burkina Faso	144	138	Korea, DPR	6
68	Gambia	133	139	Latvia	6
69	Côte d'Ivoire	132	140	Chile	5
70	Switzerland	130	141	Oman	5
71	Philippines	129			

The total number of students who choose abroad to receive higher education and the number of countries they prefer an increase in direct proportion to the total number of students who come to Türkiye to receive higher education and their countries of origin. Argentina, New Zealand, Luxembourg, Malta, and Iceland are the countries where students go from Türkiye to study higher education, although no students are hosted. The total number of countries whose citizens study in higher education institutions in Türkiye, where no students from Türkiye go for higher education is 68. 47 of them are in Africa. This shows the great impact of Türkiye on the citizens of the African countries most of which were once colonized by the rich Westerns. To understand the interest of the students who are nationals of African countries in Türkiye, we shall here assess the current Turkish foreign policy with the African states. Türkiye's African policy is carried out in four dimensions: bilateral, regional, continental, and global,

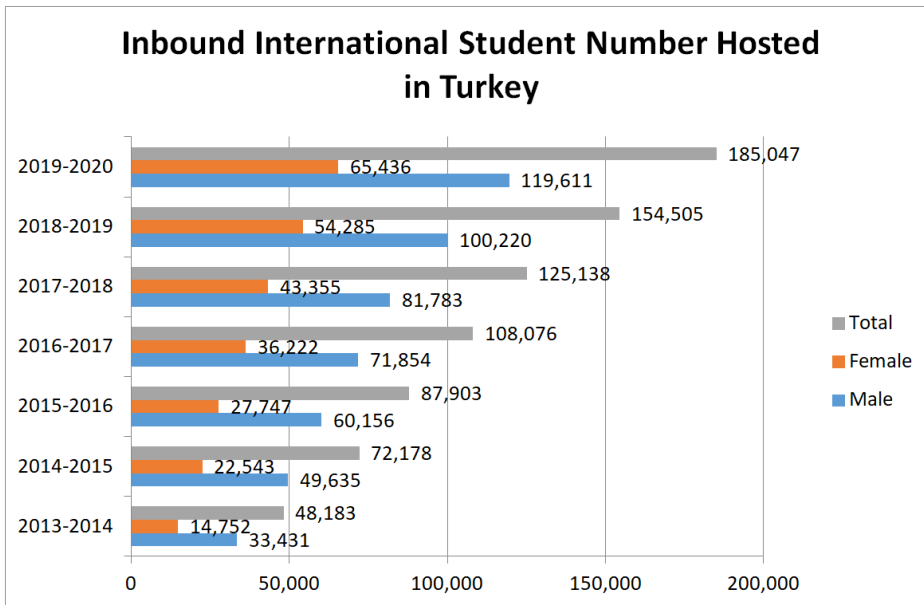
including political, humanitarian, economic, and cultural pillars (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2011). The other 21 countries the nationals of which are tertiary level students hosted in Türkiye are located on varying continents. In the African-Turkish relations that started in 1998, Türkiye was accepted as an observer member of the African Union (AU) in 2005. In 2008, Türkiye was declared a strategic partner of the AU. Within the scope of the multidimensional African Initiative Policy, rapid progress has been made in the areas of political relations, trade, investment, cultural projects, security, and military cooperation and development with the countries of the region. The African Initiative Policy has been named the African Partnership Policy since 2013. In addition to embassies, “institutions such as the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA), the Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD), Yunus Emre Institute, Maarif Foundation, Turkish Religious Foundation, Anadolu Agency (AA), and Turkish Airlines (THY)” have played an active role in relations with continental countries (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2011). The importance given to relations with the continent has also been reflected in the opening of diplomatic missions in these countries. The number of embassies operating in Africa was only 12 in 2002, but it increased to 42 by the end of 2019. Correspondingly, African countries have also shown interest in Türkiye, and the number of embassies in Ankara has increased up to 36 recently (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2011).

The Maarif Foundation, which manages the Turkish schools in foreign countries, helps them educate the Turkish minority there as well as a lot of native African nationals. Since 2005, Turkey has been offering scholarships granted by YTB (Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities), the Turkish agency responsible for its scholarship program, to young Africans at undergraduate and/or postgraduate levels. “This outstretched hand policy has earned Turkey a special image among Africans” (Idriss, 2020). Now it is not surprising that Africa has been one of the best and

most successful markets for Türkiye. Africa is expected to become Turkey's third-largest defense export market because Ankara has been making agreements with Uganda, Benin, Sudan, Tanzania, and the Ivory Coast, among others on the continent. Main export materials are industrial production, as well as the sale and maintenance of military equipment (Martín, 2021).

The UNESCO Institute of Statistics (UIS) data only contains info up to 2018. The graphic below shows the number of international students hosted in Türkiye by academic years. The data in the graphic is based on the information provided by YOK. Since UNESCO gathers data from the official institutions, the number of mobile international students is defined by YOK and sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to share with UNESCO. When Graphic 1 prepared by UIS is compared with Graphic 2 by YOK, the data in Graphic 1 intersects with the 2016-2017 academic year inbound international student number hosted in Türkiye in Graphic 2. So there is no inconsistency between the data shared by both UIS and YOK.

Graphic 2: Number of Students Hosted in Türkiye by Academic Years (YÖK)



In 2014, out of a total of 4.495.697 international students, 48.183 of them with a rate of 1.07 were educated in Türkiye, while in 2018, 125.138 students with a ratio of 2.24% out of a total of 5.571.402 international students received an education. In line with the strategy, decisions and targets followed by YOK in the context of target-oriented internationalization policy at the tertiary level, the number of international students increased by 110 % in 4 years. Although the data after 2018 is not disclosed by UIS, YOK data shows that Türkiye hosted 154.505 154 thousand 505 international students in 2019 and 185.047 in 2020. Despite the pandemic conditions, this figure is estimated to exceed 220.000 in 2021.

The success here lies in the fact that the centralist YÖK, which was established with the constitution after the 1980 military coup and was the sole decision-maker in higher education, has paved the way for the own decision processes of universities in many fields with the transfer of authority. Decentralization and wider authority have increased competition between universities. Project and academic study-based competition environment among universities has encouraged the various activities of universities to increase the number of international students. Despite the economic difficulties that started before and became more evident during the pandemic, universities in Türkiye continue their activities in the field of internationalization.

### **Facts And Figures on Inbound and Outbound Student Flow Globally at Tertiary Level**

Türkiye has made significant progress towards becoming a center of attraction for international students in higher education and has succeeded in being among the top ten countries in the world in terms of the number of international students it has in 2018 (Enol Sezer et al., 2021). As of 2018 data published by UIS, it became the 10th country with the highest number

of international students in higher education in the world with 125.138 international students (Hürriyet Daily News, 2020). Meanwhile, 987.314 out of a total of 5.571.402 international students in the world are studying at higher education institutions in the United States. England followed with 452.079 students and Australia with 444.514 students, respectively (YÖK, Hürriyet Daily News). The list starts with the Anglo-Saxon countries which are very popular as academic mobility destinations. The top 10 countries attracting the most international students in the world in 2018 are as follows:

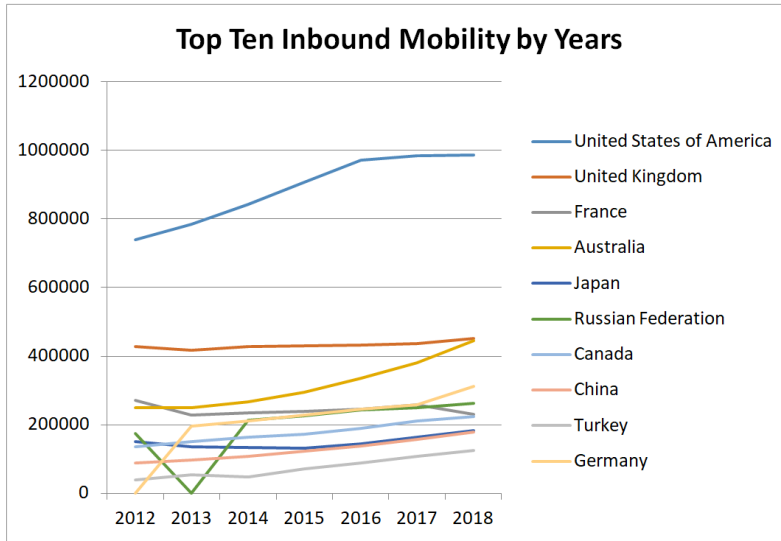
Table 3: The Top 10 Countries Attracting the Most International Students in the World in 2018 (UNESCO UIS, 2021)

No	Country	Inbound	Inbound Mobility Ratio	Outbound	Outbound Mobility Ratio	Total
1	USA	987.314	5,2	84.349	0,5	1.071.663
2	England	452.079	18,3	38,986	1,6	491.065
3	Australia	444.514	26,5	13,319	0,8	457.833
4	Germany	311.738	10,0	122,538	3,9	434.276
5	Russia	262.416	4,5	57,632	1,0	320.048
6	France	229.623	8,8	99,488	3,8	329.111
7	Canada	224.548	13,8	48,345	3,0	272.893
8	Japan	182.748	4,7	31,903	0,8	214.651
9	China	178.271	0,4	993,367	2,2	1.171.638
10	Türkiye	125.138	1,7	47,546	0,6	172.684

Within the class of revisionist forces, Russia, China, and Türkiye are the most striking countries in the top ten list. The countries are put in order according to the number of inbound students. Inbound and outbound ratios were calculated in comparison with the population of each country. The inbound mobility ratio in the above table shows the density of international students in the population of each country. According to the inbound mobility ratio, the top three countries are Australia, England, and Canada. Unfortunately, the statistics beyond the year 2018 have not been shared yet,

and although the Covid 19 pandemic has a negative effect on mobility, the results will be the same for all countries.

Graphic 3 : Top Ten Countries Concerning Inbound Student Mobility at Tertiary Level by Years (UNESCO UIS, 2021)



As can be seen in the graphic above, some of the top ten countries in the competition to attract international students have now reached the saturation point as Cheng (2021, p. 1) stated and the increase in the number of students is at a very low level. The USA recorded high growth rates in 2016, but in the following years, the chart shows a stagnating trend. Western European countries such as the United Kingdom and France are again stagnant in attracting international students. A decrease is observed in France after 2017. Australia, Germany, Russia, Canada, Japan, Türkiye, and China stand out as the countries that regularly increase the number of international students over the years.



## Conclusion

Since IR has traditionally focused more on the international system and war, international migration has not had the necessary importance both in theory and in the literature. However, large-scale migration events have had a profound impact on Europe, Asia, the Middle East, and Africa, both in theory and in impact, and have been dealt with more as a security problem in the receiving countries. Despite all the harsh measures like strict border controls and deadly push-back practices, the deep political and economic crisis in the sending countries could not deter the immigrants from their goals. The concession granted to educational mobility for higher education legalized immigration in this way, and the race to attract international students triggered international mobility at the higher education level. The economic dimension of international learning mobility has started a competition for developed and developing countries to establish political, economic, and cultural ties with the countries of immigration. As a result, negotiations and agreements have been made between countries on different continents regarding the political, economic, and cultural migration agenda. New forces have come to the fore in attracting international students like China, Russia and Türkiye. As a result, international student mobility at the tertiary level has been a strong soft power tool between the destination and origin countries as it may clearly be seen in the relationship between Türkiye and Africa. Contrary to the common view regarding the revisionist forces' tendency to only actively use hard power to resist the ongoing universal system, their success in facilitating soft power is also significant.

In theory, the flow of international students is from poorer countries to the more prosperous ones. However, the statistics show that some new revisionists are now in the top ten attracting a big amount of internationally mobile students. Along with their power development in military, econ-

omy, and world politics, they try to make connections with other nations to find a market for the goods they produce, to make a social and cultural impact on the citizens. One of the best ways to reach a community and have a positive effect is to host students of that society at the tertiary level and send them back as honorary goodwill representatives. The students have some connections with the local people in the destination countries they studied and start cultural and economic transactions between both countries. In the past, just the colonizers had the opportunity of having a great impact on their colonies and up till soon they had been the hegemony in the field. Now the colonies have their independence – some may still have partially – and they do decide what to do, who to sign a treaty within their foreign policy. So the Chinese and Turkish effect on the states in Africa is increasing steadily. A lot of African students now prefer to study university in new emerging power states (Chegraoui et al., 2020, p. 19). International student mobility is regarded as a beneficial soft power tool and the states compete with each other to host more international students. This competition is not just limited to the African continent but continue all over the world.

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## **FEMALE ACADEMICS' ROLE IN PEACE-BUILDING, STATE-BUILDING AND GENDER EQUALITY IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**

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### **Abstract**

Twenty-seven years after the end of the war, Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) is still considered a post-conflict state dealing with war memories, genocide, socio-political divisions, and political and socio-economic challenges like ethno-nationalism, unemployment, social inequalities, a complex education system, high levels of corruption, migration, and depopulation. The article aims to investigate the role of female academics in peace-building, state-building and gender equality in Bosnia and Herzegovina. For this purpose, a survey questionnaire was distributed to female academics aiming to obtain data regarding female academic's role in the post-conflict society, how they have contributed to peace-building processes and the future of the country, the main issues and challenges they face as women in academia, their engagement in gender equality and women empowerment activities, the ways they cope with the COVID-19 pandemic in their professional and private life, and their work-life balance. Descriptive statistics and a thematic analysis of the participants' responses to open-ended questions were conducted. Female academics in Bosnia and Herzegovina hold that women play a pivotal role in post-conflict societies and that they should be actively engaged in peace-building and state-building processes. Women themselves should be the leaders of positive changes and female empowerment through education and by providing support to other women.

**Keywords:** female academics; Bosnia and Herzegovina; higher education; gender equality; peace-building; state-building

## Introduction

*“Men alone cannot rebuild war-torn societies... As countries emerge from the rubble of war, women must be equal partners in rebuilding. Supporting women’s participation in reconstruction means giving women access to the rooms where decisions are made.” (Rehn & Sirleaf, 2002, p. 134)*

In post-conflict countries, peace-building, state-building, and gender equality cannot be achieved through international intervention and higher authorities alone, but the society at large must play an active role, including industry and business, academia and education, faith-based communities, media, and local NGO’s (Mulalić, 2014, pp. 438-448; Kivimaki et al., 2012). In the past decades, many attempts have been made to adequately respond to different challenges in post-conflict societies. The role of women in such societies, even though essential, is often overlooked and neglected. It is noteworthy that “women and young people are rarely consulted during the political process of peace negotiations, yet they are often the ones who keep their communities alive emotionally and physically during the times of war” (Women’s Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 1995, p. 3). Women should aim to increase women’s representation in post-conflict governance, secure women’s economic, and social rights and prioritize gender equality in the security sector (True, 2013).

When discussing the roles of women in peace-building, they are often referred to as caregivers and nutritionists, which, in a sense, extends their role as mothers and housewives. Their role as politicians or decision makers is usually neglected. However, women can contribute to peace-building and state-building in different ways. For example, Somali women in Mogadishu initiated NGOs which, among many other activities, organized peace education for women (Jama, 1996). Bouta and Frerks (2002) wrote extensively on women and their engagement in conflict situations and in working towards peace and stability in their societies. They especially pointed out



that the situation in which women can act “has been identified as a unique opportunity by many women living in conflict situations to become organized at all levels of society, particularly in the non-governmental sector, which in various countries did not even exist before the conflict” (p. 32). Women contribute to the connection between individuals and society via their understanding of what is happening in their households and outside of their homes. This connection can then be used by women in their effort to contribute to and achieve peace and transformation in society: “increasingly, women are realizing that, in order to change society, they must begin with the family and the community, for ‘women’s capacity to challenge the men in their families, their communities, or their political movements will be a key to remaking the world’” (Enloe, as cited in Ferris, 1993, p. 47). According to the United Nations (1996), “women make an important but often unrecognized contribution as peace educators both in their families and in their societies.” There are many examples in which women improved their status in society after conflict. One of the examples is Rwanda, in which some female entrepreneurs received rights to own land property and equal rights to inheritance. They also changed the approach to education to a great extent. More girls started to go to school and pursue higher education (Berry, 2018). Women must be seen in light of a positive shift from being housewives and care-givers to a more prominent role, as a source and driving force of change at different levels in society.

Women in the field of education can initiate dynamic developments in society, especially women in academia. However, there is a huge disparity in equal gender representations at all levels of education and particularly at the universities (Macfarlane, 2012). According to Howe-Walsh and Turnbull (2014), the number of women academicians is minimal and there are many challenges that women encounter in their careers. Several reasons are assumed for this: gender institutional cultures, formal and informal gender practices, individual factors, and caring responsibilities. The countries

of former Yugoslavia are experiencing different trends regarding women's roles in peace-building (Sorenson, 1998). Women face challenges in exercising their political rights and power. Those who work at higher education institutions have a personal and collective responsibility to be educated and informed about public life so that they can equally participate in policy-making processes that are relevant for the lives of all citizens (Mulalić & Karić, 2020, pp. 27-42). The most promising way to increase women's participation in decision-making processes is through democratization (Aganović et al., 2015; Mulalić, 2011, pp. 40-55). While some progress has been made, in Bosnia and Herzegovina democratization processes are still underway.

### **The Position of Women in Bosnia and Herzegovina**

Bosnia and Herzegovina is a country in the process of a post-conflict transition. As a result of the Bosnian War (1992-1995), the country today consists of two entities and the Brčko District. Even 27 years after the end of the war, Bosnia and Herzegovina remains deeply divided, not only geographically, but also through a decentralised and fragmented system of government. The latter is one of the major obstacles for the country in its aspirations to join the European Union and NATO.

According to the 2013 census, the population of BiH is around 3.5 million people, with 50.9% women and 49.1% men (Agency for the Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2022). Regarding the position of women in its society, the country has made significant progress in ensuring relevant legal frameworks to promote and protect gender equality: the country's Constitution guarantees equal rights to all its citizens and prohibits gender-based discrimination in exercising citizens' rights and liberties, the Law on Gender Equality was adopted in 2003, and a Gender Equality Agency was established on state-level. However, there is an evident disconnect between the elaborate network of gender equality mechanisms at all levels of government and the real-life issues and experiences of women living in the country.

It is noteworthy that different international organisations, such as USAID and the OSCE, provide active support to gender mainstreaming processes in BiH and the region. The OSCE Mission to BiH promotes gender equality in the country by organizing different activities, such as a workshop to strengthen legal provisions for women in the armed forces, workshops to support women working in police and law enforcement, training women candidates from major political parties on media skills in preparation for elections, as well as trial monitoring of cases of gender-based violence and raising awareness of gender equality in education through its work with teachers (OSCE 2017, 2018a). Women themselves have initiated a variety of organisations in the country to promote women empowerment and gender equality, but also general values which need to be addressed in the country, such as a better education system, improved health protection, welfare and social security policies. Nevertheless, women still face different forms of gender-based discriminations and issues such as unemployment, lack of adequate political representation, and family violence.

Regarding the unemployment rate, BiH shows the lowest level of women's participation in the labour market in the region (Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees of BiH, 2018, p. 26). Some of the problems women face include the following: a longer waiting period for the first job, gaps in their career due to maternity leave or care for elderly or sick family members, and an inability to return to labour market due to old age (Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees of BiH, 2018). The Law on Gender Equality prescribes that equal representation of men and women exists when one sex is represented with at least 40% in bodies at all levels of authority in BiH. However, representation of women at the state and the entity levels in BiH is below 25% (Agency for the Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2022, p. 108). On the other hand, the EU average for national parliament stands at 30.2%, while the percentage of female members of the European Parliament stands at 36.1% (EPRS, 2019). Family violence and violence against

women are one of the prevalent issues in BiH society. A study has shown that 47.2% of women were exposed to some form of violence during their adult life (physical, mental, sexual, or economic violence), but only 5.5% of women who were victims of violence sought support from the relevant institutions (Babović et al., 2013).

The position of women working in academia is particularly important, given the pivotal role of the education system for any society. Especially in post-conflict countries in transition, education does not just represent an individual's human right, but also contributes to transitional justice and reconciliation (OSCE, 2018b). There is a lack of research about the role of female academics in the peace-building, state-building, and gender equality. How can female academics contribute to these processes? What are the main issues women face in society and how can their position be improved? What is the role of female academics in academic institutions? How did the COVID-19 pandemic affect their lives? How do female academics maintain work-life balance? This paper investigates these issues to shed light on this important topic, using BiH as a case study. In BiH, female teachers are predominant at pre-school, elementary school, and secondary school levels, whereas at the university level, men make up more than half of the academic staff (Agency for the Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2022, p. 52). On the other hand, more women than men enrol in and complete tertiary education. In 2020, 34% of women aged between 30 and 34 had a university degree, compared to 23.2% of men (pp. 50-51).

## **Methodology**

The methodology applied in this research is the survey method and the qualitative analysis of the participants' responses. The survey research method is a means of gathering information through self-reporting using questionnaires or interviews. This is a non-experimental or correlation research design in which there is no manipulation of the variables. The survey method is used to describe a certain condition or to examine re-

relationships between variables (Miller, 1983). Following the literature review, the authors composed a survey questionnaire. We used Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) for a descriptive statistics analysis of the participants' responses. In addition, we conducted a thematic analysis of the participants' answers to the open-ended questions (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Their answers were perused carefully and classified under the four predefined main themes: the role of female academics at higher education institutions in bridging social divides and building peace; their opinion about the main issues women face in society; their suggestions pertaining to improvement of the position of women in the society in general; and suggestions to improve the position of women at higher education institutions in the society. The analysis of the participants' answers resulted in different subthemes which were identified for each main theme, whereupon the subthemes were analyzed in detail and refined.

The instrument of research was the survey questionnaire developed by the researchers. It consisted of three main parts. The first part of the questionnaire explored the participants' demographic details, such as age, education background, their field of expertise, and years of work experience at higher education institutions. The second part of the survey questionnaire consisted of a series of statements which the participants rated on a 5-point Likert scale. The third part of the questionnaire consisted of four open-ended questions, in which participants were asked to reflect on the role of female academics at higher education institutions in bridging social divides and building peace; to share their opinion about the main issues women face in our society; to suggest steps for improvement of the position of women in our society in general; and to suggest steps to improve the position of women at higher education institutions in our society.

The survey questionnaire was distributed among female academicians working at both public and private higher education institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina. A total number of 40 female academics at higher education institutions participated in the research (n=40). Table 1 provides an

overview of the participants' age, country of formal education, academic title, field of expertise, and years of work experience at higher education institutions.

Table 1: Overview of the participants

Variable	Category	Frequency	Percent
Age	In their 20s	3	7.5
	In their 30s	17	42.5
	In their 40s	17	42.5
	In their 50s and 60s	3	7.5
Formal education	Completed in BiH	25	62.5
	Completed abroad	2	5
	Partly in BiH, partly abroad	13	32.5
Academic title	Assistants	2	5
	Senior assistants	4	10
	Assistant professors	18	45
	Associate professors	8	20
	Full professors	4	10
	Other positions	4	10
Field of expertise	Humanities	15	37.5
	Natural sciences	3	7.5
	Economics, marketing and management	16	40
	Technical sciences and architecture	6	15
Work experience at higher education institutions	Up to 10 years	11	27.5
	Between 10 and 20 years	24	60
	20 years and above	5	12.5

The average age of the participants is 39, with the youngest participant aged 23 and the oldest aged 60. In total, 7.5% of the participants were in their 20s, 42.5% were in their 30s and another 42.5% were in their 40s, while 7.5% were in their 50s and 60s. Regarding the participants' education background, 62.5% of them completed their education in BiH, 5% completed their education abroad, while 32.5% completed their education partially in BiH and partially abroad. As for the participants' academic titles, they were assistants (5%), senior assistants (10%), assistant professors (45%), associate professors (20%), full professors (10%) and other positions in higher education institutions (such as methodologists, research assistants, experts in practice, etc.) (10%). Most of the participants were appointed to assistant professor positions. The participants were academi-

cians from different scientific fields: humanities (37.5%), natural sciences (7.5%), economics, marketing, and management (40%), technical sciences, and architecture (15%). The academicians from the field of humanities were experts in language, education, linguistics, psychology, law, history, and civilization. The academicians from the field of natural sciences were experts in the field of genetics and bioengineering, biochemistry and microbiology, and food science. Most of the academicians were from the field of economics, marketing, and management (40%). The academicians from the field of technical sciences and architecture were experts in electrical engineering, mathematics, and architecture (15%). Concerning the participants' work experience at higher education institutions, 27.5% had up to 10 years of work experience, 60% had between 10 and 20 years, while 12.5% had 20 years of work experience and above.

