YAKIN DOĞU ÜNİVERSİTESİ NEAR EAST UNIVERSITY

SOSYAL BİLİMLER DERGİSİ
JOURNAL of SOCIAL SCIENCES

cilt XVII volume
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2024 yılının ilk sayısı olan Nisan Sayısı ile yeniden karşınızdayız. Bu sayımıza başlarken, dünyamızın değişen ve çetinleşen koşullarına hep birlikte bir kez daha şahitlik etmekteyiz. İnsanlığın varoluşundan günümüze dek sürekli olarak zorluklar, anlaşmazlıklar ve çatışmalarla karşılaştığı bilinen bir gerçektir. Bu doğrultuda da hayatta kalma mücadelesi her zaman süregelmiştir. Ancak, günümüzde mücadele şartları önemli ölçüde değişmişler, dönüşmüşler ve sonucunda da daha karmaşık hale gelmişlerdir. İçinden geçmekte olduğumuz dönemde asimetrik çatışmalara; yeni tipte savaşlar, açlık, yoksulluk, ekonomik adaletsizlik ve eşitsizlikler ve çevre sorunlarından kaynaklanan mebzul miktardaki tehditler de eklenince, insanlık için yeni mücadele alanları ve çabaları ortaya çıkmıştır. Dünya tarihi bizlere, pekçok kez, ancak uyum içinde ve barışçıl bir şekilde yaşarsak çevremizle sağlıklı bir ilişki kurabileceğimizi göstermiştir. Tüm bu şartların ışığında Sosyal Bilimler alanında yayın yapmak ve de sorunların üzerine elimizden geldiğince gidebilmek daha elzem bir hale gelmiştir.

Bu sayımıza, Sayın C. Akça Ataç ve Ezgi Çekiç'in 'Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin 'Cicero Anı': 6 Ocak Olayları ve 2024 Başkanlık Seçimleri' başlıklı araştırma makalesiyle başlıyoruz. 2020 seçimleri sonrasında 6 Ocak 2021 tarihinde gerçekleşen Kongre baskınının, Amerikan siyasi tarihinin en büyük cumhuriyet krizlerinden biri olduğunun altını çizen bu çalışma, 6 Ocak olaylarını Cicero'nun vurguladığı türde bir cumhuriyet krizi olarak anlamayı ve açıklamayı amaçlamaktadır. Bunu yaparken de, bu olayların Amerikan demokrasisi için ne anlama geldiğini, Cicerocu bir perspektiften ele alarak açıklamaktadır.

İkinci olarak, Sayın Hüseyin Karşılı'nın İngilizce kaleme aldığı 'Organizasyonel Yapı ve Tasarımın Performansı Üzerindeki Etkisi' başlıklı araştırma makalesi, organizasyonel yapı ve tasarımın iş performansı üzerindeki önemini vurgulamaktır. Bu makalenin amacı, örgütsel tasarımın temellerini başarılı bir şekilde açıklamaktır. Bununla birlikte, birçok akademik çalışma, örgütsel yapı ile performans arasında pozitif bir ilişki olmadığını belirtmektedir.

Aynı zamanda örgütsel tasarım, örgütsel davranış üzerinde önemli bir rol oynamaktadır.

Sayın Dauda Bility'nin İngilizce kaleme aldığı 'Liberya'da Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşit(siz)'liğinin Liberal Feminist Perspektiften ve Ötesinden Yeniden Değerlendirilmesi (2005 - 2022)' başlığını taşıyan üçüncü araştırma makalesi ise Liberya'nın kamusal alanında toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğini anlatarak, kadınların kamu alanında ve siyasette yeterince temsil edilmediği problemine odaklanmaktadır. Bu çerçevede, Liberya'nın siyasi sisteminde toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğiyle mücadelede ne gibi ilerlemeler kaydedildiği ve bu ilerlemelerin günümüzde de devam edip etmediği sorunsalına odaklanmaktadır.

Dördüncü makalemiz de Sayın Madiya Bano'nun İngilizce yazmış olduğu 'Clash of Ideologies and the Rise of Houthis in Yemen' başlıklı araştırma makalesidir. Makale, Yemen'in uluslararası ticaret yollarının jeostratejik kavşağında yer alan bir ülke olduğunu, iç savaşla mücadele etmekte ve çağımızın en ağır insani krizlerinden birine sürüklenmiş olduğunun altını çizmektedir. Bu makale, güncel dinamikleri kapsamlı bir şekilde anlamayı kolaylaştırmak için, tarihsel itici güçlerin zengin bir değerlendirmesini sunmaktadır. İlaveten, bir iç çatışmadaki iç dinamiklerin önemini kabul etmekle birlikte, baskın uluslararası payların rolünün göz ardı edilmemesi gerektiğini de vurgulamaktadır. Çatışmanın karmaşıklığını çözmeyi ve uzlaşı yoluyla potansiyel bir çözüm için zemin hazırlamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Bu sayımızda yer verdiğimiz değerli yazarlara ve bilgi ve deneyimlerini bizlerle paylaşan kıymetli hakemlerimize bir kez daha teşekkür eder, herkese keyifli okumalar dileriz. Mevcut araştırmalarınızın kaliteli ürünlerini dergimiz için paha biçilmez kıldığınız için sizlere minnettarız.