### **Data Presentation and Analysis**

The second part of the survey questionnaire consisted of a series of statements which the participants rated on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from strongly disagree (1), disagree (2), neutral (3), agree (4) and strongly agree (5). The statements were related to the following subtopics: the role of female academics in the post-conflict society and the ways in which they can contribute to peace-building processes; their vision of the future of the country; the main issues and challenges they face as women in academia; their engagement in gender equality and women empowerment activities; the ways they cope with the COVID-19 pandemic in their professional and private life; and their work-life balance. The descriptive statistics of the results present mean values of each subtopic as a variable subsuming the individual items of the questionnaire, and mean values of the individual statements comprising the subtopics, whereby the central tendency of the answers was established. We also provided median values and standard deviation values for a better insight into the variability of the dataset.

When observed as single variables, the subtopics and their means provide

an overview of the women's perception of their role in the post-conflict society and contribution to peace-building processes, the view of the future of their country, of women's position at higher education institutions, any mobbing or harassment experiences, their activities in promoting gender equality, the way they cope with the COVID-19 pandemic, and their work-life balance (Table 2). They neither agreed nor disagreed with the statements related to their role in the post-conflict society and contributing to peace-building processes ( $M=2.99$ ). The participants agreed with the statements related to positive views of the future of their country ( $M=3.69$ ). They also agreed with the statement related to the position of women at higher education institutions in BiH as being equal with their male colleagues ( $M=3.89$ ). The participants disagreed with the statements related to experiencing mobbing and harassment at workplace ( $M=2.39$ ), with the standard deviation value at 1.26 for this item. They were neutral related to the statements about their activities in promoting gender equality ( $M=3.01$ ). On the other hand, they agreed with the statements expressing worries about the COVID-19 pandemic ( $M=3.65$ ) and their management of their work-life balance ( $M=3.46$ ). Table 2 provides the list of items in this subtopic.

Table 2: Main subtopics of the questionnaire

Main Subtopics	N	Mean	Median	Std. deviation
The role in the post-conflict society and contributing to peace-building processes	40	2.99	3.00	0.92
The view of the future of the country	40	3.69	3.83	0.91
Position of women at higher education institutions in BiH	40	3.89	4.20	0.90
Mobbing and harassment	40	2.39	2.25	1.26
Activities in promoting gender equality	40	3.01	3.13	0.87
Coping with the COVID 19 pandemic	40	3.65	3.80	0.74
Work-life balance	40	3.46	3.50	0.69



With regard to the role of women in the post-conflict society and their contribution to peace-building processes (Table 3), the participants agreed with the statement pertaining to discussing issues related to peace-building and conflict resolution in the post-war society with their colleagues, friends and family members (M=4.15). However, they were neutral regarding participating in activities related to conflict resolution in our society (M=3.02). Also, women academicians are neutral relative to the statement that they discuss issues related to peace-building and conflict resolution in the post-war society with their students (M=3.25). With regard to the statements pertaining to their attending and participating in conferences related to post-conflict peace-building, the participants disagreed with the statements (M=2.42; M=2.07). It is noteworthy that the standard deviation values are above 1.0 for each of these items. Table 3 provides the list of items in this subtopic.

Table 3: Role in the post-conflict society and contributing to peace-building processes

	N	Minimum (1=strongly disagree)	Maximum (5=strongly agree)	Mean	Median	Std. Deviation
I participate in activities related to conflict resolution in our society.	40	1.00	5.00	3.02	3.00	1.17
I discuss issues related to peace-building and conflict resolution in post-war society with my students.	40	1.00	5.00	3.25	3.50	1.32
I discuss issues related to peace-building and conflict resolution in the post-war society with my colleagues, friends and family members.	40	1.00	5.00	4.15	4.00	1.10
I attend conferences related to post-conflict peace-building.	40	1.00	5.00	2.42	2.00	1.34
I present papers at conferences related to post-conflict peace-building.	40	1.00	5.00	2.07	2.00	1.25

As for the participants' view of the future of the country (Table 4), their answers reveal their optimism related to the items of this subtopic. The

participants strongly agreed that the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina is in the EU (M=4.27). Also, they agreed that they see the country as an equal partner of the other countries in the region (M=3.92) and as competing with other countries in the region with its economy (M=3.67). They agreed with the statements that they see their country in the future with a leading role in post-conflict peace-building (M=3.52), and that the country would provide equal opportunities to men and women (M=3.47). The participants were neutral regarding the statement that their country would respond successfully to challenges of social inequality in the future (M=3.27). The standard deviation values are above 1.0 for each of these items except for the first item related to the future of the country as the EU member. Table 4 provides the list of items in this subtopic.

Table 4: View of the future of the country

	N	Minimum (1=strongly disagree)	Maximum (5=strongly agree)	Mean	Median	Std. Deviation
I see my country in the future as a member of the EU.	40	2.00	5.00	4.27	4.00	0.85
I see my country in the future as an equal partner of other countries in the region.	40	1.00	5.00	3.92	4.00	1.19
I see my country in the future competing with other countries in the region with its economy.	40	1.00	5.00	3.67	4.00	1.29
I see my country in the future with the leading role in post-conflict peace-building.	40	1.00	5.00	3.52	4.00	1.22
I see my country in the future responding successfully to challenges of social inequality.	40	1.00	5.00	3.27	3.00	1.22
I see my country in the future providing equal opportunities to men and women.	40	1.00	5.00	3.47	4.00	1.15

As far as the position of women at higher education institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina is concerned (Table 5), the participants agreed that women are treated well at higher education institutions in the country (M=3.65).

They also agreed that they have the same promotion opportunities as their male colleagues (M=3.87) and the same salary as their male colleagues in the same position (M=4.00). Women academicians agreed that they publish articles with male colleagues as co-authors (M=3.95) and that the articles they submit for publication in journals are frequently accepted by their male colleagues (M=3.95). Regarding the topic of sexual harassment and mobbing at workplace, the participants disagreed with the statements that they experienced at least one form of sexual harassment at work (M=2.35) and that they were victims of mobbing at their workplace (M=2.42). The standard deviation values are above 1.0 for each of these items. Table 5 provides the list of items in this subtopic.

Table 5: Position of women at higher education institutions in BiH

	N	Minimum (1=strongly disagree)	Maximum (5=strongly agree)	Mean	Median	Std. Deviation
Women are treated well at higher education institutions in our country.	40	1.00	5.00	3.65	4.00	1.25
I have the same promotion opportunities as my male colleagues.	40	1.00	5.00	3.87	4.00	1.22
I publish articles with male colleagues as co-authors.	40	1.00	5.00	3.95	5.00	1.34
My salary is the same as the salary of male colleagues in the same position.	40	1.00	5.00	4.00	5.00	1.36
Articles I submit for publication in journals are frequently accepted by my male colleagues.	40	1.00	5.00	3.95	4.00	1.06
I have experienced at least one form of sexual harassment at work.	40	1.00	5.00	2.35	2.00	1.55
I was a victim of mobbing at my workplace.	40	1.00	5.00	2.42	2.00	1.52

Regarding their activities in promoting gender equality (Table 6), the participants were neutral relative to the statements that they have been en-

gaged in activities that promote gender equality (M=2.82) and women empowerment in their country and society (M=2.97). They strongly agreed with the statement that women should be more actively involved in politics in their country (M=4.27). However, they disagreed with the statement that they would like to be more involved in politics (M=1.95). The standard deviation values are above 1.0 for each of these items. Table 6 provides the list of items in this subtopic.

Table 6: Activities in promoting gender equality

	N	Minimum (1=strongly disagree)	Maximum (5=strongly agree)	Mean	Median	Std. Deviation
I have been engaged in activities that promote gender equality in our country.	40	1.00	5.00	2.82	3.00	1.34
I have been engaged in activities that promote women's empowerment in our society.	40	1.00	5.00	2.97	3.00	1.39
Women should be more actively involved in politics in our country.	40	1.00	5.00	4.27	5.00	1.04
I would like to be more involved in politics.	40	1.00	5.00	1.95	2.00	1.13

As far as coping with the COVID-19 pandemic is concerned (Table 7), female academics agreed with the statement that they are worried about the COVID-19 pandemic (M=4.17), while they strongly agreed with the statement that they are worried about the threat the COVID-19 pandemic poses to their families (M=4.40). The participants were neutral about the statement that they are worried about the threat the COVID-19 pandemic poses to their careers (M=3.25). On the other hand, they strongly agreed with the statement that they are worried about the threat the COVID-19 pandemic poses to the economy of their country (M=4.57). Finally, the participants disagreed with the statement that they are satisfied with the way authorities in their country deal with the COVID-19 pandemic (M=1.85). The standard deviation values are above 1.0 for some of these items. Table 7 provides the list of items in this subtopic.

Table 7: Coping with the COVID-19 pandemic

	N	Minimum (1=strongly disagree)	Maximum (5=strongly agree)	Mean	Median	Std. Devia- tion
I am worried about the COVID-19 pandemic.	40	1.00	5.00	4.17	4.00	1.08
I am worried about the threat the COVID-19 pandemic poses to my family.	40	1.00	5.00	4.40	5.00	0.98
I am worried about the threat the COVID-19 pandemic poses to my career.	40	1.00	5.00	3.25	4.00	1.43
I am worried about the threat the COVID-19 pandemic poses to the economy of my country.	40	1.00	5.00	4.57	5.00	0.96
I am satisfied with the way authorities in my country deal with the COVID-19 pandemic.	40	1.00	5.00	1.85	2.00	1.03

The final subtopic in this part of the questionnaire investigated the participants' stance on work-life balance (Table 8). They agreed with the statement that they successfully balance their private and professional life ( $M=3.57$ ). The participants strongly agreed that they have the complete support of their husbands or families in the development of their careers ( $M=4.30$ ). They were neutral about the statement that they feel guilty for not spending more time with their family ( $M=3.32$ ). The participants disagreed with the statements that they feel guilty for not allocating more time to their professional obligations ( $M=2.50$ ). They were neutral about the statement that it is more difficult for women to work at higher education institutions than for men ( $M=3.32$ ), with the standard deviation value at 1.65 for this item. On the other hand, women academicians agreed with the statement that women are expected to do all the housework in their country ( $M=3.72$ ). The standard deviation values are above 1.0 for each of these items. Table 8 provides the list of items in this subtopic.

Table 8: Work-life balance

	N	Minimum (1=strongly disagree)	Maximum (5=strongly agree)	Mean	Median	Std. Devia- tion
I successfully balance my private and professional life.	40	1.00	5.00	3.57	4.00	1.13
I have the complete support of my husband / family in the development of my career.	40	1.00	5.00	4.30	5.00	1.16
I feel guilty for not spending more time with my family.	40	1.00	5.00	3.32	3.50	1.44
I feel guilty for not allocating more time to my professional obligations.	40	1.00	5.00	2.50	2.00	1.38
It is more difficult for women to work at higher education institutions than for men.	40	1.00	5.00	3.32	4.00	1.65
In my country, women are expected to do all the housework.	40	1.00	5.00	3.72	4.00	1.26

The final part of the questionnaire consisted of four open-ended questions related to the role of female academics at higher education institutions in bridging social divides and building peace; their opinion about the main issues women face in their society; their suggestions pertaining to the improvement of the position of women in their society in general; and suggestions to improve the position of women at higher education institutions in their society.

Regarding the role of female academics at higher education institutions in bridging social divides and building peace, the total number of 35 participants, 87.5%, answered this question (N=35). Their answers can be classified into the following categories (Table 9): the role of women academicians is important; the role of women academicians is not any different

from the role of men academicians or people in general; no opinion or no time to have an opinion about it; their role is limited and insignificant; their role is negative.

Table 9: The view of the role of female academics

	Frequency	Percent
The role of female academics is important.	24	60
The role of women academicians is not any different from the role of men academics or people in general.	5	12.5
No opinion or no time to have an opinion about it.	3	7.5
Their role is limited and insignificant.	2	5
Their role is negative.	1	2.5
No answer provided.	5	12.5

A total of 60% of the participants noted that the role of women academicians in bridging social divides and building peace is important. The following aspects of their roles have been noted: (i) female academics as initiators of positive changes in society with their activities in education and communication; (ii) female academics as representatives of their ethnic group in the inter-ethnic dialogues, as representatives of their country and as role models to young generations. Regarding their role as initiators of positive changes in society, they primarily have the role of educators of young generations. They encourage continuous education of their students, promote peace, living together and the main values of our society. Women academicians can build peace by treating all their students with equal respect, and all the people they work with who are of different ethnicities. In addition, they should initiate discussions about the topics which are not discussed enough, and which may contribute to peace-building among different ethnic groups. They may also develop multiculturalism in their students. In addition, they have a responsibility to ensure more rights for women and improvement of their position, especially given the fact that the county went through aggression and genocide. The state institutions should also be involved, but, unfortunately, it is not the case. There is a general

lack of activities aimed at bridging social divides between people of the country. Female academics are involved in different activities, such as lectures, conferences, publishing articles in the area of social psychology, and discussing stereotypes, prejudices and discrimination. Also, they partake in projects, such as education for peace, conflicts in society, Student council in BiH, project classes, creative workshops, lifelong learning activities, etc. They promote professionalism, stability, and equality in all aspects of life. Women are often much more successful in negotiation processes.

The second important aspect of their role that was emphasized by the female academics is the fact that they are representatives of their ethnic group in the inter-ethnic dialogues in the country. Women have an important role in bridging social divides in any society, including BiH. They are also representatives of their country to the outside world, given their participation in networking activities, academic exchange programs and research cooperation and projects with academicians from the region and beyond. This is important for the motivation of their children and daughters especially. They provide opportunities to others to cooperate with women and to inform them about their opinions on a variety of topics. They represent multicultural society and pluralism. They have an important role primarily because they are role models for young generations of girls and they pave the path for them. They need to set an example for the next generations with their knowledge, success, and behaviour. They set an example to everybody and fight against stereotypes related to social divides by communicating with others, promoting peace, and informing the public about relevant topics. Their voice is respected, whereby their support to other women is crucial.

The participants highlighted the fact that the role of female academics is important in society. Some participants noted that the role of women in peace-building processes is as important as the role of all other academics who work at higher education institutions, but also the role of all people in general. On the other hand, some participants noted that they do not have an opinion of this topic or have no time to contemplate or engage in



peace-building due to work and family obligations. Two participants underlined that the role of female academics is very limited. One participant noted that women in general do not contribute to peace-building, but rather deepen conflicts, adding that this was the case throughout history too.

In their answers to the second open-ended question, the total number of 39 participants (97.5%) provided detailed answers and listed the main issues women face in society. These may be classified in the following categories: (i) predominant traditional view that women should stay at home and take care of the family and the household; (ii) unequal employment opportunities for men and women; (iii) gender inequality, marginalization, discrimination, misogyny and violence against women; (iv) lack of protection of mothers and poor maternity leave policy; (v) lack of educational opportunities for women; (vi) lack of understanding for women who are not mothers and who are stigmatized for that reason; (vi) the main problem for women are women themselves (noted by one participant).

Most participants pointed out that the main issues women face in society are traditional roles in which women are responsible for all the housework, even the women who are employed and work full time. The traditional view of women was that they should be confined to the house and in charge of raising children and maintaining family contacts. Nowadays, however, many women are also providers and working full time. But the view of their household role has not changed. As a result, women play both parts and try to juggle these roles. A woman is a mother, an educator, a wife, a cook, and a cleaning lady in her own family. Consequently, women become overwhelmed, whereby the entire family suffers.

The second major issue women face are unequal employment opportunities for men and women. Men are generally in a much better position. A woman is observed by potential employers as somebody who may want to use pregnancy leave or maternity leave in the future. Personal questions put to women about their marital status or plans for future pregnancy are

not rare in job interviews. Men have better chances to be employed, even at higher education institutions. Women who are employed experience different treatment and double standards at work. They are expected to work overtime for low pay. Their family obligations are disregarded. Women academicians note that it is much easier for their male colleagues to be promoted, given women's family obligations and their housework duties in addition to all their professional duties. Sometimes, business arrangements are discussed and agreed upon over dinner or at a bar at night, which gives male employees an advantage, since women generally do not attend such meetings. One participant noted that women are not taken seriously, even in academia, because of the still widely held belief that they should stay at home.

In society in general, there is gender inequality, marginalization, discrimination, misogyny and violence against women. Women experience different forms of violence: psychological, physical, financial, and economic violence. Women are marginalized at different levels of society. Only a few women are included in political elites, are in the top positions in companies or in positions of power. They face many prejudices, different forms of discrimination, sexism, disrespect and humiliation. Among the most common prejudices is that women cannot be as successful as men, that they should not be entrusted with important positions and that they cannot successfully balance personal and professional obligations. There are socially acceptable jokes about women, while comments about their physical appearance are not rare.

Women who are mothers are particularly vulnerable, due to the lack of protection by authorities and the government. Inadequate and poor maternity leave policies make many young mothers leave their one-month-old babies and go back to underpaid jobs. Employers discriminate against mothers, who feel stigmatized for using maternity leave or a leave when their child is ill. The participants are acutely aware of the importance of education for women, and they pointed out that one of the main issues women face is the

lack of educational opportunities for women in the country. The state does not provide adequate support for the education of women.

Some participants noted that research studies generally discuss women who have their own families, whereas none of the studies discusses women who do not have a husband or children, but who take care of their parents or their wider family. Such women are marked as a failure because they do not have children, while nobody even asked them whether they could have children or not, due to an illness for example. Women who are not mothers, but who are just workers, are considered unsuccessful and are stigmatized. One participant pointed out that the main issue women face are women themselves, noting that whenever women complain about someone, they are usually other women, be it a teacher, a doctor, a patient, a worker at the court, a worker or a customer at a shop, etc. If an employee experiences mobbing, for example, the mobbing is done by women.

In the third open-ended question, the participants were asked what needs to be done to improve the position of women in their society. A total number of 38 participants answered the question (95%). Their answers may be classified into the following categories: (i) educating women, men and young generations; (ii) changing the traditional role of women doing all the housework and ensuring better work-life balance for women; (iii) better social policies and family policies; (iv) providing women with equal opportunities as men; and (v) changing women's perception of themselves.

Most participants underlined that education is pivotal in improving the position of women in particular and society in general. Being pillars of society, women need to be educated, well-read, self-confident and happy in order to fulfil their role. Men should be also educated about the importance of the role of women. Many participants pointed out that educating young generations of boys and girls is essential for ensuring improvements in the position of women and our society. Educated and confident women will be able to resist the pressures of society which are commonplace nowadays,

such as the pressure to “accept their destiny” and to accept other people’s decisions regarding what is best for them. They will be more likely to make their own decisions and choices, pursue management positions in different sectors, to be involved in decision-making processes and politics. The entire society needs to be educated in that regard. Only then, deeply rooted stereotypes and inequalities will be eliminated.

The traditional view of a woman who does the entire housework, even though she is employed full-time, should be changed. This means educating and changing men too. One participant noted that even when men are involved in chores and housework, the imposed view is that they “are helping their wives”, which is a distorted perception of women needing help to manage the household. Instead, even and fair division of chores and household obligations among all family members should be reinforced. Women who are employed need to have a high-quality work-life balance so that they would not feel chronic fatigue, dissatisfaction, or guilt.

It is essential to have better social policies and family policies in order to ensure women empowerment and improvement of their position in society. The authorities and government have that responsibility, but also non-governmental organizations. More flexible laws may protect women who are employed full-time, enable flexible working hours and better maternity leave policies. Unemployed women should be especially protected and provided with adequate welfare. Institutionalized support for women is essential. Their economic inequality is a major issue, and it is necessary to empower women’s economic position.

Women need to be provided with equal opportunities as men in terms of education, employment, involvement in politics, positions of power and authority. Women are raising the next generations in each society. Women’s physical and mental health is of the essence for the entire society. Finally, it is necessary that women themselves change the perception of their own roles. They need to stop seeing other women as their enemies. They should

develop true empathy toward others, especially toward other women. Also, they need to stop perceiving themselves as victims and need to take initiatives to improve their position.

In the answers to the fourth open-ended question, the participants provided their suggestions for the improvement of the position of women in higher education institutions. A total number of 38 participants answered the question (95%). Their answers may be classified into the following categories: (i) flexible working hours for women and better work-life balance; (ii) better promotion opportunities, research, education and training opportunities; (iii) accepting women as equal to men at higher education institutions and eliminating stereotypes and prejudices; (iv) the position of women at higher education institutions is satisfying and needs no improvements.

The participants underlined that flexible working hours for women working at higher education institutions and better work-life balance would improve their position to a large extent. They should have support from their co-workers and their families, given the importance of their role for a healthy family and society. Female academicians also need better promotion opportunities, research, education and training opportunities. Women should occupy higher administrative positions at higher education institutions too, such as the positions of deans or rectors. Continuous research, education and training opportunities are crucial for the advancement of their career.

The participants noted that it is important for women to be accepted as equal to men at higher education institutions and eliminate stereotypes and prejudices towards women. In order to do that, the awareness of women's position within a family must be changed, as well as the perception of her household duties, work-life balance and support she gets from her family members and her colleagues at work. A total number of 10 participants (25%) noted that they find the position of women at higher education institutions in BiH satisfying and that there is no need for any improvements.

## Conclusion and Recommendations

Female academics in Bosnia and Herzegovina hold that women have an important role in peace-building, state-building and gender equality activities in the country. Women in academia are educators of young generations of students who will build the future of the country. They promote peace, respect and reconciliation among their students, along with multiculturalism, pluralism and inter-ethnic dialogue in the country that is still marred by the war. Women face many issues in society, such as the traditional view of women staying at home and taking care of the family and the household, unequal employment opportunities, gender inequality, marginalization, and violence against women. Mothers face poor maternity leave policy and lack of protection by institutions, while women who are not mothers are often stigmatized.

The solution for improving the position of women and the entire society is primarily the education of women, men, and young generations. It is necessary to change the perceptions of traditional roles of women doing all the housework and ensure better work-life balance for women and better social and family protection policies. Above all, women need to start changing their perception of themselves. Concerning women's position in academia, it may be improved by implementing flexible working hours for women and better work-life balance, along with better promotion opportunities, research, education and training opportunities for women. Stereotypes and prejudices against female academics need to be eliminated. When it comes to work-life balance, women are especially struggling to maintain a high-quality balance between their private and professional life in cultures in which women are generally expected to do all the housework. Bosnia and Herzegovina traditionally has such a culture, as the participants confirmed too. However, the participants in this study overall consider themselves successful in maintaining a work-life balance. They have complete support of their family members in the development of their careers. Regarding the COVID-19 pandemic, female academics expressed their wor-

ries, especially about the threat to their families and the economy of their country. On the other hand, they are hopeful and optimistic about the future of the country.

Future research of the role of female academics in peace-building and state-building may be expanded to include a larger sample and a variety of relevant variables, all with the aim of improving our understanding of the topic and its effects. Improvements of the position of women lead to improvements of the entire country and the world. Female academics reiterated the importance of education for society. Education is crucial for women: they need to be provided with quality education and equal education opportunities as men at all stages of their lives. Women themselves should be the leaders of positive changes, including women empowerment through education and mutual support, but also gender equality activities. Inspiring young generations to challenge social stereotypes and raising their awareness of the importance of the role of women in society will ensure the country's steady progress in the future.

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## FROM ONE NEST TO ANOTHER: HOW DOES ATTACHMENT STYLE RELATE TO ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS IN-GROUP ATTACHMENT FOR BOSNIAN-HERZEGOVINIAN YOUTH?

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### Abstract

This study builds on a long-standing interest in (social) psychological outcomes of adolescent attachment styles and attachment patterns with parents. One of the outcomes I explored is in-group identification and in-group attachment, which are especially salient in the divided society of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The present cross-sectional study involved a stratified convenience sample of 735 participants (51.7 % female), aged 16 to 21 years ( $M= 18.72$ ,  $SD=1.54$ ). A significant positive correlation was found between current attachment style and in-group identification ( $r=.17$ ,  $p<.01$  for ethnic, and  $r=.13$ ,  $p<.05$  for religious). The present study points to further investigations and subsequent cross-field theoretical advancements regarding the possible effects of attachment on group identification and group attachment.

**Keywords:** attachment style; in-group identification in-group attachment; identity; Bosnia and Herzegovina; youth

## Introduction

Although primarily risen from a developmental psychological perspective, the concept of attachment has been applied to other contexts as well, such as interpersonal, social, and political settings. The present study aims to examine the relevance of attachment perspectives to understand youth in-group identification and in-group attachment in a post-conflict society, Bosnia and Herzegovina, characterized by a constant reiteration of identity-based division<sup>1</sup>. Albeit identity development in adolescence is a normative process, there are important differences on an individual, group, and cultural level (Motti-Stefanidi, 2015). This article examines some individual differences that might be associated with social identification, more specifically, the correlations between both current attachment style and retrospective parental caregiving attachment styles, with the strength of ethnic and religious in-group identification and in-group attachment. My objective is therefore to explore whether an individual's level of in-group identification/in-group attachment is associated with their self-report measures of attachment style.

Originally, Bowlby (1973) proposed infants' innate behavioral system strives to maintain proximity with the primary caregiver, to provide survival and security. Such attachment behaviors activate the caregivers' complementary behaviors of protection, creating a particular relationship pattern between the two. Based on these primary attachment experiences with caregivers, an internal working model is established that includes the mental representation of the self, a significant other, as well as the infant's relationship with them. This internal model becomes a part of a developing personality, on which subsequent representations of the self, the world, and the others, are based (Bowlby, 1973; Munholland, 2008). If primary

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<sup>1</sup>Ethnic identity is explicitly mentioned in the constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which states that there are three constituent peoples: Bosniaks, Serbs, and Croats. Regarding religious affiliation, Bosniaks are predominantly Muslim, Serbs are Orthodox Christian, while Croats are Catholic.

caregivers consistently provide comfort from distress, a secure attachment is fostered. On the other hand, caregivers who do not respond to children's needs and seem unreliable, tend to contribute to the development of insecure types of attachment. While securely attached infants use their primary attachment figures as a *secure base* from which to explore the environment (Ainsworth, 1985), the insecurely attached ones seem to be burdened by the relationship and lack confidence to do the same. In the following sections, I will briefly present basic tenets of attachment perspectives relevant for understanding the current study. Subsequently, I will tackle the links of attachment theory with social identification variables.

### **Attachment types**

Over several decades, extensive research on various age groups established three major attachment patterns: secure, avoidant, and anxious/ambivalent (Hazan & Shaver, 1987). However, depending on the measurement type and the age of the subjects, other patterns or styles have been proposed as well, for example, disorganized in children and infants, and avoidant/fearful in adults. More commonly, attachment has been conceptualized through two underlying dimensions, anxiety and avoidance (Fraley et al., 2011), enabling a continuous rather than categorical measurement. The secure attachment pattern includes a sense of trust in the significant other and their availability in case of distress. The avoidant (or dismissive) attachment pattern, on the other hand, is characterized by discomfort when being close to others and depending on them. Avoidantly attached infants and children ignore their primary caregiver, and are neither distressed when separated from them, nor show joy when reunited. Ambivalently attached adults exhibit hyperactive and anxious attachment behavior, they fear abandonment, but at the same time, they wish to be close with other people (Hazan & Shaver, 1990). Notwithstanding the complexity of available taxonomies in the literature on attachment, this study will use the terms secure, avoidant, and ambivalent attachment style. It seems that over time some attachment

figures' functions diversify and may come to include romantic partners, friends, coworkers, etc. Moreover, it is proposed that over the lifespan, even other entities like God, leaders, and different social structures and groups may hold similar functions to that of a secure base (see Mayseless & Popper, 2007). Therefore, people may rely on these entities for protection and security, social order, predictability, and fulfillment of their basic needs (Mayseless & Popper, 2007). Bowlby (1982) argued that "a school or college, a workgroup, religious group, or a political group can come to constitute for many people a subordinate attachment 'figure' and for some people a principal attachment "figure" (p. 207). Therefore, the attachment pattern developed with caregivers seems to be relevant not only for interpersonal but also for sociopolitical contexts. In that sense, a bulk of studies have shown that the attachment style affects not only interpersonal relationships and processes but also political and ideological orientation (Gaziano, 2017; Koleva & Rip, 2009). Most correlational studies have linked secure attachment to conservatism or its covariants and, on the other hand, insecure attachment with liberalism or its covariants (see Koleva & Rip, 2009).

### **Application of attachment theory to social psychology**

An internal working model of the self and others might be considered a general concept, and therefore applicable in many contexts. However, although it is not unprecedented to apply a theory or a concept from one area to another, the expansion of a primarily developmental attachment theory in the social-psychological realm has not generated "convincing theoretical integration" (Boccatto & Capozza, 2011, p. 26) so far. Likewise, there has been criticism of attempts to use Bowlby's (1982) and Ainsworth's (1985) perspectives as a general framework for understanding human security or personality, arguing that the attachment concept refers to very specific phenomena within the relationship context (Waters & Cummings, 2000). Still, the interest of social psychologists in this application remains evident in the past two decades (Boccatto & Capozza, 2011; Koleva & Rip, 2009; May-

seless & Popper, 2007). Regardless of that, studies specifically addressing attachment style and in-group identification have been less common. One of the rare studies explicitly tackling this is a study by Milanov et al. (2013), which found participants with a secure attachment style to have a significantly higher social identification compared to participants with a dismissive-avoidant attachment.

### **Group belonging, identification, and attachment pattern**

The present study seeks to explore how attachment relates to one of the key psychosocial variables, social identity, more specifically, ethnic, and religious identity. Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) proposes that by categorizing the self into social units an individual satisfies basic psychological needs, among which is the achievement of a positive self-concept. Studies of adolescents have indeed found correlations between social identity and numerous variables relevant to their development (Sani, 2012). Regarding attachment, group belonging seems to be fundamental for survival in the same way as closeness to a caregiver (Boccatto & Capozza, 2011). Group membership may satisfy the definitional criteria for attachment, namely, (a) a group can be the target of searching for proximity, especially in times of need; (b) a group can satisfy the needs for support, (c) a group can facilitate exploration and the practice of social and emotional skills (Rom & Mikulincer, 2003). There is empirical evidence that attachment style affects individuals' perceptions of similarity with others (Mikulincer et al., 1998), which is at the core of in-group identification.

The *correspondence hypothesis* posits that securely attached individuals tend to form secure attachment ties with groups, applying internal models accordingly, i.e., considering themselves as valuable members and others as trustworthy fellow members of the group. When threatened individually, they rely on other group members for support. Lower attachment anxiety is indeed associated with higher identification with groups (Crisp et

al., 2008). In a pioneer experimental study, Smith et al. (1999) empirically established that anxiety and avoidance emerge as underlying dimensions in group attachment. Individuals who scored higher in anxiety showed over-preoccupation with acceptance by valued groups, and therefore tried to conform to their prototypes. On the contrary, individuals scoring high in avoidance considered closeness to groups undesirable, and avoided ties or dependence, focusing their efforts on acting independently. Securely attached individuals, i.e., those scoring low on both anxiety and avoidance, perceived group membership as valuable and expected acceptance. The same research showed that insecure attachment was negatively correlated with group identification. Security is also associated with harmonious relations with outgroups (Koleva & Rip, 2009). Experimental activation of a secure attachment scheme triggers fewer negative reactions to other groups (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2001). In sum, although groups lack a clear attachment figure per se, similar background attachment dynamics are suggested (Mayselless & Popper, 2007).

I expect that attachment style will affect in-group identification and in-group attachment since these social-psychological concepts represent an extension of the self-concept to include the group (Roccas et al., 2006). This is based on the correspondence hypothesis, according to which individual differences in in-group identification and in-group attachment parallel those in attachment style (Mayselless & Popper, 2007) and the theoretical concept of the internal working model of the self and others,

### **The present study**

Building on the attachment-fulfilling functions of groups, the present study seeks to expand the scope by including larger social formations and identification with them. In-group identification is defined as the degree to which people's membership in a social group is psychologically affecting and socially consequential (Ellemers et al., 2002). If interaction with primary



caregivers experienced in childhood affects trust beliefs later on, my rationale is that it also affects the relationship with groups that are lower in entitativity, even if it is only in terms of identification strength. Although in this case close emotional bonds are made only with a limited number of members of such social groups, young people nevertheless develop strong symbolic relationships with them, since they are becoming a part of one's identity. Therefore, the strength of in-group identification/attachment may reflect differences in attachment.

Consequently, by making this “leap” and examining the role of attachment in in-group identification and in-group attachment, the current study presents a cross-breed between developmental psychology, social psychology, and sociology. So far, a convincing theoretical integration of attachment theory with group psychology is lacking (Boccatto & Capozza, 2011). Therefore, this study adds to current efforts to understand the attachment basis of in-group identification, especially considering the scarcity of studies addressing this issue. Furthermore, exploration of attachment impact on in-group identification seems to be an especially relevant endeavor in a socio-politically fragile and complex context that is Bosnia and Herzegovina, marked by chronic ethnic and/or religious identity salience. Involving conceptually and empirically different constructs, this study seeks to explore how both current attachment style and retrospective parental caregiving attachment styles, affect levels of ethnic/religious in-group identification. No similar studies exploring the association of attachment style with in-group identification have been conducted with a sample including Bosnian-Herzegovinian youth. I expect that this study will shed light on potential determinants of young people's ties to the group.

## Methods

### *Sample*

A stratified convenience sample of 735 adolescents was recruited in junior high, senior high, and university freshman classes. Strata were created based on official data of the most recent census (Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2016) socio-demographic characteristics of age group 16 to 20 (involvement in education, type of education, urban/rural area). The main part of the sample recruited through public educational institutions was supplemented through exponential snowball sampling in case of underrepresentation of some strata. The sample included 735 adolescents, 380 (51.7 %) of which were female. The age of the participants ranged from 16 to 21 years ( $M= 18.72$ ,  $SD=1.54$ ). 62.7 % of the sample were secondary school students, 32.9 % university students, and the rest 4.4% were neither. 53.3% of the participants resided in rural areas. Most of the participants come from two-parent families (88.2%), 10.9% from single-parent families, and 1% of them lived with guardians.

### *Procedure*

The questionnaire was administered in accordance with ethical principles of psychological research from December 2017 to May 2018, following the approval of the ethical committee from the International University of Sarajevo. Participants were informed about the research objective and no coercion to participate was used. It was made clear that anyone could quit participation at any point of the survey administration. Participants were guaranteed anonymity as well as safeguarding the materials. The questionnaire was administered during regular class time.

### *Instruments*

1. Socio-demographic/family questionnaire including personal and familial variables: age, gender, year of study, GPA, place of residence, family composition (two-parent, single-parent, or guardian family), number of

family members, level of parents' education, parental employment status, subjective assessment of family's financial situation, family composition history, data about adverse experiences (separation from parents, loss of home, loss of a family member or a loved one, domestic violence targeted at other family members, domestic violence targeted at oneself, serious illness).

2. Collective Identification Scale is aimed at measuring in-group identification and in-group attachment, i.e., one's positive feelings about the group. It combines a nominal group identity question for assessing primary group identification (*"People see themselves in many different ways. Using this list, which one best describes you?"*) (a) Bosniak, Croat, Serb, Roma, Jew, or some other ethnic group; (b) Muslim, Orthodox, Catholic, or some other religious group; (c) I do not see myself as a part of a particular group, with Likert-type items assessing strength of these associations i.e. in-group attachment. Two items from Doosje et al. (1995) were adapted to the Bosnian-Herzegovinian context with two additional items included to tap religious identification equivalently: (a) "My ethnic/religious background is very important to me." (b) "I am proud of my ethnic/religious background." Participants were asked to indicate the level of agreement with these statements on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). The study yielded a high internal consistency of the instrument (0.85 Cronbach Alpha).

3. Attachment Style Questionnaire (Hazan & Shaver, 1990) is a straightforward categorical instrument, that includes brief prototypical descriptions of each attachment style (secure, avoidant, and ambivalent), with participants selecting the style that best describes their feelings about relationships with peers/partners ("close persons"). Secure, which describes their relationships as friendly, trusting, and happy. They accept their partners regardless of faults and tend to have long and fulfilling relationships. Anxious/Avoidant is characterized as being afraid of intimacy, experiencing emotional highs and lows during relationships, along with much jealousy. Anxious/Ambivalent refers to the strong need for constant reciprocation and validation in interpersonal relationships, along with emotional highs and lows.

4. Parental Caregiving Style Questionnaire (Hazan & Shaver, 1986) taps the characteristic features of parenting through a choice of three categories depicting avoidant, secure, and ambivalent history with each parent. The three descriptions are as follows: (1) “She was fairly cold, distant, and rejecting, and not very responsive; I often felt that her concerns were elsewhere; I frequently had the feeling that she just as soon would not have had me.” (2) “She was generally warm and responsive; she was good at knowing when to be supportive and when to let me operate on my own; our relationship was almost always comfortable, and I have no major reservations or complaints about it.” (3) “She was noticeably inconsistent in her reactions to me, sometimes warm and sometimes not; she had her own needs and agendas which sometimes got in the way of her receptiveness and responsiveness to my needs; she definitely loved me but didn’t always show it in the best way.” Corresponding paragraphs were used to assess Paternal Avoidance, Paternal Security, and Paternal Ambivalence.

## Results

An overview of the sample characteristics regarding gender, place of residence, and schooling level is presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1.  
Sample characteristics regarding gender, place of residence, and type of educational institution

	Male	Female	Total
<i>Place of residence</i>			
Urban	168 (49.3%)	173 (50.7%)	341(46.5%)
Rural	186 (47.4%)	206 (52.6%)	392(53.5%)
<i>Educational Institution</i>			
Vocational second.sc.	76(80.9%)	18(19.1%)	94(12.8%)
Technical second.sc.	126(51.4%)	119(48.6%)	245(33.4%)
Grammar school	31(25.6%)	90(74.4%)	121(16.5%)
University	107(44.2%)	135(55.8%)	242(33.0%)
Not in school	15(46.9%)	17(53.1%)	32(4.4%)

Note: Due to 1.77% of randomly missing data total N might defer.

Before attending to the study's main research question, I will consider the basic descriptive statistics of the key variables and their correlates.

### *In-group identification and in-group attachment*

Regarding in-group identification and in-group attachment, most of the participants declared identification with both an ethnic and a religious group (40.95%), 26.8% with religious, 20.41% with ethnic, while 10.07% chose no collective identification. Furthermore, the strength of the collective identification was high as well. There was a notable tendency toward agreement and strong agreement with statements regarding the importance of one's ethnic/religious background and the sense of ethnic/religious pride, i.e., in-group attachment (see Table 2 below). This tendency was especially prominent regarding religious identification.

Table 2: Percentages of responses to items indicating the strength of collective identification

	<i>strongly disagree</i>	<i>disagree</i>	<i>somewhat disagree</i>	<i>neither agree or disagree</i>	<i>some-what agree</i>	<i>agree</i>	<i>strongly agree</i>
My ethnic background is very important to me.	5.9	2.7	4.4	11.6	10.6	25.5	39.3
I am proud of my ethnic background.	3	1.8	2.8	11.5	8.5	22.5	49.5
My religious background is very important to me.	4.3	1.1	2.4	3.8	6.8	16.9	64.7
I am proud of my religious background	2.8	1.1	1.1	5.5	3.3	12.5	73.6

Distributions of both in-group identifications were negatively asymmetric, significantly differing from normal, as indicated by Shapiro-Wilk's test statistics of .82 for ethnic, and .6 for religious identification (both  $p < .001$ ).

Therefore, further analyses were based on non-parametric statistics.

To explore categorical differences, I used the Mann-Whitney U test. Males displayed statistically significantly higher ethnic identification than females ( $U=56889.500$ ,  $Z=-2.00$ ,  $p<.05$ ), while no gender difference was found regarding religious identification ( $U=58641.000$ ,  $Z=-1.430$ ,  $p>.05$ ). Both ethnic and religious identification were significantly higher in males residing in rural than in urban areas ( $U=11812.500$ ,  $Z=-2.66$  and  $U=11745.500$ ,  $Z=-2.99$  respectively, both  $p<.01$ ). In females residing in rural areas, there was a significantly stronger religious ( $U=15039$ ,  $Z=-1.98$ ,  $p<.05$ ), but not ethnic in-group identification ( $U=16379$ ,  $Z=-.48$ ,  $p>.05$ ). Levels of ethnic and religious identification have been found to correlate negatively with socio-economic status (SES- operationalized as a combination of family income, parents' educational level, employment, and subjective assessment). This correlation was much stronger for religious ( $r_s(683)=-.22$ ,  $p<.001$ ) than for ethnic identification ( $r(683)=-.10$ ,  $p<.01$ ) controlled for gender. Age was not significantly correlated with neither ethnic, nor religious identification (both  $r_s(701)=.01$ ,  $p>.05$ ), controlled for gender. Also, religious identification was significantly lower among those with divorced parents, compared to others (Table 3).

Table 3: Religious identification with regard to parental divorce

Gender	Parental divorce	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks	Mann-Whitney U	Z	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
Males	No	322	171.03	55071.50	1761.500	-1.999	.046
	Yes	15	125.43	1881.50			
	Total	337					
Females	No	350	187.19	65516.50	2208.500	-2.498	.013
	Yes	18	132.19	2379.50			
	Total	368					

When controlled for gender, age and SES, the correlation between divorce and in-group attachment remained significant, with  $r_{pb}(690)=-.12, p<.01$  for ethnic, and  $r_{pb}(690)=-.19, p<.001$  for religious identification. A Kruskal-Wallis H test showed that there was no statistically significant difference in in-group identification levels based on the reported number of adverse experiences ( $H=1.91$  for ethnic, and  $H=4.63$  for religious identification, both  $p>.05$ ). However, among participants choosing not to identify with an ethnic/religious group, there was more of those with domestic violence exposure, but only among females ( $\chi^2(1, N=374)=16.35, p<.001$ ). The two in-group identifications were strongly positively correlated, in both males ( $r_s(N=337)=.62, p<.001$ ) and females ( $r_s(N=369)=.52, p<.001$ ), indicating a more general factor of social identification.

### *Attachment*

Regarding their current attachment style, most participants chose a secure attachment style (59.5%), 30.6% chose avoidant, and 7.9% ambivalent<sup>2</sup>. Furthermore, the secure attachment style was more frequent in males, while the ambivalent one was more frequent in females ( $\chi^2(2, N=720)=29.32, p<.001$ ). When the avoidant and ambivalent attachment style were combined into one category (insecure attachment style), a secure attachment was found more frequently in males, and insecure in females ( $\chi^2(1, N=720)=28.48, p<.001$ ). Furthermore, when measures of current attachment style were combined with parental caregiving style thus yielding an overall attachment security score, the same conclusion followed. The Mann-Whitney test indicated that attachment security was higher in males ( $U=53026.500, Z=-3.810, p<.001$ ).

Regarding parenting caregiving style, mothers were evidently perceived as providers of secure attachment with 82.5 % of participants describing them as such. On the other hand, fathers have been identified as such by 66.4% of participants. Adolescents with divorced parents were significantly more

<sup>2</sup> 2% missing data

frequent in the category of insecure attachment, compared to those with nondivorced parents ( $\chi^2(1, N=720)=8.58, p<.05$ ). Interestingly, perceived parenting caregiving maternal style did not differ between those with divorced parents and others ( $\chi^2(2, N=731)=4.16, p>.05$ ), contrary to the paternal caregiving style which was more frequently qualified as insecure in adolescents with divorced parents ( $\chi^2(2, N=724)=42.22, p<.001$ ).

I also examined if the current attachment style depended on the reported number of adverse experiences. The greater the number of adverse experiences, the greater the frequency of insecure attachment styles in the sample ( $\chi^2(4, N=718)=21.05, p<.001$ ). Furthermore, the perception of parental caregiving style with both mother ( $\chi^2(4, N=729)=36.85, p<.001$ ) and father ( $\chi^2(4, N=721)=43.75, p<.001$ ) showed a similar pattern, i.e., those reporting more adverse experiences in childhood significantly more often reporting insecure attachments as well.

#### *Attachment and in-group identification/in-group attachment*

Point-biserial correlation coefficients were calculated controlling for gender, age, socio-economic status, and schooling level. Strong positive correlations between both current attachment style and parental caregiving style with ethnic and religious identifications are evident (Table 4). Security of current attachment style and both parents' caregiving style is associated with stronger in-group identification. Moreover, if I look at identification per se (operationalized as ethnic or religious identification, or both), among those who chose no in-group identification there was significantly more of those with insecure maternal ( $\chi^2(1, N=718)=9.43, p<.001$ ), as well as paternal caregiving style ( $\chi^2(2, N=711)=7.05, p<.05$ ). However, current attachment style did not differ between identified and unidentified participants.



Table 4: Spearman's correlations between in-group identifications and attachment variables

	Current attachment	Caregiving Style (M)	Caregiving Style (F)	Ethnic identific	Religious identific
Current attachment	-				
Caregiving style (M)	.23***	-			
Caregiving style (F)	.15*	.23***	-		
Ethnic identification	.17**	.20***	.14*	-	
Religious identification	.13*	.22***	.14*	.50***	-

*Note.* Attachment variables were coded as 0-insecure and 1-secure; \*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*  $p < .05$

To explore this intriguing finding further, the Jonckheere-Terpstra test for ordered alternatives was employed. I dichotomised attachment security as “insecure-secure” on all three attachment measures (current attachment style, maternal caregiving style, and paternal caregiving style) and combined it into a single ordinal measure, spanning from 0 to 3 (0-insecure, 1-predominantly insecure, 2- predominantly secure, and 3- secure). There was a statistically significant trend of higher median ethnic and religious identification scores with higher levels of attachment security (Table 5).

Table 5: Results of Jonckheere-Terpstra Test for ordered alternatives with levels of attachment security as the grouping variable

	Ethnic Identification	Religious Identification
Number of Levels in Attachment Security	4	4
N	684	683
Observed J-T Statistic	93528.500	85212.500
Mean J-T Statistic	78957.000	78746.500
Std. Deviation of J-T Statistic	2738.477	2448.581
Std. J-T Statistic	5.321	2.641
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.008

## Discussion

The present study aimed to explore a rarely studied question, whether adolescent attachment correlates with their in-group identification and in-group attachment (ethnic and religious). I posited a correspondence hypothesis, expecting that the attachment style (both current one and retrospective parental caregiving style) will reflect on social-psychological domain, i.e. the security of attachment will positively correlate with in-group identification and in-group attachment.