En derin sevgi ve saygılarımızı sunarız.

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[Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article]

AMERİKA BİRLEŞİK DEVLETLERİ'NİN 'CİCERO ANI': 6 OCAK OLAYLARI VE 2024 BAŞKANLIK SEÇİMLERİ

C. Akça ATAÇ*
Ezgi ÇEKİÇ**

ÖZ

2020 seçimlerini kaybettiğini kabul etmeyen eski Amerika Birleşik Devletleri Başkanı Donald Trump'ın yönlendirmesinin ardından protestocular tarafından 6 Ocak 2021 tarihinde gerçekleşen Kongre baskını, Amerikan siyasi tarihinin en büyük cumhuriyet krizlerinden biridir. Bu kriz, Amerikan 'kurucu babaları' tarafından çok okunduğu bilinen Cicero'nun gelecek nesilleri uyardığı türde bir rejim sorununun varlığına işaret etmektedir. Bu çalışma, 6 Ocak olaylarını Cicero'nun vurguladığı türde bir cumhuriyet krizi olarak anlamayı ve açıklamayı amaçlamaktadır. Bunu yaparken de ilk önce Cicero'nun cumhuriyeti ele aldığı bağlam ve ilkeler üzerinde durulacaktır. Daha sonra, Kongre baskını ile sonuçlanan olayların Amerikan cumhuriyeti ve demokrasisi için ne anlama geldiği, Cicerocu bir perspektiften ele alınacaktır. Son olarak, 2024 Amerikan başkanlık seçim atmosferinin 6 Ocak olaylarından ne derecede etkilenmiş olduğu tartışılacaktır. Bu araştırmanın sonucunda, popülist siyasetin halkın iradesini gerçekleştirme bahanesi karşısında cumhuriyet rejiminin güvencesi olan kurumlar ve anayasanın kırılganlığı, bir kere daha ortaya çıkmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *6 Ocak olayları, Cicero, Donald Trump, Amerikan başkanlık seçimleri*

ABSTRACT

* Doç. Dr., Çankaya Üniversitesi, Siyaset Bilimi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü (cakca@cankaya.edu.tr) https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3871-8830
** Yüksek Lisans Öğrencisi, Çankaya Üniversitesi, Siyaset Bilimi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü (cekicezgi3@gmail.com) https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5487-0261
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THE UNITED STATES' CICERO MOMENT: THE JANUARY 6 EVENTS AND 2024 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

The Capitol attack, which took place on 6th January 2021 following the former President of US Donald Trump's denial of losing the elections and provoking his supporters with misinformation has become one of the most serious republican crises of American political history. This crisis is significant in the sense that it represents the kind of republican trouble of which Cicero had warned the coming generations. It is a known fact that the American 'founding fathers' extensively read Cicero's works. This study, therefore, aims to understand and explain the January 6 events as the Ciceronian kind of republican crisis. In doing that, it will first strive to elaborate on the context and principles according to which Cicero had discussed the idea of republic. Then, it will approach the Capitol attack from a Ciceronian perspective to analyze what it means for the American republic and democracy. Finally, the paper will focus on the possible impacts of January 6 on the forthcoming presidential elections of 2024. The vulnerability of the institutions and constitution which are supposed to be the guarantors of the republican regime has once again resurfaced in the face of the pretext of fulfilling the people's will by populist politics.