Firstly, the majority of participants identified themselves with ethnic/religious groups (88%), and showed high levels of in-group identification regardless of their age and gender. Considering that adolescence is a time of identity exploration followed by identification, a lower percentage of collective identification would be expected, as well as a weaker attachment to ethnic/religious identities. However, this finding is not surprising for Bosnian-Herzegovinian society characterized by ethnic and religious identity salience, that presumably catalyses the process of identity achievement, notwithstanding the complexity of other social and situational factors. An immediate Bosnian-Herzegovinian context marked by diversity

likely makes the process of identity development more complicated. A high positive correlation between ethnic and religious identification is understandable considering their overlap in Bosnian-Herzegovinian context, and indicates a higher-order dimension of social identification. In addition, both identities are of particular importance in a diverse and often conflicted setting, that reinforces a narrative of “us” and “them.” The results are in line with comprehensive research that involved all three dominant ethnic groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina, showing a high degree of agreement with items referring to national attachment in youth (Majstorović & Turjačanin, 2013).

Secondly, regarding the distribution of attachment styles, these results fit into the general consensus that secure attachment is a strong majority, avoidant attachment is a strong minority, and anxious attachment is a smaller minority (Ainsworth et al, 1978). Using self-reported measures (Attachment Style Questionnaire and Parental Caregiving Style Questionnaire) I have been able to categorize the participants as either securely or insecurely attached (avoidant and ambivalent) and explore how these individual differences relate to their social identifications. Controlled for important background variables (gender, age, socio-economic status, and schooling level) attachment security (current attachment style combined with parental caregiving style) was associated with stronger in-group identification. Likewise, among participants who chose no collective identification per se, there were more of those with insecure parental caregiving styles. Confirming the correspondence hypothesis, securely attached individuals seem to form secure attachments with groups as well, therefore expressing their belonging, and perceiving themselves as valuable members, and others as trustworthy. This might indicate that interpersonal security “spills over” even to a more general type of groups, high in identity salience. This finding is in line with some empirical studies demonstrating that higher levels of identification with the dominant culture were related to lower anxiety, and higher levels of identification with any culture with lower avoidance

(Agishtein & Brumbaugh, 2013), implying that a strong identification corresponds to more secure attachment in intimate relationships. Milanov et al. (2013) found that participants with a secure attachment style had significantly higher social identification compared to participants with a dismissive-avoidant attachment. Similarly, it seems that adolescents who identified their attachment style as secure, and who perceived their attachment pattern with parents as such, as well, have also more frequently expressed belonging to their ethnic/religious group, thus projecting relationship trust onto a more general social entity. On the other hand, adolescents with an insecure attachment style seem to “avoid” or are “ambivalent” regarding in-group identification, as well as an appreciation of their in-group identity. This might reflect their reluctance to perceive themselves as similar to others, as well as a lack of trust in them. Therefore, these findings reintroduce a wider perspective on in-group identification, calling for a more thorough examination of its link with attachment and developmental history in general. For instance, correlations I found between adverse experiences (especially domestic violence in females) with attachment and in-group identification call for a genuinely individualized approach to understanding how young people come to (strongly) identify with dominant social groups, and to grasp the complex interplay of a wide range of factors more fully, some of which are, as I have seen, profoundly marked by individual experiences. To give an illustration, I found weaker religious identification in adolescents with divorced parents. It seems that stability and strength of religious identification are associated with the stability and strength of family bonds, which are potentially weakened by divorce. When controlled for gender, age, and socio-economic status, correlation between divorce and in-group identification remained significant and negative, indicating possible long-term effects of family structure on social identification. Studies have shown links between attachment insecurities and religious instability, i.e., sudden-intense religious conversion occurring in life contexts of turmoil (Granqvist & Kirkpatrick, 2004) which can be roughly considered the

opposite of strong religious identification. Weakening bonds with parent(s) induce questioning of society's values as well, as parents are usually representatives of a wider social group as holders of its values. In that sense, these results confirm existing ones. Family composition, as rough as it is as a measure, seems to be an important factor in the development of adolescent social identification in general. Lack of the stability of the parental marriage institution reflects on the long-term perception of society as an institution, that should take over the secure base role. In its simplest form, this finding confirms lay views of family as the "basic cell of the society." It seems that the number of adverse experiences, especially those reflecting distressed family life (like domestic violence), plays a role, not only in the development of attachment style but also in the development of in-group identification and in-group attachment. More research is needed to further examine the gender differences in the effects of domestic violence exposure and in-group identification, since this link is established only in females. To summarize, adolescent social identification seems to be influenced, among other factors, by family stability as such.

This study has potential limitations. As mentioned, self-report measures were used, one of which referred to the assessment of parental caregiving style. This retrospective assessment might have been biased for several reasons. Moreover, the attachment instruments I used due to their brevity and straightforwardness, were categorical, and therefore only a rough indicator of the variable itself, therefore limiting statistical procedures. However, these results were significant despite this. A relatively large sample that reflects the structure of the population, and the fact that the link has been established despite such rough measures of attachment, speak for the plausibility and robustness of the finding. Nevertheless, future studies may extend this work by employing continuous (dimensional) measures of attachment to set the ground for fine-grained analyses of the posited link and enable more sophisticated theoretical advancements in this thrilling cross-field issue. Also, including additional variables would enable a more

thorough understanding of their interplay in determining the factors behind youth social identification.

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## FUTURISM: VLADIMIR MAYAKOVSKI'S URBANISM AND FUTURIST OUTLOOK

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### Abstract

This article analyzes the poetry of Russian poet Vladimir Mayakovski (1893-1930), renowned as a main figure of the Russian Futurist movement. The study first introduces the futurist movement in literature that took place at the beginning of the twentieth century and locates it within formalist theory. Then, it dwells upon the characteristics of futurist poetry since this was the genre the futurists were mostly concerned with. The study moves towards its main objective by examining two characteristic poems, *Morning* (1912) and *A Skyscraper Dissected* (1929), bearing in mind the theme of urbanism which is common in the futurist literary movement. This analysis attempts to prove that Mayakovski used the theme of urbanism to criticize modern city life, unlike other futurists who used this theme to glorify it. The study will also look at an important aspect of Mayakovski's poem *About This* in which he imagines life in the future. To carry out this thematic study, a critically analytical and descriptive method is used.

**Keywords:** Vladimir Mayakovski; Futurism; Urbanism; Modern Russian Poetry; Formalist Theory

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## Introduction: Futurism and Formalism

It is useful at the beginning to introduce the definition of the two terms futurism and formalism. Futurism is generally introduced in the following words:

Italian Futurismo, Russian Futurizm, early 20th-century artistic movement centered in Italy that emphasized the dynamism, speed, energy, and power of the machine and the vitality, change, and restlessness of modern life. During the second decade of the 20th century, the movement's influence radiated outward across most of Europe, most significantly to the Russian avant-garde. The most significant results of the movement were in the visual arts and poetry. (White, 2022)

In the book *Key Concepts in Literary Theory*, formalism is defined as referring to the “critical tendency that emerged during the first half of the twentieth century and devoted its attention to concentrating on literature’s formal structures in an objective manner” (Wolfreys et al., 2006, p. 43). The Russian futurist movement and formalist literary theory are two separate literary activities, but they are often juxtaposed because they share some points of similarity. Both emphasize form as the main bearer of meaning, and they seek to renew the ways of using language in literary works. However, the objectives of the futurists are different from those of the formalists. One basic difference lies in the fact that formalism is a theory while futurism is a movement.

Moreover, Russian futurism and formalism were directed against the symbolist movement of the late nineteenth century and for what it stood. The difference between futurism and symbolism is that although both attempt to eliminate the boundary between content and form, futurists reject the notion that a word stands for anything more than itself, unlike the symbolists for whom the word stands for something else. “The Russian Formalists

were linguists and theorists; the Russian Futurists were poets and artistic practitioners” (Palmer, 2014, p. 31). While the formalists regarded the concept of defamiliarization as one way of conceiving the world from a new perspective, the futurists regarded defamiliarization as the only way of representing the world as it is.

The common ground between futurists and formalists is that both sought to “revolutionize linguistic perception” (Palmer, 2014, p. 31). Both wanted the perception of the world to be anew each time by means of reconfiguring the world. What distinguishes the futurists is their preoccupation with form and their critique of time. The futurists, especially the Russians, were politically and socially engaged while the formalists did not have any ideology or political concerns. “While the latter [Russian futurism] was capitulating politically before communism, formalism opposed Marxism with all its might theoretically” (Trotsky, 1925, p. 1). The formalists were concerned solely with art. Futurists sought to portray in art the historical events from the 1890s to World War I.

## **Futurism**

Futurism is a twentieth-century avant-garde and modernist movement in literature, art, and architecture which also has social and political concerns. The movement began in Italy on February 20, 1909, when Filippo Tommaso Marinetti (1876- 1944), the father figure of Futurism, published the founding manifesto of the movement. Futurism spread from Italy to France and Russia, then its influence was all over Europe. Trotsky (1925) maintains that “Futurism is a European phenomenon” (p. 1) because according to him, futurism flourished first in Italy and Russia and not in America since the countries which are not advanced are the ones that reflect the achievement of the advanced countries brilliantly. Futurist literature was materialistic because it was based on materials that existed in countries far from the countries where futurist literature was written. Thus, futurist

literature inflamed the imagination of the people as they read about things they could not see.

The manifesto *The Founding Manifesto of Futurism* Marinetti clearly lays out the main features of the futurist movement. Futurist literature celebrates “danger,” “energy and fearlessness” (Marinetti as cited in Rainey et al., 2009, p. 51). Futurist poetry can thus be described as courageous, revolutionary, and bold. Through their literature, the futurists sought to glorify “movement and aggression” (Marinetti as cited in Rainey et al., 2009, p. 51) unlike past literature which glorified things that provoked stillness or passion. Marinetti claims that the new beauty is the “beauty of speed,” that of cars, automobiles, and other innovations. A masterpiece for the futurists is something that cannot be achieved without including an aggressive element. Indeed, the futurists were known for their violent protest through their art against bourgeois culture and art. Because the rising of the futurist movement coincided with the revolution in Russia and with World War I, the futurist literature “caught rhythms of movement, of action, of attack, and of destruction” (Trotsky, 1925, p. 3). An important thing Marinetti highlights in his manifesto is the futurists’ rejection of the concept of time and place; they instead live in the “absolute.” Consequently, war is glorified by Marinetti; destructiveness along with nationalism are required to purify the world. Futurists wanted to destroy libraries and museums and to stand against every “utilitarian ... cowardice” (Marinetti as cited in Rainey et al., 2009, p. 51).

In another manifesto, Marinetti expresses the futurists’ disagreement with the symbolists. He criticizes the symbolists for being obsessed with the bygone past. The symbolists always longed for the past, the very thing that the futurists could not tolerate. Similarly, the symbolists curse what the futurists glorify most, the machine. Symbolists wrote literary works that should be immortal and everlasting. The futurists, on the contrary, admitted that their works are mortal. In another manifesto, *Technical Manifesto of*

*Futurist Literature* (1912), Marinetti specified his vision about how literary works should be, intending to set the word free from the “prison of the Latin period” (Marinetti as cited in Rainey et al., 2009, p. 119) through the literature he wrote with his fellow futurists.

There are eleven rules to be followed by an author for their writings to be considered futurist according to Marinetti. This indicates the paradoxical nature of the because he claims that he wants to free literature from past conventions while restricting the process of writing by setting rules to be followed. More specifically, syntax, punctuation marks, adjectives, and adverbs are to be eliminated and verbs are to be used always in the infinitive. For Marinetti, the writer should express the world as he or she first perceived it. Accordingly, the use of adverbs, adjectives, tenses, and syntax indicates that the author has manipulated his first perception of the world by trying to give it order or harmony.

Marinetti actually assigns a rule to suit the futurists' preoccupation with representing movement and speed in their literature. He suggests that instead of using simile, the noun, which stands for an object, is to be followed immediately by another noun that stands for the image that the first noun provokes. These two successive nouns must be analogous. It is an analogy of the technique through which Marinetti claims that writers can represent moving objects. A writer is to prove himself as an excellent futurist by using far-fetched analogies through which he expresses his “unwired imagination.” Marinetti gives an example of this by linking a woman to a machinegun.

Marinetti regards it images as the “lifeblood” of poetry. However, he rejects the use of familiar images which are favored by writers as they excite readers. He maintains that these familiar images become stereotypes and lose their meanings with the passing of time. Marinetti concludes his rules with the elimination of the “I” which stands for “the man who has been

damaged by libraries and museums,” (Marinetti as cited in Rainey et al., 2009, p. 122) and to replace it with the “matter.”

## Russian Futurism

As for Russian futurism, a controversial issue concerns whether it is an offspring of the Italian movement or an independent movement by itself. At any rate, Russian futurism contains two branches, ego-futurism and cubo-futurism. The ego-futurists had the point of view and the artistic aesthetics of the political regime at that time, while the cubo-futurists were interested in the status quo of Russia at that time and sought to change it through their literature.

The characteristics of the Italian futurist movement mentioned in the previous section are applicable to the cubo-futurist movement. However, the cubo-futurists insist on distancing themselves from the Italian movement as well as from ego-futurism because their priority was to be a movement which mostly engages with the reality in Russia and to spread their ideas in advocating the revolution against the Empire. The cubo-futurists added to the Bolshevik revolution a third artistic dimension.

The cubo-futurists wanted to be close to the reality of the people in Russia. Through their manifesto *A Slap in the Face to the Public Taste* (1912) they expressed their will to depart from the past with its social, political, and artistic values. To break with conventions and to attract the people to read their works and follow their vision about the future of Russia, the cubo-futurists manipulated the use of regular typography. For instance, they used different font sizes on the same page with the words distributed irregularly. They thought that in this way the words will convey their revolutionary spirit. They believed in the “self-sufficient” word which has a message by itself without any referent. A well-known and widely celebrated cubo-futurist is Vladimir Vladimirovich Mayakovski.

## Vladimir Vladimirovich Mayakovski (1893–1930)

Vladimir Mayakovski was a leading figure in the cubo-futurist movement. In 1909, he started to write poetry. Mayakovski's poems were different in form, language, techniques from the known traditional poetry of the past. He inclined to "depoetize" poetry. More specifically, his two main poems *A Cloud in Trousers* (1915) and *The Backbone Flute* (1916) are clearly representative of this new poetical language. He wrote some satirical poems and ironical elegies and spoke of politics and love. Concerning his influence, he did not only leave a great influence on Soviet literature but also some prominent world poets, including Nazim Hikmet, Louis Aragon, and Pablo Neruda, who started to adopt his poetic style outside of Russia. Before the Bolshevik revolution, the idea of urbanism was dominant in Mayakovski's poetry, whereas after the revolution he used his poetry as a tool to spread his Marxist and revolutionary beliefs. As a futurist, he wrote about the way he envisioned the future or how he wished it to be in many of his poems.

### The Theme of Urbanism

As the futurists, whether Italian or Russian, were showing interest in the modern city with all its new machines and new transportation systems, the urban theme manifested itself in their writings. The word 'urbanist' was used to describe the futurists who depicted the city landscape in their poetry. The urbanists praised the city in their writings as they expressed their fascination for it. Mayakovski was one of those poets interested in talking about the city, "considered the only representative of true futurism, primarily because of the predominance of urban themes in his early poetry" (Richter, 1998, p. 49). However, unlike other urbanists, Mayakovski took the city to be his object to criticize the life and the people in it rather than praising it. I argue that Mayakovski has depicted the city as an ugly place through an analysis of two poems, *Morning* (1912) and *A Skyscraper Dissected* (1929). It will also shed some light on Mayakovski's vision of the future through an analysis of his poem *About This* (1923).



In her dissertation, Richter (1998) states that “Mayakovski [is]... the most prominent urbanist among Russian Futurists” (p. 49). She refers to Chukovsky who distinguishes between two meanings of the word “urbanist.” The first describes the author who uses urbanist landscape in his works. This meaning is neutral as the author in this case depicts the city without promoting or criticizing it. The second meaning refers to the author who portrays the city in his works because he is fascinated with it. According to Chukovsky, Mayakovski comes under the first meaning and not the second one as he appears in his urbanist poetry (as cited in Richter, 1998, p. 50). Chukovsky thus contends that Mayakovski was not one of those who were fascinated by modern city life.

Brown (2015) also argues that Mayakovski depicted the modern city in his urbanist poetry in a gloomy way as does Ball (2004) when he writes that “modern urban settings do indeed occupy Mayakovski’s work, but the view is sometimes dark” (p. 45). While other academic works allude to the same idea, none of these works justify this argument through an analysis of the texts of Mayakovski’s urbanist poetry. This study fills this gap and will also give an example of Mayakovski’s depiction of the future in a hopeful note.

### ***Morning (1912)***

Here Mayakovski depicts the city in a way that makes the readers or listeners feel that the exact words and images used in the poem are intended to evoke the emotions of despair and misery. The persona starts his description of the city landscape with the gloomy image of the rain. Starting with rain implies that the tone is not cheerful, it is rather a sad one. The rain is thus personified. It has a face that is “sullen,” glancing at the city with condemnation. It sounds as if the persona is personified by the rain as both seem not to be pleased with the city.

Then the persona moves to describe how the sky appears through some framework made of iron which also indicates the poem's urban theme. It is implicit that the iron wires, symbolizing the city's buildings, prevent the persona from seeing the cloud, "featherbed," clearly. The image seems quite beautiful and poetic. The stars, as the morning is approaching, are putting their legs on that cloud as if preparing to leave the sky. Just like the rain, the stars are personified as they have legs. Thus, the city here is something that is suppressing and distorting the beautiful scene of the sky. Afterwards, the persona moves to the scene of the city itself far from the sky and the rain. While the city prevented the persona from contemplating the beautiful scene previously, it now doubles the ugliness of an originally ugly scene.

Light, conventionally, is a source of illumination. However, for Mayakovski, the "streetlamps" are "tsars" which may be the most despised things by the poet who has strong Marxist inclinations. The lamps in the street, signaling the urban theme, are apparently something tyrannical. However, when the lamps, which are also personified, start to fade away, they make the originally ugly scene of the drunken people in the streets who are quarreling over trifles "painful for the eyes." The eye which was first prevented from seeing the clouds and the stars through the wires is now horrified as it cannot see the suspicious people who are moving and shouting in the darkness.

In the city, the street at midnight, before the morning arises, is full of people who are making jokes. While the image itself is discomforting, the persona further extends its ugliness. The "laughter" that those jokes cause is "horrid," "lurid," and "pecking." The persona seems tortured to listen to the horrifying sound of the laughter. To make the image even iller, the persona claims that the laughter does not arise from the human beings but from the "poisoned," "yellow roses". Here, the description bears two interpretations,

none of which is less ugly than the other. First, the image may indicate that the loud and frightening laughter resulted from the “poisoned” roses. This interpretation indicates that the city people made the natural scene seem scary. The second interpretation is to understand that the laughing humans themselves are “poisoned” and “yellow” which indicates their stinky nature. In the final sentence, the persona is finally pleased because the morning has come and with it, the torture of the night will end. However, in the last sentence, the persona continues to intensify the ugliness of the city that the morning will throw away. The sun comes from behind the city scene which is epitomized in the words “wracking horror and squalor.”

The sun which indicates the coming of the “Morning” covers all the cross-roads of Moscow: however, the persona explicitly describes the citizens covered by the sun as slave-like. It may be understood here that the persona has chosen the word “crosses” to refer to the automobiles which were becoming more widespread during that time. So, it is those automobiles and other materialistic inventions that made this citizen seen as a “slave” who is suffering calmly without paying any attention to the sun which may present hope. In this sense, the modern human being is depicted as lacking spirituality. Even the houses are described as “coffins” which means that the people inside those homes are dead. So, the morning comes to end the ugliness of the night in the city, but it does not appear that even the day hours in the city will be more pleasant.

### ***A Skyscraper Dissected (1929)***

Another poem by Mayakovski, *A Skyscraper Dissected*, that bears the urban theme, and which validates the argument that Mayakovski used the urban landscape to criticize it and not to praise it as other futurists did. The poem is futurist as it includes some important characteristics of cubo-futurist poetry. It is evident from the first sentence that the words are gradually painting a picture in the mind of the reader. The persona invites the reader

to look at the biggest skyscraper in New York City and scrutinize it floor by floor. The manipulation of the use of typography is another futurist element. The words are distributed on the page to take the shape of a building with multi-layers. The theme of the poem, urbanism, is also a chief futurist theme. The poem is also engaged with the social reality of the people. The persona throughout the poem describes what is happening on the floors of a large skyscraper. Having the skyscraper as its object of discussion or as the landscape of the poem makes it urbanist in theme. Each floor in the building presents one form of corruption in the modern cities' lifestyle.

On the first floor, there are "jewelers" who are dead scared about their fortune. They quickly shut the windows as though to separate the world from their wealth. If Mayakovski was not criticizing their materialism, he would have depicted them, for example, as contemplating the beauty of the precious stones. The spread of fortunes in a capitalist society leads to the spread of theft and consequently, more policemen are required. In the poem, even the policemen are depicted in a gloomy way. They spend their lives wearing suits that make them look like "film-star[s]" while simultaneously trying to protect other people's wealth, and, ultimately, they die "hound-like."

The following floor's description is a criticism of the capitalist system. The floor is full of "offices" which are witnessing several deals, some win, others lose. The condition of the offices is bad; all office doors bear the name of one boss. The name is written in gold which indicates that the boss is living in luxury while the officers are living in the "slavish sweat". The fifth floor is inhabited by an apparently unmarried old girl who is depicted in an ugly way. Her mind cannot think of anything than what she lacks in her "trousseau" even though she is not married. She seems anxious and disturbed to have "prodigious brooms." This may be understood as a social criticism of modern men who abandoned marriage, or a criticism of the women who thought that marriage is to be prepared for only through material things.

The floor after is of a “mister” who is living in luxury. He collected his wealth through his own efforts. Thus, his fortune becomes the only thing that consoles and interests him. He becomes blinded to the extent that he is able to condone “marital infidelity.” The loss of morality resulting from the interest in wealth is apparent on this floor. The picture continues to be drawn and next, it includes a newly married couple. Despite all the hopeful things they are supposed to think of, they are reading a newspaper advertisement. It offers to buy a car on a “monthly basis.” In a capitalist society, people are driven to be obsessed with securing their needs. Other forms of corruption and moral deterioration continue to appear. On another floor, “shareholders” gather to collect billions in money. Their greed makes them behave like animals. Their only way of communication is through shouting and quarreling. The means through which they seek to gain money is to reproduce the remains of animals, “offal” into “ham.”

The criticism of modern society and habits even reaches the artists. There is a painter on the nineteenth floor. His paintings are ugly and of no meaning. Instead of thinking about how to produce fine art, he is thinking about how to get his paintings bought and how to marry the “landlord’s daughter.” The final floor is depicted in a way that makes the criticism of the capitalist society evident in the poem. The floor is a restaurant. First-class people come and eat fresh food. After that, “Negro[s] [sic]” eat the huge remnants of food that the first-class people have not eaten. Then next comes the poorest people, represented as “rats” in the poem, to have the “crumbs” that remain from the remnants of food.

There are no presentations of any kind of beauty or morality in the whole skyscraper which is a microcosm of the large modern society. The persona expresses his disappointment with the scene and describes the inhabitants of the building as prisoners, “inmates,” who are apparently imprisoned in their greed for material gains. The persona says that his intention before

scrutinizing the skyscraper was to continue his walk, which indicates that he thought that glimpses of positive development were expected to be seen in the skyscraper. However, what he got after contemplating is the sense that greed and corruption are growing at the expense of humanity and morality.

From the persona's viewpoint, the modern cities' lifestyle controls the minds of people. They have become corrupted, ugly and, more importantly, they lost their sense of humanity. Corruption and destruction of social life and morals is a very powerful theme in this poem. The persona shows his dissatisfaction with this life. Towards the end of the poem, he draws our attention to the gaps between people in this materialistic world.

The title *A Skyscraper Dissected* is of noticeable significance here since it connects to the theme of urbanism. Burwell (2016) defines a skyscraper as "a staple of development in the modern-day cityscape by which to address the concerns of our growing population and density. The urban landscape of cities has thus been radically trans-formed, enabling staggering density within small land ratios" (p. ii). The poet emphasizes that the skyscraper is a symbol of life where the city is full and dominated by giant towers and buildings. It creates a new lifestyle based only on money, selfishness, and adultery, which brainwashes people and makes them throw their moral values away.

Although Mayakovski depicted the city in a gloomy picture, he intended to depict the future in a hopeful way, possibly suggesting that there the gloomy present must be turned into a hopeful future. To carry out this idea, he wrote several poems, among them *About This* (1923). This poem begins with the presentation of a case of a modern man who suffers from a lack of love and care. In the last part, Mayakovski depicts the future in a hopeful manner as a solution to the misery of the man. The poem's main theme is

love. The persona, which is believed to be the poet, alludes to his own self in the poem as a man who is attempting to commit suicide by throwing himself from a bridge. The man tries to tell his family, beloved, and friends about his misery hoping that they may help him out of it. However, they seem not to be interested and they are rather distracted. Thus, “the man on the bridge is nailed fast, crucified, and suffering for all mankind” (Mayakovski as cited in Jangfeldt, 2014).

The rest of the poem presents the poet's journey in the future. “The last section of the poem is in the form of a petition to an unknown alchemist in the thirtieth century” (Jangfeldt, 2014, p. 252). The poet requests the alchemist to return his life for him. Mayakovski expressed his belief that there would be a day in the future when life will be restored to all the dead (Jangfeldt, 2014, p. 253), which is seen in the poem. The persona in the poem claims that another life is needed for him as he has not fulfilled his need for love. The important part of our topic is the final one as it is set in the future. The part is entitled “love” in a suggestion that love is the solution to the misery of the modern man. Love in the future as envisioned by Mayakovski is free from all restrictions. It seems that love becomes the leading force in all aspects of life. Even the job that a person will be employed as a caretaker in a zoo will be something he loves, and he will be reunited with his beloved as they both share the love of animals.

The poet expresses his eagerness for a future in which he will be able to fulfill his need for pure love as he was deprived of it in his lifetime. He says that his beloved deserves a new life because she is beautiful, and he deserves it because he was able as a poet to liberate himself from the dirt of everyday life. This indicates that the future the poet wants is inhabited only by people who are kind and pure. The distorted forms of love that are found in the present life will have no place in the future. The poet did not want love to be only a means toward achieving other goals. Love is not inferior

to marriage It is not only restricted to the confines of the marital relationship. It is a universal value. It should not be a means to get materialistic advantages or to satisfy mere sexual lust. In the future, love “climbs up out of its bed to wander through the universe’s infinity” (Mayakovski as cited in Jangfeldt, 2014, p. 255). It will spread among all human beings. Just then, the man that was begging for love at the beginning of the poem will be happy to fulfill his need for love. He will also keep his dignity because he will not need to ask for love as it will be spread everywhere. People will be freed from earthly constraints. What will replace the old values is a universal relationship that links all human beings together and they will be “brothers and sisters” (Mayakovski as cited in Jangfeldt, 2014, p. 255). All human beings will have in Mayakovski’s future one mother which is “earth,” and one father which is “the world.”

## Conclusion

This study showed that the futurist movement and formalist literary theory can be discussed together due their similarities, without neglecting that they are two separate literary activities with points of friction between them. While both the Russian cubo-futurists and the Italian futurists share the love of speed, dynamism, and the revolutionary spirit, the cubo-futurist movement distinguishes itself through its engagement with the social and political reality in Russia.

Thus, by discussing two futurist characteristic poems of his works, I showed that Mayakovski is a futurist poet and uses the city landscape in his poetry to depict his gloomy vision of it. Both poems discussed support this argument as they are full of images that present modern city life as corrupted. But nevertheless, Mayakovski’s vision of the future is hopeful showing that the poet was not defeated by the gloom of the his present as he was able to imagine a future in which love is the leading force.



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## THE “AMERICAN” SKYSCRAPER: PERCEPTIONS OF THE SKYSCRAPER IN BRITISH MEDIA DURING THE FIRST DECADES OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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### **Abstract**

The absence of the skyscraper from the British skyline in the first decades of the twentieth century is notable. This paper contributes to an understanding of some of the reasons for this by analysing how perceptions of what was seen as an essentially “American” form of architecture within British contemporary media, influenced architectural practice in Britain at the time. It will be seen that apathy if not overt hostility met the calls for the skyscraper to be adopted to alleviate some of the pressing urban issues being faced in Britain, resulting in the skyscraper remaining absent from the British urban skyline.

**Keywords:** skyscraper; American and British architecture; urban design; media

## Introduction

At a time when skyscraper construction was an ever-increasing phenomenon in the United States of America, the absence of similar constructions in Great Britain is notable. This paper examines how perceptions of the skyscraper, represented through contemporary media influenced architectural practice in Great Britain in the interwar period. This article illustrates how perceptions of the “American” skyscraper developed in Great Britain, in response to an apathetic narrative presented in the British media, resulting in, at best a reticence to adopt the architectural form and at worst, hostility towards what was seen as an alien building typology. As will be seen, debate concerning the skyscraper and its suitability, specifically to the London skyline, provided a context within which the adoption of the “American” skyscraper would have been seen as contentious. Yet, the relaxation of prevailing building height regulations becomes much more realistic.

## American architecture and British attitudes

An awareness of American architecture was increasing within British architectural circles in the first decades of the twentieth century, through American Architectural technologies being tentatively employed in a limited number of buildings in England, reporting of architectural development in cities such as Chicago and New York in the national press, academic and professional presentations, and a number of influential architectural exhibitions. One such exhibition took place in 1921 with an exhibition of North American architecture held at the galleries of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA). The exhibition was reviewed in the *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* (Hall, 1921, pp. 47-51) allowing a significant amount of exposure for exhibits of a new architectural tradition. The editorial of the *Journal* reviewed the exhibition favourably. Recognising that London was in a period of architectural redevelopment the *Journal* was keen to allay the fears of those who were uneasy about the form

the new developments were taking. Referring to the New York Municipal Building, by McKim, Mead and White, the *Journal* describes the building as a skyscraper of “great beauty, and probably the most successful of the tall buildings in America” (Hall, 1921, p. 48). This admiration for an American skyscraper falls short of a direct call for the adoption of skyscrapers in Britain’s cities. However, when reference is made to the Goram Building, the editorial gives a clearer indication of some of the prevailing British attitudes towards tall buildings and skyscrapers. This shop building in Fifth Avenue possessed the admirable qualities of simplicity and proportion, and as a result, was much imitated within the United States. The *Journal* called for its imitation within the streets of London:

It is 130 feet high to the top of the cornice, facing on a street 100 feet wide and a side street 60 feet wide. Such a building is impossible in London with the existing restrictions upon the height of buildings, and it is important that all who are interested in this subject should see this example of the proper use of freedom. Consider the eminently satisfactory shape it gives us – neither a “skyscraper” nor too low for good proportion. Is not the time ripe for some alteration in our own Buildings Acts whereby architects may arrive at the right height both for architectural treatment and for meeting the growing requirements of healthy commercial activity? (Hall, 1921, p. 48)

The exhibition also benefited from addresses given by two American architects, Bertram Goodhue and Donn Barber, in which the European antecedents of American architecture appear to have been offered as a form of palliative to those anxious about the implications of architectural innovation in America. These addresses reflected the content of the exhibition so far as the significance of the skyscraper within American architecture was subdued. A favourable review of the exhibition, based mostly upon the accompanying addresses given by American architects Goodhue and Barber,

was published in *The Architectural Review*. The review reproduced many of the photographs exhibited, none of which, however, were of skyscrapers (The Architectural Review, 1922, pp. 31-39).

In addition, architectural developments in America were reported in the national press. As the skyscrapers of New York and Chicago reached ever higher, their construction was reported to the British public. It was frequently the case that the reporting of each new building proposal merely noted building specifications and costs. Rarely was there any comment upon the architectural merits of the skyscraper. Evidence for this is shown in a number of articles in *The Times*, including *The largest “skyscraper”* (The Times, 1924, p. 9), *Another new skyscraper for New York* (The Times, 1926, p. 12), *New York’s tallest skyscraper* (The Times, 1928, p. 15) and *Tallest skyscraper in the World* (The Times, 1929, p. 16). However, when American architecture was the subject of evaluation, the perception of the skyscraper and its role in defining twentieth-century American architecture is pronounced. In an article entitled *Architecture in New York, the beauty of the skyscraper* which appeared in *The Times* in 1925 there is evidence that the skyscraper had become a more familiar and accepted architectural form (The Times, 1925, p. 13). However careful interpretation of the perception of the skyscraper represented in such reports is required to assess the extent to which there remained the presence of a prejudicial subtext. It is reported that the aesthetic inadequacies of earlier designs, which failed to disguise successfully the steel-frame construction of the earliest skyscrapers, had been overcome. According to *The Times* correspondent, no beauty was to be found in these engineered constructions whose only merit lay in their size. These opinions, which dismissed the aesthetic qualities of the visual articulation of construction methods, provide an interesting insight into the aesthetic thinking which remained and dominated within Britain. It is reported that “the skyscraper, from one of the ugliest things, has grown into one of the most beautiful” and that “it is in the skyscraper that native talent found its most original expression” (The Times, 1925,

p. 13). The zoning laws of 1916 are credited with alleviating many of the problems of overcrowding associated with skyscraper development, however, in charting the development of the skyscraper, the article succeeds in detailing these problems, together with all the others which were being employed by those opposed to the introduction of the skyscraper in British cities. The coverage in the British press of the continuing development of the American skyscraper emphasised and, it could be argued, sought to maintain the geographical distance between the skyscraper and Britain. What was suitable for American cities would appear for many, not to have been suitable closer to home. This point is emphasised in a *Times* article of 1929 which provided an illustrated account of the "modern treatment of the skyscraper" (The Times, 1929, p. 13; 19). Photographs of a number of the more recent skyscrapers constructed in America were provided to support the claim that the design of American skyscraper had improved to the extent that it more adequately served the requirements of a modern American city. The Tribune Tower at Chicago was considered to be of a far superior design to the "old type" of skyscraper. However, support for the skyscraper was not unequivocal. The question remained "whether in the growth of the modern metropolis, the skyscraper's undoubted advantages have been outweighed by, or have outweighed, the congestion of the streets and the public transport which has resulted" (The Times, 1929, p. 13). The zoning laws were once again held responsible for encouraging improvements in skyscraper design, but nevertheless, the article addresses issues of architectural practice and proportion conceived with the aid of unprecedented economic prosperity and in response to problems of which "the Old World had no conception" (The Times, 1929, p. 13). Great architecture, it was argued, was formulated to meet the specific requirements of its age. In other words, the skyscraper was seen as an American solution to an American problem.

## Debates within RIBA

The favourable perceptions of the American skyscraper contained in the reviews of the exhibition of American architecture were made within the context of the more specific debate that was ongoing within the RIBA concerning building height regulations. Increasing economic pressure to allow the construction of taller, and as it was argued more profitable, buildings was accompanied by an increasing, if sometimes sporadic, faltering and ultimately ineffectual call for a legislative change. It was reported that in the years after the end of World War One, as the economy improved, there was a significant increase in demand for commercial property. This was evidenced in London by sharp increases in the volume of leasehold and freehold transactions, together with a rise in the value of the properties involved (The Times, 1920, p. 7). As a result, it was reported that “there may be so great a demand for central properties that in time a new type of building may be sanctioned in London – new to London, and probably peculiar to it – something intermediate between the larger structures, such as those in Kingsway, and the ‘skyscraper’” (The Times, 1920, p. 7.) In a paper titled *Higher buildings for London* presented to the RIBA in 1920, the architect Delissa Joseph called for provision within the building regulations to be made for the erection of buildings of increased height (The Times, 1920, p. 4). It was reported that the matter was the subject of a lively debate notable for the contribution of Sir Martin Conway. Whilst he claimed not to be calling for the introduction of the “skyscraper,” wishing that the word could be left out of the discussion, he lamented the fact, that in his opinion, the maximum use of London’s finite number of building plots would not be possible within the framework of current building height restrictions. Conway “did not care what the height of the new order of buildings might be – 200 ft., 500 ft., or 5000 ft., - but there must be ascertainable what might be called an ‘economic height’” (The Times, 1920, p. 4). This call for the introduction of taller buildings for economic reasons followed an earlier call for their construction for residential purposes when he addressed the

London Society. He delivered a speech titled “London As I Should Like to See It,” in which he argued for a city of giant towers allowing for the clearance of the “mean streets” of the East End whilst retaining the same levels of accommodation (Conway, 1920 as quoted in Gilbert, 2004). In the same year, Conway addressed a meeting at the Lyceum Club where he “returned to his pet contention ‘that London should stretch up, not out’” (*The Architectural Review*, 1920). Once again, it was claimed that Conway was not calling for skyscrapers. Instead, he asserted the pressing need for tall buildings to house London’s rapidly expanding population.

Joseph returned to the subject of taller buildings, skyscrapers and buildings of “economic height” in another address to the RIBA the following year, 1921. He received criticism within the national press for promoting the introduction of skyscrapers into London and felt it necessary to defend himself and clarify his position (Joseph, 1921). It had been suggested that the introduction of the skyscraper for economic reasons would have been mistaken. The increased cost of foundations and of building above a certain height, it was claimed, would not show an economic return. Joseph insisted that there had been “no serious talk of introducing the ‘skyscraper’ into London,” and that in his paper he had suggested the selective use of taller buildings of up to 200 ft in height, and not the construction of “skyscrapers” which are anything up to 750 ft in height” (Joseph, 1921). In buildings of up to 200 ft the question of “economic height” does not arise. It becomes clear that the type of tall building proposed by Joseph was different from that proposed by Conway, who as we have seen, championed the economic benefits of taller buildings.

The architect Oswald P. Milne provided one of the more strident calls for the adoption of taller buildings within the future architecture of London. Writing in *The London Mercury* Milne outlined his reasons why he believed the prospect of the future adoption of skyscrapers should excite every Londoner (Milne, 1923, pp. 33-34). Milne was keen to emphasise the



merits of the existing architecture in London. He was well aware of the city’s attraction, describing it as a “great city that one can live in under pleasant conditions” (Milne, 1923, p. 34). He refrained from criticising the city in the way Hall had done in the same year (Hall, 1921, p. 48). Both were aware of the major changes ahead for a city in the middle of a phase of rebuilding, yet the reasons for promoting taller buildings adopted by each man differed. Hall saw a London of staleness and endless repetition, where the imposition of building height restrictions, unrelated to architectural design or street width mitigated against the creation of fine street architecture (Hall, 1921, p. 48). Hall’s call for the awareness of and in certain cases the adoption of American forms of architecture was born out of a concern for the aesthetic qualities of the architecture constructed in London during the period of rebuilding after World War One. Warning against aesthetic stagnation he lambasted his contemporaries for “deliberately creating banality on every hand by which future generations will remember us, and the only chance of escape is by realising it in time” (Hall, 1921, p. 51).

Milne, on the other hand, had other motives for his calls for a relaxation of the building height regulations. His call for taller buildings was in response to the perceived requirements of business for increased accommodation. The pressure for change outlined by Milne was not grounded in aesthetics, instead, he refers to pressure being applied by bodies such as the Incorporated Association of Retail Distributors, the City Lands Committee, and the Medical Officers’ Association, all hoping for a relaxation of the existing Act. All agreed that extra accommodation, particularly within the square mile of the City must be found. Unless taller buildings were allowed to be constructed, creating much-needed extra accommodation, it was claimed that the great national businesses of banking, insurance and shipping, amongst others, would be irrevocably damaged. The unfairness of a system which indiscriminately applied the same building height restrictions to buildings proposed for commercial and residential areas was called into question by Milne, who also pointed out that having imposed a building height restriction of 80 feet,

the authorities had no power to stop a developer using his full allowance even for a building proposed in the narrowest of streets.

Milne’s suggestions remained pragmatic. He was mindful of London’s unique architectural heritage and the heterogeneous nature of London’s constituent parts. For Milne, the blanket imposition of building height regulations had not worked, and the blanket relaxation of these restrictions would also not work. An acceptable building height in the commercial districts of the City would not necessarily have been acceptable in the then residential areas of the West End. Milne was calling for a selective relaxation of the building height regulations that would have allowed for the creation of taller buildings, in certain commercial areas, which would have, in his opinion, benefited those businesses occupying those areas.

The question at issue had been one concerning an amendment to building height regulations that would have allowed for the erection, under certain circumstances, of taller buildings. Milne’s choice of language is quite particular and echoes the reticence of Conway in using the word “skyscraper.” This avoidance is indicative of the sensibilities involved in the discussion of these matters at this time; reference is made predominantly to the provision of taller buildings or to the removal of the 80 feet building height restriction. Where mention is made of the word “skyscraper” it is done so within a context of reassurance: for instance, Milne acknowledges the word’s association with American architecture, and then assures his readers that that form of architecture was not what was intended for London. Indeed, Milne’s only overt praise of the “skyscraper” occurs with its first mention, referred to above. Milne was at pains to disassociate the relaxation of the building height regulations from an imminent adoption of American-style skyscrapers. He acknowledged the association of the skyscraper with New York and mentioned the period of seemingly uncontrollable skyscraper development within that city, but maintained that such development had been discredited and would therefore never be allowed in London:

The day of the uncontrolled skyscraper in New York is past, and whatever evils it may have had in the past, no-one who has visited the city will deny that some of them are magnificent in architectural effect and that they give a romantic gesture to the capital. We may not want buildings 500 feet high – we certainly do not – but buildings considerably higher than our 80 feet of today, in the proper places and properly managed, would add valuable accommodation to the town. (Milne, 1923, pp. 40-41)

Milne called for the adoption in London of a zoning plan, similar to the one implemented in New York, which regulated the development of their skyscrapers in accordance with the principles of *setting back*. Such a zoning plan would identify and differentiate London’s districts and each would then have a maximum building height imposed in accordance with their individual requirements. In outlining these plans Milne was once again careful not to use the word “skyscraper,” despite the fact that his proposals had their origins in New York, the city then seen as the home of the skyscraper.

### **Decorum and legislation as hindrances**

For the adoption of the skyscraper within London the two major obstacles of decorum and legislation remained. During the years after World War One, the Royal Institute of British Architects examined the possibilities of a relaxation of the building height regulations. Perhaps following the precedents set by the construction of the Selfridges building, which resulted in an increase in the permitted cubic capacity of buildings, this call for a possible increase in the permitted height of building construction could have resulted in a legislative change that would have legally allowed for the construction of skyscrapers in London. This examination of the planning legislation came at a time when the planning authorities had been faced with legislating for the construction possibilities afforded by the implementation

of new technologies. The result was that in the years after World War One planning legislation was subject to a certain amount of interpretation. Philip Booth details how the role of the British planner had changed (Booth, 1999, pp. 277-289). He shows how twentieth-century development control arose from the experience of nineteenth-century public health standards in new buildings and from leasehold control, indicating how planning control emerged as an *ad hoc* administrative response to a particular problem. Local government planning policy is seen as one of discretionary control, where planning regulations were open to subjective interpretation. However, as we have seen there is little evidence to support the view that there was much that was discretionary about the building height restrictions. An indication that a reliance upon the subjective view of individual planners or planning offices was not viewed as a reliable method to ensure innovative architectural development was given by the time spent by the RIBA in considering the question of a relaxation of the building height regulations. The period of building activity that had followed the architectural inactivity of the war years had prompted building regulations to come under increased scrutiny. As has been mentioned, lobbying for the relaxation of the building height regulations came from a number of quarters, usually from those commercial property owners with a vested interest. In addition to these in 1921, the Royal Institute of British Architects appointed a committee to address the issue.

As an outcome of papers read before a committee meeting of the RIBA in March 1920 by Austen Hall on American department stores and the architect Delissa Joseph on Higher Buildings for London, the RIBA created a committee, known as the Building Act Committee to consider and report upon the reform of the London Building Acts. A deputation from that committee attended the Building Act Committee of the London County Council and submitted certain suggestions for the amendments of the Act and to gauge the opinions of the Council on the matter. These suggestions included:

1. In the case of a building in a street of greater width than 80 feet, an increased height should be permitted, equal to the greater width of the street, with two fire-resisting roof storeys above the same, but in no case a greater height than 150 feet, exclusive of the two storeys in the roof.
2. That in the case of buildings opposite parks, squares and public gardens not less than 150 feet wide, or facing commons, open spaces and the riverside, or when facing down the length of a street, such buildings should be permitted to a height of 150 feet exclusive of two storeys in the roof. (*Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 1921, p. 334)

The committee had an area of enquiry concerning primarily the question of building height but also the additional question of cubic capacity in an attempt to find satisfactory solutions to the problems created by the unsatisfied demands for commercial and residential accommodation. The deliberations of the committee, lasting some eighteen months and concerning the pragmatic rather than aesthetic issues at question resulted in the publishing of an interim report, in which it recommended that a general increase to 120 feet should be allowed in the City, and that the LCC should be asked to grant their discretionary powers more freely for buildings up to 150 feet, both in the City and in London as a whole.

In addition to the interim report of the Building Acts Committee, there followed a report from the Art Standing Committee of the RIBA, which articulated their concerns arising out of that report. This report maintained the precedent set by the interim report by not mentioning by name “skyscrapers.” The report objected in the strongest possible terms to the proposals and recommendations of the Building Act Committee. Despite an expressed admiration for the architecture of New York, where tall build-

ings had vied for prominence in conditions of superior sunlight and atmosphere, the Art Standing Committee expressed the concern that should higher buildings be permitted throughout the city without regard to even the width of the street or regard for the character of the neighbourhood, neighbouring buildings, and the general appearance of the back of these buildings, a preposterous situation would be created which would turn the city streets into badly lighted, badly ventilated areas (Journal of the Royal Institute of Architects, 1921, p. 221). The Art Standing Committee did express the opinion that in certain cases exceptions could be made and a relaxation of building height regulations could be made to allow for the construction of the occasional taller building relieving the monotony of a long stretch of buildings of equal height. The Art Standing Committee had not been persuaded by the opinions of the Building Act Committee. The council or main body of the Royal Institute of British Architects did not accept the findings of the Building Act Committee, and as a result, they did not formally press for any legislative change that would have permitted the erection of a skyscraper. The proceedings and reports of both committees had been reported by the Journal of the RIBA, and within these official accounts of their deliberations, little mention was made of the word skyscraper. Indeed, for the most part, both committees concerned themselves with incremental changes to the building height restrictions; describing the height of a building in quantitative terms rather than through the employment of emotive terminology. However, the minutes of a General Business Meeting of the RIBA, held on the 20 February 1922, and reported in their journal, (Journal of the Royal Institute of Architects, 1921, p. 221) provide an insight into the deliberations of the Institute and the way in which the term “skyscraper” had become so emotive.

The meeting was convened to discuss the question of higher buildings and in particular, the two motions; firstly “That ... [the RIBA] approves the action taken by the Council in connection with the Report of the London Building Act Committee,” a discussion of council procedure appertaining

to the council’s procedures and deliberations on the Building Act, moved by Maurice Webb and seconded by Raymond Unwin. Secondly “That this meeting approves the general principle allowing buildings to be erected in certain positions of a greater height than is the present practice, subject to proper safeguards as to construction, fire escape, and fire attack,” moved by Delissa Joseph. Interestingly, it should be noted that Delissa Joseph objected to the discussion of the first motion. This meeting had originally been scheduled for the sole discussion of building height regulations within the framework of the second motion, however a further motion was introduced by Webb and Unwin which called for approval of council procedures, which would link the discussion to the prevailing pragmatic nature of a wider range of building regulations. Joseph perceived to be a tactic designed to attract attention away from the issue of building height deregulation. Despite this, the minutes remain as interesting documentation of varying opinions of the skyscraper.