Keywords: *January 6 attacks, Cicero, Donald Trump, American presidential elections*

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1. Giriş

6 Ocak Kongre baskını, uzlaşmama kararlılığıyla kutuplaşan toplumlarda, seçim sonrası kaybeden tarafın gücünü barışçıl bir şekilde devretmeyerek başlattığı sosyal medya dezenformasyonunun kitleleri nasıl yıkıcı eylemlere sürükleyebileceğinin en tipik örneklerinden biri olarak tarihteki yerini almıştır. Dezenformasyonun Amerikan Başkanının bizzat kendisi tarafından yapılması ve sonucunda yaşanan Kongre işgalinin, modern çağın ilk yazılı anayasasının gelişmiş denge ve kontrol mekanizmalarıyla koruduğu oturmuş bir demokraside gerçekleşmesi, olayın en çarpıcı boyutudur. Donald Trump'ın 2020 yılındaki başkanlık seçimlerinin, daha süreç tamamlanmadan çok önce 'çalınacağı' hakkında yürüttüğü 'Büyük Yalan' (*The Big Lie*) kampanyasının, seçim güvenliği ve özgürlüğünün en üst düzeyde yaşandığı ülkelerden biri olan Amerikan Birleşik Devletleri'nde (ABD) kitleleri manipüle ederek harekete geçirebilmesi, cumhuriyet ve demokrasilerin 21. yüzyıldaki geleceğinden endişe duyanları haklı çıkarmıştır. Bununla birlikte, Trump'ın sebep olduğu toplumsal travmaya rağmen 5 Kasım 2024 tarihinde gerçekleşecek seçimlerde aday olması halinde başkanlık

için şansının yüksek olması, popülist siyasetin yarattığı açıklanmaya muhtaç çelişkilerden biridir.

Amerikan 'kurucu babaları', kaleme aldıkları anayasanın cumhuriyetçi ilhamını büyük ölçüde antik Roma'dan almıştır. Roma'nın özellikle M.Ö. 1. yüzyılın sonuna doğru cumhuriyetten imparatorluğa geçişi sırasında cumhuriyeti savunmak için yazan Cicero, kendisinden sonra gelecek nesillere siyasette istikrar ve güvenin garantisi olan 'özel ve kamusal erdem' bilgisini aktarmayı amaçlar (Reinhold, 1994, s. 45). Cumhuriyetin 'büyük ve cesur ruhları'nın, kriz durumunda yapacakları 'büyük' ve 'faydalı işler' ve üstlenecekleri 'zor ve zahmetli görevlerle', karşılarına çıkan 'hayatı ve hayatla ilgili ne varsa her şey'i tehdit eden güçlere karşı koyması gerekir (Caspar, 2014, s. 150). Cicero, özellikle kriz ve çıkmaz anında başvurulacak bir kaynak olarak öne çıkar. Bu nedenle de 6 Ocak olaylarının ardından, eserlerinin yol gösterici özelliğinin yeniden hatırlanması şaşırtıcı olmamalıdır. Cicero'nun cumhuriyetin yardıma ihtiyacı olduğu anda göreve çağırdığı 'ruhlar'ın, Aristoteles'in önerdiğinin aksine, olağanüstü yücelik seviyesinde olması gerekmez; cumhuriyetin erdemlerine bağlı her vatandaşın üzerine düşen görevler vardır. Ruhun büyüklüğünü belirleyenin adalet arayışı olması sebebiyle herkes, cumhuriyetin kurtarıcısı olabilir (Caspar, 2014, s. 153).

Yaşadığımız zamankinden farklı siyasal koşullarda yazılmış olsa da tarihsel cumhuriyetçi metinleri yeniden ziyaret etmek, araştırmacılara her zaman 'çekici bir entelektüel paradigma' sunmaktadır (Weithman, 2004, s. 287). Meselelere, tarihsel siyasal kuramların güncel siyasete nasıl hizmet edebilecekleri merakıyla yaklaştığımızda umduğumuz bir benzerlik ve çıkış yolu ile karşılaşmak güzel bir olasılıktır. Özellikle cumhuriyetçilik geleneğinin zaman aşan otoritesi, Roma Cumhuriyetinin kısmen ilkelerine, kısmen de belli kurumlarına sahip olmanın önemi ile pekişmiştir (Pettit, 1997, s. 20). Bu geleneğin en önemli isimlerinden biri olarak Cicero, cumhuriyet ve erdem ilişkisini kurarak cumhuriyetlerin bu bağın sağlamlığı kadar sağlam olduğunu ve kurumları sadece bu erdemin koruyacağını savunarak etkisini günümüze kadar sürdürmüştür. Biraz da bu nedenle cumhuriyetçi anayasalar, 'vatandaşların belirli erdemlere sahip olmaları varsayımına dayanır' (Weithman, 2004, s. 286). 6 Ocak olayları, halkın iradesini temsil ettiği iddiasındaki popülist siyasetin cumhuriyetle kurumların işlevleri ve vatandaşların erdemleri arasındaki bağ koptuğunda neler olabileceğini gösteren tipik bir örnektir.