Responding to criticism from those who were opposed to any increase in allowable building heights that they had employed the term skyscraper in an emotive fashion, forewarning against an influx of American scale architecture, Maurice Webb discussed his opposition to the relaxation of building height regulations without specific use of the term skyscraper. However, by highlighting those criticisms of Delissa Joseph, the question of taller buildings had already been raised within a framework and ongoing discourse concerning the Americanization of British cities. In seconding the motion, the eminent planner Raymond Unwin was not so reticent about associating taller buildings with American architecture. Frequent references to the architecture of New York were made in an attempt to persuade those in attendance that any relaxation of building height regulations would lead to a London skyline dominated by New York style skyscrapers, obscuring and in many cases destroying the existing architecture of the city.

## Conclusion

As the introduction of the skyscraper continued to shape the skylines of America’s expanding cities, the prospect of their introduction into Britain’s cities at the beginning of the twentieth century, although subject to a certain amount of speculation, remained a distant prospect. The building techniques that would have facilitated their construction had made their way across the Atlantic. However, the principles of architectural decorum and the practical considerations concerning the impact skyscrapers would have upon the British urban infrastructure meant that, in London, the most probable location for their construction, there remained a reluctance to relax the building height regulations, which would have allowed for their introduction. For the time being, the skyscraper remained an American phenomenon. The word “skyscraper” was symbolic of an American form of architecture, responsible for creating the towering skylines of Chicago and New York. Despite evidence of some favourable perceptions of the skyscrapers of New York, seen by some as proof of aesthetic and technical advancement upon the earlier and to some “uglier” examples found in Chicago, (The Times, 1921, p. 145) they were still regarded as unsuitable for Britain’s narrower streets.

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## THE HUMAN ASPECTS OF THE HEJAZ RAILWAY PROJECT

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### **Abstract**

This article, based on the monographs of the Hejaz Railway Project, aims to underline the significance attributed to the Hejaz Railway project not only by its initiator, the Ottoman Sultan Abdülhamid II, who referred to it as “his old dream” but for all the parties who directly or indirectly contributed to its actualization, regardless of ethnic and religious divisions, not only from the Ottoman lands but also from all over the world. To focus on the significance of the human investment in the actualization of the project, this work will start with its technicalities generously shared by the aforementioned monographs. Mainly based on Ottoman and British archival sources, these works provide a very detailed depiction of the Hejaz Railway Project. In this depiction, this work will focus on the human aspects of the project: the human investment and belief in the project despite all its hardships, scarcity of sources and resources, whether they may be financial, physical, or natural. In this regard, it may not be wrong to refer to the project as a “miracle” as well. The human investment in the Hejaz Railway Project is covered in the current related literature but not particularly focused on by any work. This work thus aims to bring the human aspect of this project to the forefront to provide a new angle on the topic.

**Keywords:** The Hejaz Railway; human aspects; Sultan Abdülhamid II; donations; construction; defense

## Introduction

*“The Hejaz Railway, I have been dreaming about for so long,  
is finally coming true.”*

The line above belongs to the initiator of the Hejaz Railway Project, the Ottoman Sultan Abdülhamid II (reign 31 August 1876 – 27 April 1909), who referred to it as his old dream in his book titled *Siyasi Hatıratım (My Political Memoirs)*, 1984, p. 123). Every project, starting with a dream, requires a certain level of emotional, physical, financial, and natural investment for its actualization and maintenance. This work, focusing on the human aspects of the Hejaz Railway Project, aims to underline the significance attributed to it by not only its initiator but also all the other parties who directly or indirectly contributed to the actualization of this project, not only from the Ottoman lands but from all over the world, regardless of religious and ethnic divisions. Focusing on the human aspects of the project crystallizes the investment and belief in it. When all the hardships, such as scarcity of sources and resources as well as losses, related to the actualization of the project are considered, the Hejaz Railway appears as a miracle – a miracle that still exists and functions at least partially.

To underline the significance of the human aspects of the Hejaz Railway Project, this work will start with its technicalities generously shared by a number of monographs, which appeared in Turkish Historiography since 1990. Before these monographs, academic publications about the Hejaz Railway were mainly short articles without any reference to related literature and/or archival documents (Artuk, 1964; Artuk, 1977; Erkin, 1948; Toydemir, 1948). Despite the comparative large magnitude of the research and publications about the Hejaz Railway by Western scholars until the 1990s, these works mainly failed to refer to the Ottoman Archival documents which should be considered crucial, as the construction of the railway was an Ottoman project (Auler Paşa, 1906; Landau, 1971; Ochsen-

wald, 1980). It was several scholars from Turkey who first, and only after the 1990s, acknowledged the significance of the Ottoman archival sources in their efforts to provide detailed accounts of the Hejaz Railway Project (Gülsoy, 1994; 2010, Hülügü, 2008; Özyüksel, 2000). Their works are mainly based on Ottoman archival sources, newspapers, and journals, in addition to British archival sources and secondary sources written by Western and Ottoman scholars of the time. Nevertheless, all these publications focus mainly on the political and/or religious significance of the project. In this regard, this work brings a new angle to the available literature on the Hejaz Railway Project by focusing on the human aspect.

Based on his lifetime experience, Sultan Abdulhamid II considered the construction of railroads in the Ottoman lands vital for military and strategic purposes, especially regarding the mobilization of campaigns during a state of war or unrest. During the Russo-Turkish War (1877-78), which fell in the early days of his reign, Sultan Abdülhamid II had witnessed the usefulness of the Istanbul–Plovdiv railroad in the mobilization of troops (Gülsoy, 1994, p. 40). As a reflection of his enthusiasm, he ordered an expansion of the railway lines. Upon his order, the lines increased from 1,145 km in length before 1878 to 3,700 km in total, 1,193 km in Rumelia and 2,507 km in Anatolia (Yılmaz, 2011). In addition to the services the construction of a railroad network would provide in military terms, the Sultan was aware of its economic benefits and also political advantages for consolidating his authority, especially in the regions of the periphery (Sultan Abdülhamid, 1984, p. 94).

The construction of the Hejaz Railway involved one more motivation which was portrayed as the main objective of the project to the public: to facilitate the pilgrimage to the Holy Land. So far, the long and costly journey of the pilgrims was accompanied by contagious diseases, water shortages, long delays, and attacks by nomadic Arabs tribes, namely the Bedouins. The Hejaz Railway should diminish all these obstacles to the

Muslim pilgrimage, not only the physical hardships but also of the costs of the pilgrimage. The facilitation of the journey was expected to increase the number of the pilgrims and serve the unity and solidarity of the Muslim world, in addition to strengthening the Sultan's influence as the Caliph (Gülsoy, 1994, pp. 41-43).

### **The Origins of the Hejaz Railway**

The initial proposals for the construction of a railway in the Hejaz Region were made during the reign of Sultan Abdülazîz (1861-1876). Dr. Charles F. Zimpel, an American engineer of German origin, prepared a proposal to connect the Red Sea to Damascus. His proposal was rejected because of two main reasons: First, the possible opposition of the Arab tribes living along the planned railway line, and second, the high costs of the project. The latter was more impactful than the former due to the financial hardships of the Ottoman Empire. Subsequent proposals by German, British, and Ottoman parties followed the initial one by Zimpel. They were commonly underlining the strategic significance of a railway project in the region for the Ottoman State with common main arguments involving a possible increase in the economic and military operations of the Ottoman State and hence, control and protection of the region against possible threats from outside. A railway project was also considered a possible solution to the aforementioned sanitary and security problems the pilgrims were facing during the pilgrimage. It was also seen as preventive of security problems on the pilgrimage turning into political issues that could threaten the stability of the Ottoman Empire (Gülsoy, 1994; Hülagü 2011).

By the time Sultan Abdülhamid II succeeded to the throne, domestic and foreign pressures were overwhelming, particularly the Europeans' policy of partitioning the Ottoman Empire, which materialized into the broad definition of the Ottoman Empire as "the sick man of Europe." In the face of the subsequent insatiable demands proposed by this policy, Sultan Abdülhamid

II predicted that telegraph and rail lines could fortify his central authority by expanding and facilitating communication and transportation across the Ottoman territory. Therefore, the Sultan approved the Hejaz Railway project, presuming that the railway would help improve the defense of the empire against foreign attacks and pave the way for international diplomacy (Gülsoy, 1994, pp. 40-41; Hülagü 2011, p. xvii).

On May 2, 1900, Sultan Abdülhamid II issued an imperial edict, *İrade*, which sowed the last of the greatest Ottoman imperial endeavors, “the Hamidiye Hejaz Railway Project.” The word “Hamidiye,” which literally means “belonging to Hamid,” was dropped after his dethronement on April 27, 1909, and the project started to be referred to as “the Hejaz Railway.” Consequently, the rail lines were laid from Damascus to Mecca and Medina – the Holy Cities of Islam – in the Hejaz region. However, the Ottoman government did not own the lines but classified them as community property in the body of *waqf*, an asset donated for being held in perpetual trust for socially beneficial causes (Özyüksel, 2002, p. 474).

### **Objectives of the Hejaz Railway Project**

The aim of the Hejaz Railway Project was to connect Istanbul and Medina and it was believed to facilitate the pilgrims’ journey to the Holy Cities, particularly Mecca. Upon completion, the Hejaz lines were considered to provide the pilgrims with a more comfortable and safer journey. The main mode of transportation to the Holy Cities used to be camel caravans with an approximate duration of the pilgrimage journey of two months; the distance between Damascus and Medina took 40 days by camel. The harsh weather conditions were compounded by scattered regional settlements and armed groups who exacerbated the conditions of the journey on the way. Figures from British reports show that 2,500 to 3,000 of pilgrims of a total of 80,000 preferred land travel to the Hejaz. The rails were expected to draw more pilgrims away from land travel which involved harder conditions.

The successful construction of the Hejaz Railway reduced the travel time of the 1,200 km journey to three days. The travel schedule was set to coordinate with the prayer times. One compartment of the train was assigned as a place of worship and an Imam was appointed to lead the prayers. For four years, from its launch on September 1, 1908 (the 32nd anniversary of Abdulhamid II's accession to the throne) to 1912, the Hejaz Railway transported 30,000 pilgrims to Medina from distant Ottoman lands. However, it was not only the pilgrims who rode the trains. At the time, the Hejaz Railway also came to serve the *Surre Alayı*, the annual procession of Imperial Gifts sent to the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina (Hülagü, 2011). The number of passengers skyrocketed and was recorded as high as 300,000 per year. Increasing the prestige of the Caliphate and facilitating the mobilization of troops when necessary and strengthening the Ottoman side against the European powers were among the strategic objectives of the project as well.

### **Construction of the Hejaz Railway**

All Ottoman railways, with the only exception of the Hejaz Railway, were built and operated by foreigners. In this regard, the Hejaz Railway stands out as an exceptional part of the history of the Ottoman railway system since it was completed mainly by Turkish labor under foreign management (Hülagü, 2011, p. xx). The employees that worked in the construction of the railway in the Muslim Holy Cities were primarily Muslim because the guardians of the sanctity of Mecca and Medina required that the Christian workforce does not engage in the project after the Medain Saleh. As a result, the 300-km rail lines in southern Medina were constructed exclusively by Muslim engineers and laborers.

Generally speaking, hundreds of workers and railway engineers worked in the construction and the majority of the railroad was built by a multi-ethnic workforce composed of mainly Syrians, Iraqis, and Turkish soldiers. The

soldiers who participated in the construction were rewarded with bonuses in accordance with their positions and discharged from military service a year earlier than regular soldiers (Gülsoy, 2010, pp. 123-129). Turks, Syrians, and Iraqis, who together comprised a workforce of over 5,000 men, succeeded in completing the railroad in eight years, despite diseases, overwhelming changes in weather, and poor working conditions which cost the lives of hundreds of workers. In addition, numerous station buildings, bridges, and culverts were built by Italian, Greek, and Montenegrin workers (Kargılı, 2014).

Not only the construction, but also the maintenance, and patrolling of the railway lines presented enormous difficulties because of tribal hostilities and the physical terrain. Before World War I, armed groups near the construction zone continuously attacked the railroad. Several forts were erected along the route to counter these attacks and sustain the railroad. In addition to the attacks on the Hejaz Railway, variations in the terrain along the route of the construction imposed serious setbacks. The shortage of water caused workers difficulties, while heavy rain flooded the construction site at times, washed away bridges and banks, and corroded the lines. With the added complications of overwhelming changes in weather and shortages of water, serious impediments were imposed on the construction. Despite all these complications, the project continued, and the construction of the Hejaz Railway also saw the the following construction projects: One locomotive maintenance center, 2,666 stone bridges and overpasses, seven iron bridges, nine tunnels, 96 stations, seven ponds, 37 cisterns, one hospital in Tabuk and Ma'an, small factories in Haifa, Deraa and Ma'an, one foundry and pipe workshop and a number of warehouses.

### **Financing of the Hejaz Railway**

Such a big project required great financial means as well. The estimated cost of the railway, which was originally planned to be extended to Mecca,



was 4 million liras equal to 18% of the total expenditure in the Ottoman state budget in 1901 and 15% of the total expenditure in the Ottoman state budget in 1909 (Gülsoy, 2010, p. 81; Ochsenwald, 1973, p. 130). It was impossible for the Ottoman budget to finance such a project since the state was in deficit each year due to financial instability, even struggling to pay the salaries of civil servants. A solution had to be found outside the treasury. Sultan Abdülhamid II had no intention of asking for foreign help, therefore he used the religious aspect of the railroad as an argument for the Ottoman Empire to be in charge of operation and construction, rather than a foreign-controlled private company (Ochsenwald, 1973, p. 130). Unlike other Ottoman railways that relied on foreign loans, the financing of the Hejaz Railway Project was determined to be Muslim by design: The Hejaz Railway was to be constructed as a common project and pride of the Muslims. Hence, the Sultan turned to the Muslims of the world for support.

In May 1900, Sultan Abdülhamit II started the donation campaign by contributing 50,000 Turkish liras and announcing to all Muslims that the Hejaz Project needed their donations. The response, which eventually covered around one-third of the income of the railroad, was quite far-reaching: bureaucrats, officers, civil servants, merchants, and many other Muslims from various milieus inside and outside of the Ottoman Empire, Algeria, Sudan, Egypt, India, and Bosnia and Herzegovina, to name a few, sent considerable generous donations for the Hejaz Project. Oschenwald (1973) categorizes the Muslims providing funds for the railway into three different groups: 1. Ottomans who were forced to provide money; 2. Ottomans who voluntarily donated; 3. Muslims who lived outside the Empire (pp. 130-131). I use the donations by Bosnian Muslims for the Hejaz Railway Project to exemplify the second and third category since Bosnia and Herzegovina was Ottoman territory, albeit under Austro-Hungarian administration between 1900 and 1908, from the beginning of the construction until the completion of the line to Medina, in addition to the level of the engagement of the Muslims from Europe.

Karčić (2014) provides detailed information about the Bosnian Muslim donations based on the contemporary media coverage of the project. The construction of the railway and its progress was covered by Bosnian Muslim publications such as Behar and Bošnjak and a committee was established for collecting voluntary contributions in Sarajevo (Karčić, 2014). The donors' names were listed in these publications and a number of Bosnian Muslims were reported as being awarded with silver and nickel medals for their donations (pp. 187-189). Karčić (2014) interprets the Bosnian Muslim participation in the project as an effort to reinforce the "spiritual ties with the seat of the Caliphate in Istanbul," rather than with the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, although Bosnia and Herzegovina was still Ottoman territory until the Austro-Hungarian annexation in 1908. This interpretation underlines the significance attributed to the Caliphate's status as the "dreamer" of the project, rather than his title as the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, regarding the Muslim engagement with the project. Whether this observation reflects the actual perception of Muslim Bosnian donors and/or the Muslim donors from other parts of the world requires further research.

Along with voluntary donations, the Ottoman Empire used various fundraising activities: A common example was the payroll deduction imposed on civil servants. In return, they received a Hejaz Railway medallion made of gold, silver, or lead, according to the amount deducted. In addition to the medallion, contributors were granted a *berat*, an Ottoman imperial certificate that could be inherited by their heirs, as a form of encouragement and symbol of their imposed donation and contribution to the holy cause. The Ottoman government collected the donations through a subscription company and allocated everything they received to the construction of the railroad (Landau, 1971). All these donations and many more failed to be mentioned in this article, leaving no doubt that the construction of the Hejaz Railway was financed by a broader Muslim community in different parts of the world regardless of ethnic identity, rather than entirely by the Ottoman subjects and local/national finance and assistance.

## **Finalization of the Hejaz Railway Project**

The Sultan's "old dream" came true with the conclusion of construction after eight years. Despite overwhelming difficulties, the Ottoman Empire finally launched the Hejaz Railway, with approximately 1,464 kilometers of tracks. The Hejaz Railway, passing through rough desert regions, followed a longitudinal route within the Ottoman territory: a train could run from Damascus to Deraa in the South, continue across Transjordan via Zerqa and Qatrana, pass through Ma'an into Northwestern Arabia, and finally reach Medina via Zat al-Haj and Al-Ula. In addition, several extensions connected major coastal cities to inland cities, the line connecting Haifa and Deraa being one of them.

Istanbul was eventually connected to southern territories, such as Syria, Hejaz, and Jordan with the Hejaz Railway and its connecting lines. Within his lifetime, Sultan Abdülhamid II witnessed the completion of an enormous construction project that laid 5,792 kilometers of rails. All the lines, with the only exception of Mâ'an Tabuk, were opened on September 1, the anniversary of Sultan Abdulhamid II's accession to the Ottoman throne. The opening dates of each line in chronological order are 1. Muzeirib-Deraa (September 1, 1901), 2. Deraa-Zerqa (September 1, 1902), 3. Damascus-Zerqa-Amman (September 1, 1903), 4. Amman-Ma'an (September 1, 1904), 5. Mâ'an Tabuk (late 1906), 6. Tarek-Medain Saleh (September 1, 1907), 7. Medain Saleh-Medina (September 1, 1908).

During the First World War, the Hejaz Railway was transferred to the control of military administration right after the declaration of mobilization on August 2, 1914, before the Ottoman Empire entered World War I. This brought the closure of the railway to public transportation and hence, the pilgrimage, which caused serious economic problems in the Hejaz region. By October 7, 1916, the administration and control of the Hejaz Railway were transferred to the Ministry of Defense. The maintenance of the rail-

way during the years of war was even harder. It was problematic to provide coal, oil, and water for the trains; as a result, wood started to be used as a replacement for coal which brought the need to establish additional lines to reach and carry wood.

The areas in the southeastern provinces and the Arabian Peninsula saw tremendous military activity during the First World War. Soon after the war broke out, the Ottoman Empire had serious concerns regarding towns with Arabic-speaking majorities, especially the Holy Cities Mecca and Medina, and the main objective of the Ottoman army was to keep the British out of Egypt and the Suez Canal. The railroads provided a great opportunity to transport the Ottoman army into the Arabian heartland. In particular, it provided the Medina Military Division defending the Hejaz region with provisions and munitions from Damascus. Sharif Hussein, the Amir of Mecca, being an influential figure in the region, declared a revolt in 1916 to establish his rule (Gülsoy, 2011).

Fahreddin Pasha was sent by the Ottoman State to Medina in 1916 to defend the city against this rebellion ignited by the British. He managed to defend the city for a little longer than two-and-half years, despite a serious lack of resources, and thus came to be known as “the Lion of the Desert.” During the occupation, he also sent many of the relics from Masjid al-Nabawi to Istanbul under military protection to prevent looting. Today, these relics are being preserved at the Topkapı Palace. When the Ottoman Empire signed the Armistice of Mudros on October 30, 1918, the pasha had to leave Medina, but he refused and continued to defend the city for 72 days until they ran out of food, medicine, and ammunition (Gülsoy, 2010, pp. 162-170; Kargılı, 2014, p. 212). Even this individual incident is self-explanatory in terms of the significance of the human aspects, not only regarding the actualization of the Hejaz Railway Project but also its protection and preservation.

## Conclusion

The human aspect appears at all the stages of the Hejaz Railway, beginning with the Ottoman Sultan Abdülhamid II's old dream and following with all the efforts put into its financing, construction, protection, preservation, and renovation coming all the way to today, despite all the constraints faced during both peace and war times. Sultan Abdülhamid II's old dream, which was a concrete expression of his pan-Islamist ideas, turned out to be an Islamic project executed successfully. It can be argued that all starts with a dream, but it is also a fact that not all dreams turn into projects and even though they may be, not all are finalized successfully. Although the construction of the Hejaz Railway stemmed from diplomatic, political, and religious motives, it was thanks to the human belief in the project that its engines kept running.

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## THE BASIC PROBLEMS OF INTERPRETING PREAMBLES OF CONSTITUTIONS

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### **Abstract**

In this article, we touch on the preambles of constitutions, their importance, and manner of interpretation with a purposeful analysis of these issues as the main objective of this paper. We look at constitutional law in its entirety, as well as preambular issues, to evaluate the segments of the legal act that represent its non-normative part. To significantly contribute to the understanding of the very goal of the constitution and similar acts is the most important issue of this topic. By analysing different methods of interpreting the constitution and its preamble, we provide a comprehensive account of errors in interpreting the constitution that penetrate every segment of our lives.

**Keywords:** interpretation of law; preamble; originalism; theory of law; constitution; constitutional law

## Introduction

The constitution of every country in the world is the foundation of its state's legal order as the highest legal act. It is the only legal act in the legal order of a state that also exhibits certain political characteristics (Kuzmanović, 2007, pp. 11-24; Savić, 2000, p. 55). It is the most important formal source of law and can be viewed in a material and formal sense. In the material sense, the constitution is a text that regulates most of the basic issues of social, state, and legal organization of a country. Therefore, it is a set of norms that determines the organization and competence of supreme state authorities and sets the principles of state organization and overall legal order (Popović, 1997, p. 46). In the material sense, it is determined according to the content, the matter of constitutional norms, and according to the content of social relations which are regulated by those norms. In the formal sense, the constitution is determined depending on the form of the legal act, including its competence, procedure, and materialization. Thus, in the formal sense, the constitution is the highest general legal act passed by a special body with constitutional competencies, either a special constitutional body, or political or national representation, under a special procedure, drafted by a strictly defined nomotechnics and amended by a specifically determined procedure (Kuzmanović, 2002, pp. 36-44; Savić, 2005, pp. 270-272). In addition to these, the constitution has many other important features, for instance as a reflection of the society (slave-owning, feudal, capitalist, socialist), as an act of statehood, and as an ideological-political act.

It is precisely these specifics, but also the significance it has for state and society, that raise particularly tricky questions about its interpretation, meaning the interpretation of the most general and most abstract norms in a legal order. Who interprets these norms? Or rather, who can interpret them? In what way? Using which methods? What is the purpose of that interpretation? These are all questions that arise after the adoption of this basic law. According to Visković (1981), the basic function of interpretation is to de-



termine several possible meanings of one vague and/or ambiguous legal act and to opt for one, namely the most favorable meaning (Harašić, 2011, pp. 61-62; Visković, 1981, p. 373). Savić (2005) states that the interpretation or hermeneutics of law is a way or procedure used to make something that is vague clearer and more understandable (Gadamer, 1978, p. 215; Savić, 2005, p. 348). Interpreting law is the daily activity of those who deal with legal norms, especially lawyers. Indeed, legal norms, and especially constitutional norms, as a psychic creation cannot be understood without interpretation. The interpretation mostly seems imperceptible, because while performing this daily activity, the interpreter does not even notice that he is engaged in some important, but also difficult, special activity. The interpreter does that during the very process of learning legal norms, or as Lukić and Košutić (2003) state, “imperceptibly, naturally and easily” (p. 396). It is usually only at times when the interpretation becomes difficult, for instance when a certain norm is not clear and comprehensible “in itself,” that the interpretation of law stands out and is recognized as a special activity. Interpretation of the Constitution as the most general legal act is an even greater and more difficult activity, which can be left only to exceptional legal experts with a wide range of legal knowledge and experience.

The constitution is written according to strictly established nomotechnics, which separates it from other legal acts, and must have its own structure. The constitution, as a rule, consists of two parts: the preamble and the normative part. However, practice has shown us that a number of constitutions deviate from this model and have several parts. Therefore some constitutions possess a preamble, introductory or basic principles and a normative part, while others have a preamble, a normative part and annexes. The most important part of any constitution is the normative part, which contains the constitutional matter (*materiae constitutionis*). This part can differ in scope (the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina has 12 articles while the Indian Constitution has 407 articles) and writing technique (it can be presented in the form of essays or in a short, precisely and clearly way)

(Đorđević, 1977, pp. 127-131; Kuzmanović, 2002, pp. 48-50; Perić, 1968, pp. 128-140). The notion that the normative part of the constitution has the greatest legal force and that it is the only one that contains constitutional matter has been ruling since constitutions were differentiated as such. But the situation has changed significantly today. Perceptions have emerged that other parts of the constitution also contain constitutional matter and as such produce legal force, like preambles.

Since preambles are usually not included in the operative part of constitutional texts, they were underestimated by legal scholars and researchers, and did not occupy a significant and visible place in legal discussions (Ginsburg et al., 2014, p. 104). Constitutional preambles are thus somewhat of an enigma. There are many reasons why legal science has neglected them, but the most significant is the exclusively declarative nature of the preamble of the constitution, and that it lacks prescriptive value (Frosini, 2012, p. 22). However, as already mentioned, interpreting a constitution's preamble as a special part of the constitution that has a certain legal force has recently become a trend in law. To contribute to the understanding of the legal nature of the preamble, but also to the interpretation of the constitution in general, we will focus on the issues and theoretical and legal understandings of the legal nature of preambles. This article discusses the types of interpretation of the constitution in general and in the context of the interpretation of the preamble, theories on the interpretation and presentation of problems that have arisen and may arise in national and comparative practice (imaginary but not impossible cases) and those that have already occurred in legal practice.

### **The legal nature of preambles**

In legal theory, the legal nature of preambles is still controversial and their legal status is not entirely clear. That is why there are different, often conflicting, opinions about it. Some believe that the preamble is a political dec-

laration, without any legal significance, that it is not a legal regulation and that as such it is not obligatory, while others believe that the preamble is a legal regulation with more or less legal force. According to Kelzen (1998), the preamble has declarative, ideological, and political significance rather than a legal one, because if the preamble was simply rejected, there would be no real changes in the constitution itself, meaning that the legal force of the constitution would hardly change (p. 323). Kelzen's opinion was shared by most legal writers regardless of their legal school or legal field. However, we believe that it would not be out of place to clarify the meaning of the word preamble and its purpose. "Preamble" is a word taken from the Latin language (lat. *preambulum*, *preambulus*) and means "introduction," something that precedes. So, figuratively speaking, the preamble is an overture to something yet to come. On the other hand, in the formal legal sense, it is a part of a legal act that emphasizes the goal of passing that act, its basic principles, reasons for passing and the like, and which precedes the act itself, i.e. its normative part (Savić, 2000, pp. 58-59).

Its political and declarative character, solemn and informative significance, diversity of content are all reasons for dilemmas about the legal nature of the preamble. The most common elements of preambles show it to be a bearer of sovereignty, historical narrative, main goals, peoples and/or national identity and invocation of God or religion (Orgad, 2010, pp. 715-718). There is no dilemma about the nature of the preamble only when the drafter of the constitution explicitly and unambiguously determines its significance and legal nature. However, such cases are rare in practice and only in a few countries has the legislator explicitly determined the legal nature of the preamble, such as Turkey, Croatia, Indonesia, Togo, and Papua New Guinea (Mikić, 2014, p. 436; Radovanović, 2020, p. 97; Simović, 2020, p. 17). To provide one concrete example: Article 151 of the 2012 Constitution of the Syrian Arab Republic states that "the preamble of the Constitution is considered an integral part of the Constitution."

Regarding preambles of which the legal effect was not determined by the writer/s of the constitution, three points of view exist in constitutional law theory. The first states that only the solemn declaration of a purely political nature has changed and that a preamble represents a symbolic overture to the normative part of the constitution; therefore, it lacks operational legal value. Proponents of the second view believe that the preamble has legal significance, but that it is extremely limited and should be considered only as an aid in interpreting vague and overly abstract constitutional norms by placing them in an appropriate socio-political context. The third opinion considers the preamble as an integral part of the constitution and equates its legal effect with the effect of the normative part of the constitution (Simović, 2020, p. 18). Authors representing different views on the legal nature of the preamble can be divided into several groups: (a) classicists, (b) formalists, (c) materialists, (d) modernists, and (e) radicalists.

The classical doctrine of constitutional law has long denied any kind of legal effect of the preamble because many arguments were in favor of this very thesis. We mentioned earlier that the word “preamble“ originates from Latin, meaning “something that precedes something,” therefore, a kind of introduction. Thus, the preamble is only an introduction to a legal act without a normative, but only declarative effect. Hence, it is considered that elements that should not have a normative character, but which should serve as reasons for adopting what follows, are often included in the preamble (Simović, 2020, p. 18). Classicists argue that besides constitutions, other legal acts also have certain introductions, such as laws, charters, and decrees. This is more common in the Anglo-Saxon legal field (Jovičić, 1977, p. 124). However, these preambles, while containing some basic principles, reasons, and goals of passing an act, do not produce a legal effect, so classicists question why a constitutional preamble would be an exception. Thus, they base their arguments on analogy (Roach, 2001; Simović, 2020, p. 19). However, there is reason to reject this argument because unlike laws that represent organizational and operational legal acts that more specifi-

cally regulate certain legal areas, the preamble as an act derives its force from the constitution and as such is normatively lower on the hierarchical scale in relation to the constitution (Perić, 1968, pp. 140- 144; Savić, 1996-1997, pp. 93-104). On the other hand, one of the basic characteristics of the constitution and its essential properties is that the constitution is an ideological-political, but also a declarative act (Kuzmanović, 2002, pp. 41-42). Thus, we conclude that this is not an ordinary legal act that contains only norms that regulate something. At its core, it also contains ideological and political elements that reflect the spirit of the time in which the constitution was adopted and proclaim the basic principles and principles of the state legal order.

The formalists, i.e., those who base their arguments on the formal role that the preamble has in the constitution, state that it precedes the constitution and as such is not an integral part of it (Marković, 2015, p. 43). As a counterargument to this claim, it is often stated that this would indeed be the case if the preamble precedes the text of the constitution, which in practice is not the case with all constitutions. In addition to this argument, the instrumentalism of the formalists also includes the fact that the preamble differs significantly in its structure from the substantive part of the constitution. The preamble, unlike the normative part, does not contain certain wholes, such as individual parts, chapters, articles, paragraphs, and points, but is written homogeneously, harmoniously, paying attention to the solemnity and declarativeness of each sentence. Thus, since the preamble does not consist of several classification units as a substantive part of the constitution, the formalists conclude that it has no legal effect. In addition, the preamble is characterized by insufficiently defined, undefined, or unclear content, which is contrary to the character of constitutional and legal norms in general (Jovičić, 1977, p. 125). Precisely because of its content, the preamble may not be considered a part of the text, but a separate essence that seeks its own special place (Orgad, 2010, p. 716). However, if this is taken as an argument for the negation of the legal effect of the preamble, then

we could deny any essay and insufficiently defined norm, which would include a substantial part of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-American law (Kutlešić, 2010, p. 74; Kuzmanović, 2002, pp. 48-49; Simović, 2020, p. 20).

As the arguments of the formalists did not provide a complete answer to the questions of the legal nature of the preamble, several authors decided to base their arguments on the shortcomings of the material properties of the preamble. The legislators use the preamble as a tool, as a means by which they introduce citizens to a legal act and communicate something to them. Here, the preamble has a more rhetorical, oratorical, and solemn character. Through the preamble, the citizens are given reasons for adopting the constitution, and they are introduced to the principles on which the future state legal system will stand so that it can then be considered a political pamphlet. That pamphlet would then have more of an instructive function than it would represent the substantive part of the constitution. The preamble does not prescribe norms for certain human behavior, which is why some authors conclude that it lacks legally relevant content and if it were rejected, almost nothing in the normative part of the constitution would change (Kelzen, 1998, p. 360; Simović, 2020, p. 20). Some authors also conclude that it points to the prepositive basic and/or religious truths of a political community, and as such is more of a scientific, academic introduction to the constitution, a set of proclamations and programmatic principles that should be applied in the future (Đorđević, 1980, p. 120; Haberle, 2002, p. 185; Jovičić, 1977, p. 125; Kuzmanović, 2002, p. 41; pp. 49-50; Simović, 2020, p. 20). The preamble often emphasizes the irrelevant historical, cultural, and civilizational foundations of a society, emphasizes the basic ideas of the constitution-maker that should be realized through the constitution, reminds and relies on a positive past, marks the present, and projects the future (Kuzmanović, 2002, p. 49). The goal of every legal act, including the constitution, is to present the ideas and principles in the preamble and realize them, that is, turn them into a normative form, meaning legal norms, because only they are binding. Legal norms are statements about need (Ger-

man, *sollen*) which, due to the character of the state legal order, most often turn into being (German, *sein*), whereby the function of the state and law is fulfilled (Petrov, 2009, pp. 235-245; Savić, 2000, p. 61). Materialists, therefore, emphasizing the illegal side of the content of the preamble, believe that it has no legal effect. Constitutional preambles, when we apply the comparative law method, seem to differ in their structure, content, scope, and functions they have (Simović, 2020, p. 21). These differences vary from state to state, and from legal system to legal system. Constitutions with longer preambles include those of the SFRY from 1963 and 1974, the Constitution of the People's Republic of China from 1954 and 1982, constitutions that contain a shorter preamble include the U.S. Constitution, the French Constitution, and the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, while there are also cases of constitutions without any preambles. Such constitutions, in principle, contain so-called preamble provisions in the first few articles; Häberle calls the constitutional norms in these articles "catalogue of preamble articles" (Forsini, 2012, p. 29), i.e. provisions that have no legal but declarative character. For this reason, some authors distinguish between preambles in the formal and preambles in the material sense. Such provisions are, for example, the Constitution of the Kingdom of Denmark, the Constitution of the Kingdom of Norway, and the Constitution of Cyprus (Kuzmanović, 2002: 49; Orgad, 2010: 715- 716; Radovanović, 2020: 100-104; Simović, 2020: 21). It can thus be concluded that the arguments offered by the materialists are not entirely complete and reliable due to the exceptions where the preamble is not necessarily a separate part, but its content can be found in the normative part of the constitution.

Trying to reconcile opposing views, modernists are of the opinion that not all preambles are the same, and that this is the reason why a final and generally accepted judgment cannot be given. We should look for answers to the question related to the legal nature of preambles in each individual case. Therefore, by analyzing structure and content, we can determine whether or not a preamble has a legally relevant character. If it is concluded that

the text of the preface has legally relevant properties, then its legal effect cannot be disputed. Interpreting the preamble of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, Bobbio (1974) came to the conclusion that preambles should be divided into “preambles of” and “preambles for” (p. 437). In the first case, the preamble consists of general and introductory principles that form an integral part of the constitutional document, while in the second case, the preamble is a ceremonial introduction to the constitutional act, together with an explanation of why and how the constitution was adopted (Forsini, 2012, p. 147; Simović, 2020, p. 21). This interesting thinking is often mentioned by the authors with the intention of presenting the different legal significance that too many may have, in order to approach their analysis in more detail. A large number of contemporary legal writers hold that the preamble has a primarily non-legal function, regardless of the growth of the movement for the affirmation of the legal relevance of the preamble. According to them, the preamble does not contain legal norms but ideological and political theses and ideas, and thus should not be treated as a normative part of the constitution. Its role is exhausted through the interpretation of constitutional provisions (Beoinoravičius et al., 2015, p. 139; Simović & Petrov, 2018, pp. 87-89). Therefore, there is a subtle view that the preamble is an integral part of the constitution, but unlike other parts of the text of the constitution, it does not have a normative character. It does not contain constitutional norms, but ideas from which those norms should originate (Fira, 2002, p. 63). Thus, some authors believe that with the help of the preamble, and when interpreting them, constitutional provisions should be placed in a certain historical or ideological-political context (Voermans et al., 2017, p. 44). Some lawyers believe that the legal value of the preamble of the constitution depends on its content. Thus, if it is written in legal language and contains legal constructions, even if it were only basic principles, it should be given legal effect. This is even more true if there are constructions in the preamble that identify with legal norms (Orlović, 2019, p. 48;



Simović, 2020, p. 22; Trnka, 2006, p. 44). Preambles more often do not have a normative character, but that does not mean that they should be taken into account during the constitutional interpretation (Stojanović, 2007, p. 62). In that sense, Judge of the Constitutional Court of Poland, Zbigniew Cieslak, stated that “the preamble as an integral part of the normative act, at the same time helps the body that applies the act to determine and systematize the content of protected values.” He also said that the preamble is “an extremely important source for the teleological interpretation of the act” (Simović, 2020, p. 22). The preamble, however, is binding, but in a political way. It obliges the creators of law to translate the principles set out in it into legal norms, of which the constitution, in the material sense, is the only one. Observed from the legal aspect, constitutional norms represent the result of the action of a political will which is expressed only declaratively in the preamble, while in the normative part of the constitution it acquires its true meaning (Savić, 2000, p. 62).

Finally, in legal theory, there are those positions that completely equate the preamble with the normative part of the constitution and consider that its legal effect is equivalent to the substantive provisions of the constitution. Namely, the authors that advocate this position explain that the preamble was adopted in the same special procedure, by the same, specially authorized body, as the constitution itself (Vedel, 2002, p. 326). The 1958 Constitution of France is often cited as an example here. Namely, in this case, all parts of the constitution were put to a referendum (hence both the preamble and the normative part) and they were confirmed by the citizens so that it is a single whole (Rousseau, 2006, p. 125). In addition, as radicals, they cite as an argument the competence of the French Constitutional Council, which refers to the control of the constitutionality of the law, and that it is not limited to the normative part of the constitution as a measure of constitutionality. The Constitutional Council adheres to the preamble of the French Constitution as a measure of constitutionality, stating that “the French people solemnly proclaim their commitment to human rights and

the principles of national sovereignty as defined by the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen of 1789.” Because of that, the Constitutional Council did not adhere to the preamble when assessing the constitutionality of the law, the French legislature could delve deeply into the sphere of basic human rights and freedoms since the French Constitution does not contain such provisions in its normative part. The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen has, over time, grown in the spirit of French constitutionality and as such is inextricably linked to the Constitution, and should be interpreted within it. As another argument for this thesis, it is stated that the Declaration was adopted by the same body that proclaimed the modern French state – the National Constituent Assembly (Frosini, 2012, pp. 65-66). One of the parents of modern French constitutional law theory, Leon Duguit (2007), considered that the constitutional position of the Declaration was unquestionable, and that any law contrary to the Declaration was unconstitutional (p. 218). In philosophical and legal circles, this debate lasted until 1971, when the Constitutional Council recognized the legal effect of the preamble and used it as a criterion for assessing the constitutionality of the law (Simović, 2020, p. 23). Thus, this is a position that recognizes the pre-integral character on the basis of the formal characteristics of the constitution, namely: (1) the enactor and (2) the procedure (Kutlešić, 2010, p. 75). In other words, if the preamble together with the normative part of the constitution was issued by a specially authorized constitutional body in accordance with a specially established constitutional procedure, then the preamble must be considered an integral part of it and should be interpreted as such.

### **Types, methods and problems of interpretation**

The interpretation of law in general is one of the most complex human activities that is most pronounced when interpreting the constitution as the highest legal act, which explores the meaning and content, as well as the scope of positive constitutional norms and principles (Savić, 2017, pp. 14-

15; Stojanović, 2005, p. 119). The interpretation of the constitution may initially seem like the interpretation of any other legal act. That would be true, if we had some other, hierarchically higher legal act from which we could draw substantive and formal determinants for interpretation. It is for this reason that the interpretation of what we can see in the constitution is significantly more difficult and requires a special approach (Vrban, 2003, p. 457). In this regard, we can cite a few examples from the case law of the U.S. Supreme Court. In the *Case of Dred Scott v. John F. A. Stanford* of 1857, U.S. Supreme Court President Roger Taney argued that “the constitution speaks not only in words, but in the same meaning and purpose it spoke of when it flowed from the hands of its creators and when it the people of the United States voted and accepted.” Similar to Taney, Justice George Sutherland, in the *Case of the Home Building and Loan Assoc. v. Blaisdell* of 1934, pointed out “that the meaning of the constitution cannot be changed with the ebb and flow of economic events ... the constitution has the meaning as the people made it, until the people themselves, not their official representatives, make it different.” On the other hand, Justice John Marshall in 1819, in the *Case of McCulloch v. Maryland*, took the position that interpreters must never forget that what they interpret. It is meant to last for years to come and that, for this very reason, it is adapted to the different crises that people will face. The authors believe that Justice Oliver Holmes went the furthest in interpreting the constitution when he warned that the provisions of the constitution are not mathematical formulas that have essence in their form, they are living organic institutions transplanted from English soil, their meaning should not be derived by taking words from the dictionary, but by considering their origins and the line of their growth. However, some authors believe that it was the American lawyer and judge Benjamin Cordozo when he pointed out that “the constitution it expresses the rules for the time that passes, rather than the principles for the future” (Stepanov & Despotović, 2004, pp. 137-138; Vasić & Čavoški, 1999, pp. 279-280).

In almost all countries of the world, the interpretation of the constitution is, at least indirectly, binding, and is entrusted to either regular, supreme, or specialized constitutional courts, although the constitution may also be interpreted by its enactor (Lombardi, 1985, pp. 67-68). Regardless of who is responsible for interpreting the constitution, the question of techniques and methods of interpretation arises. There has long been an opinion that it is impossible to define a general method of interpreting the constitution that will be applied by all interpreters and which all interpreters will unreservedly adhere to, regardless of (legal) space and time. The reasons for this are reflected in the very differences between legal spaces, specific situations in different countries and the self-limitations adopted by the constitutional judiciary in certain countries. Interpreters have been working on the so-called traditional methods of interpretation, which originated from the sayings of Roman jurists, and now there is a trend that interpretation is done by applying constitutional principles in a less positivist way, and to take as a basis standard, universally valid legal-dogmatic methods of interpretation (Lombardi, 1985, p. 69; Savić, 2017, p. 19). However, due to the character and level of constitutional norms, and the properties and functions of the constitution itself, general methods of interpretation require significant modification (Stojanović, 2005, p. 119). This is supported by the unreservedly accepted position that the constitution is adopted in order to focus on the regulation of the state legal order for a long time, although in practice there are exceptions, e.g. in temporary and transitional constitutions, as well as constant processes of change in the state legal order (Savić, 2017, p. 19). These dynamics of state and legal life are primarily the reason why constitutional norms are written with a certain amount of abstractness, vagueness and openness, in contrast to legal texts (Stojanović, 2005, p. 119). Many of the terms contained in the constitution do not belong to legal life and their definition is often of a social and political nature. These notions are often imprecise, political, and ambiguous. Therefore, corrections of the general methods of interpretation that we use when interpreting lower legal acts, i.e., legal acts of lesser legal force, are required.

Special interpretation or correction of standard methods of interpretation is not required if there is no doubt on the part of the interpreter about the literal linguistic meaning of the term in constitutional norms. Interpreting the constitution becomes a problem when an answer must be given to a constitutional question which, starting from the literal text of the constitution, cannot be clearly answered. Some authors believe that the following modified methods of interpretation should be used in this situation: (1) linguistic interpretation (grammatical or verbal interpretation), (2) systematic interpretation, (3) teleological (or target) interpretation which can be differentiated into subjective (target) interpretation and objective (target) interpretation, (4) historical interpretation, and (5) comparative (law) interpretation (Savić, 2017, p. 20). In addition to these methods, we find it equally useful for the interpreter to use: (6) subjective interpretation, (7) objective interpretation, (8) subjective-objective (mixed) interpretation, (9) logical interpretation, (10) static interpretation, (11) evolutionary interpretation, and (12) the method of interpreting exceptions and filling legal gaps. We will explain all the methods of interpretation and demonstrate them using practical examples. When interpreting the constitution, the interpreter must adhere to the following principles: (1) the principle of objective interpretation of the will, (2) the principles of concretization of the constitution, (3) the principle of unity of the constitution, (4) the principles of harmonization of constitutional norms, (5) the principle of state integration (6) the principle of functional immutability, and (7) the principle of constitutional-conformal interpretation of the law (Stojanović, 2005, pp. 120-126).

## **Two theories of interpretation**

There are five basic sources that guided the interpretation of the Constitution: (1) the text and structure of the Constitution, (2) the intentions of those who drafted it, (3) previous precedents, usually court decisions, (4) social, political, and the economic consequences of alternative interpretations, and (5) natural law. There is a general consensus that the first three of these

sources are suitable guides for interpretation, but they significantly disagree about the relative weight to be given to the three sources when pointing in different directions. Many interpreters of the Constitution suggest that the consequences of alternative interpretations are never relevant, even when all other considerations are balanced. Natural law is now seldom proposed as a guide for interpretation, although many constitution-makers have recognized its appropriateness. People who prefer to rely heavily on original sources are usually called “originalists” as opposed to “non-originalists” who advocate giving more weight to precedents, consequences, or natural law. In practice, disagreements between originalists and non-originalists often concern whether the enhanced judicial review should be applied to certain fundamental rights that are not explicitly protected in the text of the constitution. In accordance with the above, we can divide the interpreters of the constitution into several groups: (1) textualists (who give primary weight to the text and structure of the constitution), (2) intentionalists (who give primary weight to the intentions of the creators of the constitution), (3) pragmatists (who give significant weight to judicial precedent or the consequences of alternative interpretations), (4) positive law theorists, who give more weight to the thesis that the existence and content of law depend on social facts rather than merit, and (5) natural law theorists who believe that higher moral law needs to transcend inconsistent positive law (Murill, 2018, pp. 5-24). Each interpreter advocates a different thesis on interpretation, but for the purposes of this paper, we will deal with two, lately, the most interesting ones.

So, a multitude of discussions on this topic has given rise to a multitude of different theoretical approaches to interpretation, but we will analyze only a few. We will first deal with the *theory of originalism*, or the *theory of intention*. According to this concept of interpreting constitutions, it is emphasized that all provisions of the highest legal act should be interpreted according to the original understanding at the time when the constitution was adopted. Proponents of this view argue that the constitution is a stable act

from the moment of its adoption, and that the meaning of its content can be changed only in a specially prescribed procedure by a specially authorized body (Boyce, 1996, p. 915). This theory contradicts the concept of a living constitution which argues that the constitution should be interpreted on the basis of the context of current time and political identities, even if such an interpretation differs from the original interpretations of the document. A common argument in favor of this theory is that this interpretation results in “value-neutral judgment,” a situation in which the personal values of the interpreter do not affect the outcome of the case (Chemerinsky, 2001, pp. 3-4). Value-neutral judgment is closely related to the idea of judicial restraint. Renowned U.S. Supreme Court Justice Antonio Scalia, who is most associated with the idea of originalism, once defended his approach, writing: “which is not bound by a text or a special, recognizable tradition is not a law at all” (Simović, 2020, pp. 24-29; Tracz, 2020, pp. 101-102). The theory of originalism has two doctrines: (a) the doctrine of original intention (the doctrine of the subject’s intention) and (b) the doctrine of original meaning (the doctrine of objective intention). One of the earlier understandings of the theory of originalism was known as the doctrine of subjective (original) intention or the doctrine of intentionalism, a theory that predicted that all legal acts should be interpreted based on the subjective intention of the author, including the constitution (Thomas, 2011, p. 6). Thus, for example, when interpreting the U.S. Constitution, the writings written by the authors of the Constitution, which were presented at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, should be used, as well as other works authored by the authors of the constitutional matter.

Criticisms directed at the doctrine of original intent have led to a modification of the doctrine. Original authors, judges, and commentators have suggested that instead of trying to discern the subjective intent of the compilers of the Constitution, one should focus on seeking the objective meaning of the terms used (Thomas, 2011, p. 8). As explained by Scalia (1997), who was involved in providing the theoretical basis for this change, the consti-

tutional analysis should focus on “the original meaning of the text, not on what the writers of the Constitution originally intended” (p. 38). This doctrine of objective original meaning emphasizes how the text of the constitution should be understood rationally, in the historical period in which the constitution was proposed, adopted, and first implemented. because of the above, this doctrine is widely criticized. Namely, some authors state that this doctrine is only one form of historical interpretation of the constitution, but a special method for its objective understanding. As the constitution is a living matter, it evolves and develops, and with that the understanding of its objective meaning should be developed, i.e. its provisions should be objectively understood depending on the moment of interpretation. Thus, we interpret the objective intention of the legislators at the time the disputed situation arose. However, this doctrine has also created many dilemmas in practice. The most significant is the one that addresses the question of whether and if the obvious objective meaning of a constitutional phrase would create a flexible standard that could change over time? Thus, for example, in the text of the U.S. Constitution there are important phrases and sentences that are so widely written that it can be argued that they were intended for interpretation at a high level of generality.

Although the theory of originalism is somewhat attractive to interpreters of the constitution because it is particularly committed to the intention of the legislator and value-neutral judgment, the authors state that in practice there is a clear circumvention of the basic principles of this theory (Tracz, 2020, p. 107). This is the reason why some legal writers have taken the position that it is necessary to find a better method for interpreting the real intention of the issuer of the highest legal act. This is exactly what caused the creation of a new theory, the *theory of interpretation of the constitution based on the preamble* or *preamble-based theory of constitutional interpretation*, which is gaining momentum in the United States. It is often presented as a solution to fill the vacuum that can arise in the interpretation of the most general provisions of the constitution. It is a three-part (or tripartite



analysis) process of interpretation based on the Preamble and which would include: (1) determining the constitutional norm according to which the provision of a lower normative act is challenged, (2) determining which of the goals or basic principles of the constitution stated in the preamble, implement or concretize the interpretation of the provision, and (3) determine whether the disputed norm of the lower normative act is in accordance with the purpose that the constitutional provision wishes to implement. The first part of the analysis is based on the identification of the constitutional provision based on which the legal norm from the lower normative act is challenged, and this part is quite simple, and can be taken as a simple formality, as a starting point for further interpretation. The second part of the analysis deals with the purpose of the constitutional provision in question. By some logic of things, constitutional provisions should promote the basic principles and postulates proclaimed by the preamble of the constitution. U.S. Supreme Court Justice Stanley Reed stated that

in the presentation of the U.S. Constitution, every word must have its due force and proper meaning, because it is clear from the whole instrument that no word is used or added unnecessarily, just as the legislature takes care of by words through which he communicates his wishes through the law, which is the most convincing proof of his purpose. (Tracz, 2020, p. 107).

The words chosen by the legislature are often sufficient to determine the purpose of the law. It is reasonable to assume that the same logic applies to constitutional provisions. The words used to express the purpose of the U.S. Constitution are found in the preamble. According to the Preamble of the U.S. Constitution, the purpose of this legal act is to form a more perfect community, establish justice, ensure domestic peace, ensure common defense, promote the common good, and ensure the blessing of freedom (... *in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic*

*Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity...*), and American authors state that these should be the guidelines for interpreting constitutional provisions (Kuzmanović, 2000, p. 235). The third, and probably the most complicated, part of the analysis is to determine whether the provision of the lower normative act that is being challenged is in line with the purpose of the constitutional provision under which it is being challenged. The language in the constitution's preambles can often be vague and indefinite, so it is necessary to use modified methods of interpretation to interpret the preamble itself, because each indent in the preamble can often have more meaning, and therefore the interpreted provision of the constitution can have multiple purposes. Precisely because of this complexity, it is possible to expand the interpreter's room for maneuver when using one's own preferences in interpretation, which can be very dangerous.

### **Examples from practice**

While the theory of interpretation of the constitution based on the preamble can work on paper, the question of practical application, because the theory is as good as its application (each theory has its expression in the practical life of man, and the measure of its success is practical life man). In other words, the truth of an intellectual conception can be discerned only from the practical effects of its application. To this end, we believe that this paper should consider the practical application of methods of interpreting the constitution based on the preamble to real cases, or cases that may arise in practice. In this regard, we will present several cases from domestic and foreign constitutional and judicial practice, specifically from the practice of the Constitutional Court of BiH and the Supreme Court of the United States. We will first present the position taken by the Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina in partial decisions U-5/98-I, U-5/98-II and U-5/98-III of 29 January, 18 February and 1 July 2000, so-called decisions on the constitutivity of the people. The second case is the one found in the

practice of the U.S. Supreme Court, which refers to the right to hold and carry weapons protected by the Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. These cases were not chosen because of their controversial outcomes, but rather because of their recentness and significance for constitutional law.

Interpreting the BiH Constitution, the Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina, whose reason was the appeal of the then BiH Presidency Chairman Alija Izetbegović to examine more than 20 members of the entity constitutions, took the position that the preamble is equal to the normative part of the Constitution, and thus has equal legal effect (Vehabović, 2006, p. 77). The Constitutional Court explained its principled position in the three above-mentioned partial decisions. In the opinion of the BiH judges, Bosnia and Herzegovina has an atypical Constitution. First of all, this is a Constitution that is not written in the traditional continental nomotechnics that existed in BiH. It is written in Anglo-American nomotechnics and contains abstract essay-written norms. Furthermore, it is the Constitution that was adopted as an integral part of an international agreement so one can ask here whether the signatories of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in BiH could amend the previous Constitution in such a way. This is precisely the reason why the Constitutional Court considered it appropriate to apply Article 31 of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, as it applies to the Dayton Peace Agreement and all its annexes (the BiH Constitution is Annex IV of the Dayton Agreement). Namely, according to Article 31, every treaty, including the Dayton Agreement, must be interpreted in good faith, according to the usual meaning of the terms from the treaty in their context and in the light of the subject and purpose of the treaty. For the purpose of interpreting the contract, in addition to the text, *including the preamble and annexes*, the context shall include any agreement relating to the contract entered into by all parties in connection with the contract; related to the contract, which the other parties accept as a document relating to the contract. Along with the context, the interpreter will also take into ac-

count: any subsequent agreement between the parties on the interpretation of the treaty or the application of its provisions, any subsequent practice in the application of the treaty establishing an agreement between the parties on the interpretation of the treaty and any applicable rule of international law between the parties. Finally, Article 31 states in paragraph 4 that special meaning will be given to an expression if it is established that this was the intention of the parties. Therefore, in accordance with the above, the Constitutional Court equated the legal force of the preamble to the Constitution of BiH with its normative part (Savić, 2011, pp. 23-38).

The Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution is a good example of how preamble-based theory of constitutional interpretation can be applied for one specific reason: the text of the amendment itself states its purpose (Tracz, 2020, p. 108). The text of the Second Amendment reads: “Since a well-organized militia is necessary for the security of a free state, the right of every citizen to keep and carry weapons cannot be violated” (Kuzmanović, 2000, p. 122). Examining how interpretations are based on the preamble in interaction with the Second Amendment is best illustrated in the case of *District of Columbia v. Heller*. Namely, Richard Heller was a special police officer with the authority to carry a weapon while performing his duties in the court building where he was deployed. Heller, meanwhile, asked for a license to hold a handgun because he wanted to keep it at home. D.C. refused Heller’s request. Heller appealed the decision to the Federal District Court, which has jurisdiction over the District. The appeal was not upheld, and Heller appealed to a higher court. The Court of Appeals overturned the District Court’s decision, finding that the court erred based on District regulations which, in the Court of Appeal’s view, were inconsistent with the Second Amendment, guaranteed by that amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The Supreme Court of the USA confirmed the decision of the Court of Appeals by a majority of votes. Judge Scalia explained the Court’s opinion in this case. Namely, Scalia divided the Second Amendment into two parts: (1) the introductory part (“A well-regulated Militia, being nec-

essary for the security of a free State”) and (2) the operational clause (“the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed”). He subsequently excluded the introductory part because he considered that it did not limit or extend the scope of the operating clause. Thus, the introductory part has no material significance in this case. Scalia concluded that only the operational part of the Second Amendment guarantees the right. This case helps us to apply the tripartite analysis we have already talked about. The first thing we need to determine is which provision of the Constitution violates the mentioned decision – the decision of D.C. violates the Second Amendment. The second step is equally simple, we need to determine what the introductory part (preamble) of the Second Amendment requires – it wants to form a well-organized militia to protect the community and society. Here Scalia made an interesting maneuver, arguing that the Second Amendment has its own preamble, by analogy we can conclude that the situation is the same with other amendments, and the preamble of the Second Amendment, which is an integral part of the Constitution, is also part of the Constitution. The third and final step concerns the determination of whether the contested act infringes the purpose for which the Second Amendment was adopted. In this case, the Supreme Court answered in the affirmative.

## **Conclusion**

The preamble is the most common introduction to the normative part of the constitution, which contains some important elements, in principle, of a declarative nature. As the authors of the paper elaborated on the topic and problem of the preamble of the constitution, several most important attitudes and problems stand out, which must necessarily be addressed. The most important of which is the question of the legal significance and effect of the preamble itself, whether it is binding or not.

The three main tendencies boil down to different interpretations of this issue. While the first says that the preamble is a binding part of the consti-

tution and is an integral part of the legal act itself, the second refers to the need to consider the legal effect of the preamble, because it is not a normative part of the constitution but only a mere introduction to constitutional matter. The authors, so to speak, adhere to the third tendency and believe that the preamble, like the rest of the constitution, should be interpreted in the spirit of time and social reality.

Interpreting a constitution based on a preamble, as a practical method of interpretation, relies on the preamble and encourages fidelity to the text of the Constitution, a feature that perhaps all jurists might like. Equally important, a preamble-based interpretation is a progressive theory that attacks originalism on its own soil. No theory of constitutional interpretation is without flaws, but a theory of interpretation based on a preamble is certainly worth further research. Preambles, despite the small importance that has long been attached to it, deserve special attention, if not because of the legal, at least because of their declarative character. Every clarification and study of the constitutional spirit is useful in its interpretation.

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**ABSTRACTS FROM THE  
1ST BALKANS CLINICAL NEUROSCIENCE  
SYMPOSIUM**

*11-12 September, 2021*

**Organized by**

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## **HOMOLOGY MODELLING OF THE UBA DOMAIN OF SIK2**

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A subfamily of the AMP-activated protein kinase (AMPK) family, Salt Inducible Kinases (SIKs, SIK1-3) modulate several biological functions and acts as a signal transmitter in various pathways such as lipid metabolism and gluconeogenesis. Recently studies have shown that SIKs play a critical role in many diseases especially diabetes, cancer, and obesity, notably SIK2 overexpressed in various tumor types while compared with those adjacent tissues. Moreover, it modulates several subtle cellular signaling pathways including the Hippo-YAP pathway, cAMP-PKA axis, PI3K-Akt-mTOR pathway, and the LKB1-HDAC axis. Therefore, it currently seems that SIK2 may be a novel therapeutic target for cancer therapy. Recently studies have shown that SIKs have many roles in the brain includes depression, sleep/wake regulation, epilepsy and circadian rhythms.

The first member was identified in the adrenal cortex when rats fed on a high salt diet by Wang etc. in 1999. Indeed, SIK1 gene expression is mostly in renal tissues. Conversely, SIK2 is abundantly expressed in the adipose tissue and neurons. Similarly, SIK3 gene expression is highly in the brain.

Like other AMPK family members, SIKs acquires two common domain kinase domain (KD) followed by a ubiquitin-associated (UBA) domain in C-terminal. Phosphorylation of a threonine residue (Thr182, Thr175, Thr221 respectively) in the activation loop of each SIKs by liver kinase B1 (LKB1) is essential to be catalytically active. SIKs also contain multiple protein kinase A (PKA) phosphorylation sites in N-terminal.

In the human genome, only ten AMPK members possess the UBA domain without poly ubiquitin-binding motifs. Among these, although SIKs contain hydrophobic residues that are vital to the binding of ubiquitin, no interaction between ubiquitin oligomers to the UBA domains in SIKs. Thus the main function of the UBA domain is not yet clear in SIKs. Previous studies claim that the UBA domain aid in the binding LKB1 to the activation loop in the kinase domain of SIKs. Furthermore, a mutation in the UBA domain decreased SIKs phosphorylation and enzyme activity. However, compared with other AMPK kinases, the UBA domain and its role in SIKs functions are not known yet. On the other hand, protein databanks (PDB, PDBe, PDBj, RCSB) do have not the crystal structure of SIKs.

Here, we proposed to assess the role of UBA domain on SIK2 catalytic activity. Initially Basic local alignment search tool (BLAST) search was performed to identify the most reliable template. Human crystal structures of MARK1 (2HAK and 6C9D) showed the maximum sequence identity with SIK2 (53%, 51% respectively). We generated two homology models to SIK2 using MARK1 as a template via Swiss-Model. Consequently, these models were validated by ProSA web-based tool used to find any possible errors. These models will share open access on the Swiss-Model library for aid in knowledge of the UBA domain functions in SIK2.

**Keywords:** Salt Inducible Kinase-2; ubiquitin-associated domain

## **THE HIDDEN PANDEMIC IN THE SHADOW OF THE COVID-19 VIRUS OUTBREAK: FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE INCREASE OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND ABUSE DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**

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The terrifying global increase in domestic violence (DV) was recorded during the COVID-19 virus pandemic worldwide, in Bosnia and Herzegovina too. Female victims of DV generally live in isolation, are controlled by violent partners, are economically dependent, and have weakened social support. This intensified even more during the pandemic due to recommended safety measures of the Local Crisis Center to stay home, maintain physical distance, and isolation measures, trapping victims of DV with abusers. COVID-19 prescribed measures contributed to and increased the risk of all forms of violence, including online and cyber abuse. On top of this all, already crowded local women shelters had to suspend the accommodation of new beneficiaries due to COVID-19 measures. Besides, disrupted social and justice services and an overloaded healthcare system struggling to respond to the health crises left victims and those at risk of DV neglected and forced them to remain with their abusers. The study aims to explore the link between COVID-19 measures and DV by analyzing who, how, and why failed and neglected victims or those at risk during COVID-19 virus outbreak. I use publications by the local health entities (e.g., Federal Ministry of Health, Health Crises Center), orders and press releases, and official data on the number of DV cases reported during COVID-19 to analyze the association between the two.

Generally, almost one in every two women in B&H experiences violence and only under 5% of them report it. Compared to March, in April 2020, during the total lockdown in

B&H, the calls to the local SOS hotlines tripled, indicating the increase of DV during the COVID-19 outbreak. With no social support and limited contact women and children at risk of domestic violence have a hard time being locked in a place that is supposed to be safe but not so for victims of DV during COVID-19 restrictive measures. Local authorities in charge of COVID-19 measures should consider and offer adequate solutions to victims and those at risk of DV in a form of institutional and other forms of support, ensure victims are able and encouraged to seek protection even during curfews. The coronavirus health emergency is no excuse for not acting and helping women and children. It is extremely important to provide information relevant to preventing and tackling the violence against women and children, such as online and in-person services, and providing alternative and additional shelters for the victims during COVID-19 measures.

**Keywords:** domestic and violence and abuse; COVID-19 measures; Bosnia and Herzegovina



## **VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY OF THE INTERNALIZED STIGMA OF MENTAL ILLNESS SCALE–ADOLESCENT FORM**

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The goal of this study was to assess the validity and reliability of the Turkish version of the Internalized Stigma of Mental Illness Scale–Adolescent Form (ISMI-AF).

A total of 145 adolescents (12–18 years of age) who were diagnosed with at least 1 mental disorder according to DSM-5-TR participated in the study. Data were collected at a mental health hospital between October 2017 and 2019 using a sociodemographic information form, the ISMI-AF, and Beliefs towards Mental Illness Scale (BMI). Reliability (Cronbach's alpha, Split–Half, Spearman–Brown, Hotelling T2 Test) and validity analyses of the ISMI-AF were performed. SPSS 26.0 and LISREL 8.80 software were used for statistical analyses.

The Cronbach's alpha coefficient for the total score was 0.88, Split–Half score was 0.84, and the Spearman–Brown factor score was 0.85. Confirmatory factor analysis showed that the scale confirmed the 5-factor structure in adolescents, but factor loadings and reliability coefficients were

low in the “stigma resistance” subscale. There was a positive and weak correlation between ISMI-AF and BMI ( $r=0.37$ ,  $p=0.00$ ).

The ISMI-AF is a valid and reliable measurement tool that can be used in adolescents. This scale can help psychiatric nurses who work in this field identify and address internalized stigma, which is one of the key factors affecting adherence to treatment, especially in adolescents.

**Keywords:** adolescents; stigmatization; reliability and validity; mental disorders; psychiatric nursing

## **THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PROSPECTIVE AND RETROSPECTIVE MEMORY FAILURES AND COGNITIVE TEST ANXIETY AMONG UNIVERSITY STUDENTS**

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Previous research demonstrated that memory failures may play a prominent role in reflecting test anxiety, as anxiety impedes the information processing system and working memory. Test anxiety is a multidimensional construct with two components: emotionality and worry. Emotionality component refers to the physical reactions, whereas worry component refers to the interfering thoughts about test performance. The latter term was recently labelled as cognitive test anxiety (CTA). Prospective memory (PM) is related to remembering to carry out future activities, and retrospective memory (RM) is related to recalling events or information in the past. The present study sought to investigate the relationship between CTA, PM and RM failures among university students.

645 university students participated in the study. Sociodemographic Information Form, The Prospective and Retrospective Memory Questionnaire (PRMQ), Cognitive Test Anxiety Scale-Revised (CTAR) were administered.

Independent samples t-test analyses demonstrated that females score higher in PM, RM, and CTA scores compared to males. High CTA group scored significantly higher than low CTA ( $p < .001$ ) and moderate CTA ( $p < .05$ ) groups in PM failures. Additionally, high CTA group had significantly scored higher in RM failures compared to low CTA group ( $p < .001$ ). Regression analyses showed that CTA predicted both PM and RM failures.

Findings of this study may contribute to the treatment of test anxiety. Importance of PM and RM failures may guide future studies considering these two aspects as the correlates of cognitive test anxiety.

**Keywords:** cognitive test anxiety; prospective memory; retrospective memory

# **THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VOLUNTARY-INVOLUNTARY MIND WANDERING AND COGNITIVE EMOTION REGULATION STRATEGIES BASED ON THE CONTEXT OF ANXIETY LEVELS OF TURKISH COLLEGE STUDENTS**

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People experience both pleasant and unpleasant emotions when their minds wander. Many studies have found a link between mind wandering and anxiety. However, we still do not know what additional factors contribute to mind wandering and we are far away to understand the role of our cognitive and emotion regulation strategies on the outcomes of mind wandering. In this study, we aimed to understand the effects of anxiety and cognitive emotion regulation strategies on predicting voluntary-involuntary mind wandering among Turkish college students.

Three hundred fifty college students completed an online survey which includes Beck Anxiety Inventory (BEI), Cognitive Emotion Regulation Questionnaire (CERQ)-short version, Deliberate Mind Wandering (MWDQ) and Spontaneous Mind Wandering Questionnaire (MWSQ).

Correlation analysis revealed that participants' anxiety level was positively correlated with spontaneous mind wandering total score (MWS-T), yet it wasn't correlated with deliberate mind wandering total score (MWD-T). When CERQ subtitles were examined; CERQ-SB (self-blame), CERQ-R (rumination), CERQ-C (catastrophizing), and CERQ-BO (blaming others) were positively correlated with the MWS-T. However, CERQ-PR (positive refocusing) and CERQ-ROP (refocus on planning) were negatively correlated with the MWS-T. Likewise, CERQ-A (acceptance), CERQ-PR (positive refocusing), CERQ-ROP (refocus on planning), and CERQ-PRA (positive reappraisal) were positively correlated with the MWD-T. Hierarchical regression analysis revealed that occupation of participants significantly predicted deliberate mind wandering total score (MWD-T). Also, the study indicated that anxiety independently predicted spontaneous mind wandering total score (MWS-T). In addition, results showed that self-blame (CERQ-SB) which belongs to category of maladaptive CERS significantly predicted spontaneous mind wandering total score while catastrophizing (CERQ-C) which is another subcategory of maladaptive CERS significantly predicted spontaneous mind wandering total score. These findings were thoroughly discussed in the study's following sections.

**Keywords:** mind-wandering; involuntary-voluntary; cognitive emotion regulation strategies; anxiety

## **ADULT ATTENTION DEFICIT AND HYPERACTIVITY DISORDER: FOCUS ON GENDER**

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Attention deficit and hyperactivity disorder present with inattention, hyperactivity/impulsivity with additional symptoms during adulthood: emotional dysregulation, excessive mind-wandering, and executive dysfunction. While there is a definite male dominance in rates of ADHD in children, sex variations in rates are relatively minor or nonexistent in adult populations. Because of the higher incidence of ADHD in males, available data frequently focuses on primarily male samples. Nonetheless, data support that the large disparity in the ratio of males to females with diagnosed ADHD may be attributable to a lack of awareness and/or referral bias of females. The speaker aims to give a better understanding to enhance practitioners' detection and referral of females with ADHD. This talk will focus on offering practical guidance on the detection, evaluation, and interventions for females with ADHD throughout their lives.

**Keywords:** adult attention deficit and hyperactivity disorder; female gender

## EXAMINING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERFECTIONISM, INSOMNIA, AND DARK TRIAD PERSONALITY TRAITS IN ADULTS

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Previous research has suggested that the dark triad personality traits, insomnia, and perfectionism are associated with various adverse outcomes. The purpose of this study was to assess the relationship between perfectionism, insomnia, dark triad personality traits, and sociodemographic variables, including age, gender, income level, marital status, and educational level. A total of 312 adults participated in the study. A sociodemographic data form, Frost Multidimensional Perfectionism Scale (FMPS), Sleep Condition Indicator (SCI), and The Short Dark Triad questionnaire (SD3) were administered.

The results indicated positive relationships between insomnia and perfectionism, perfectionism and Machiavellianism, and insomnia and psychopathy. Regarding sociodemographic variables, negative associations were observed between age and Machiavellianism, income level and insomnia, and income level and psychopathy. On the other hand, income level and educational level were both positively associated with narcissism. Gender differences have revealed that females scored higher on perfectionism, whereas males scored higher on psychopathy. The research on the associations between perfectionism, insomnia, and dark triad personality traits is still limited. The cross-sectional design of this study prevents stating any robust assumptions about the results. More research on this topic is required to clarify the associations between these variables further.

**Keywords:** perfectionism; insomnia; dark triad personality traits; psychopathy; Machiavellianism; narcissism







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