Bu çalışma, 6 Ocak olaylarını Cicero'nun vurguladığı türde bir cumhuriyet krizi olarak anlamayı ve açıklamayı amaçlamaktadır. Bunu yaparken de ilk önce Cicero'nun cumhuriyeti ele aldığı bağlam ve ilkeler üzerinde durulacaktır. Daha sonra, Kongre baskını ile sonuçlanan olayların Amerikan cumhuriyeti ve demokrasisi için ne anlama geldiği, Cicerocu bir perspektiften ele alınacaktır. Son olarak, 2024 Amerikan başkanlık seçim atmosferinin 6 Ocak olaylarından ne derecede etkilenmiş olduğu tartışılacaktır. Cicero, vatandaşların siyasi kararları etkileme hakkını, cumhuriyetin gereği olarak savunmuştur. Bunu yaparken de siyasi mücadelenin dostluk ve diyalogla yapılabileceğini öne süren ilk düşünürlerden olmuştur (Remer, 2013, s. 6). Siyasi olarak anlaşamayan tarafların bile dostlukla tartışabileceği bir ortamı geri dönülmez biçimde düşmanlaştıran yegâne faktör, derin toplumsal kutuplaşmadır. 6 Ocak olayları, bunu bir kere daha ispatlamıştır. Popülist siyasetin 'en istikrarlı etkisi', kutuplaşmadır (Roberts, 2002, s. 608).

2. Cicero ve Cumhuriyet

Cicero (M.Ö. 106-43), Roma Cumhuriyetinin imparatorluğa dönüştüğü, siyasetin en çalkantılı yıllarında yaşamış; cumhuriyet değer ve ilkelerini savunmanın bedelini hayatıyla ödemiştir. Felsefeyi despotik yönetimlere karşı bir çeşit 'aktif direniş' olarak gören Cicero, bunun, her ideal rejimin savunduklarından bir gün mutlaka uzaklaşacağı gerekçesiyle, sürekli bir görev olduğuna inanır (Smith, 2018, s. 86). Siyasi düşünce tarihinde Cicero'yu özel yapan unsurlardan biri, düşünür olmasının yanı sıra, senatör olarak da pratik siyasetin içinde yer almasıdır. Hatta asil olmayan bir aileden gelip siyasete atılmayı başarması, ona 'yeni insan' (*novus homo*) ünvanını kazandırmıştır (Ağaoğulları & Köker, 2017, s. 179). Ne var ki, Roma Cumhuriyetinin son dönemlerinde yaşanan iç ve dış savaşların yarattığı tehlikeli durumları bertaraf etme gerekçesiyle Jül Sezar (M.Ö. 100-M.Ö. 44), ancak bir imparatorlukta mümkün olabilecek tüm olağanüstü yetkileri elinde toplar. Cumhuriyetin resmi olarak sona erişi, Sezar'ın evlatlık oğlu Gaius Octavius' un (M.Ö. 63-14) M.Ö. 27 yılında kendini *Augustus* ilan etmesiyle olmuşsa da, asıl Sezar'ın M.Ö. 48'de Senato'dan ilk 10 yıllık olağanüstü hâl yetkisini alması, cumhuriyet ülküsünün çöküşü adına geri dönülmez sonun en güçlü habercisidir (Smith, 2018, s. 78). Böylelikle, Cicero'nun bir senatör olarak verdiği mücadelenin giderek imkânsızlaşması ve hayatı tehlikede bir muhalife dönüşmesiyle birlikte, cumhuriyet savunucusu bir düşünür olarak üreteceği en verimli çağı başlar. Gelecek nesiller tarafından en çok okunan eserlerini, 'günleri sayılı' ve yakalanmamak için 'sürekli yer değiştirirken' yazmıştır (Smith, 2018, s. 67).

Cicero'nun cumhuriyet üzerine düşüncelerini anlayabilmek için iki eseri üzerinde özellikle durmak elzemdir. *De Re Publica* (*Devlet Üzerine*) (M.Ö. 45-44) ve *De Legibus* (*Yasalar Üzerine*) (M.Ö. 45-44), Cicero'nun siyaset felsefesi alanında en çok bilinen ve Amerikan 'kurucu babaları' tarafından en çok okunan çalışmalarıdır (Caspar, 2014, s. 153). İnsan aklının tanrısallığını vurguladığı *Yasaların Üzerine*'de: 'Akıl, insan ve tanrılar arasındaki ortaklıktır. Akıldan daha iyi bir şey yoktur,' diyerek insanın aklıyla her türlü çıkmazdan kurtulabileceğini ve ideal düzeni kurabileceğini anlatmıştır (Cicero, M.Ö. 45-44, s. 12). Doğru, yani evrensel akılla insanoğlu, yeryüzünde yazılabilecek en iyi yasalara kavuşabilir. Bu potansiyel, 'temelini insanların doğal olarak birbirine değer verebilme kabiliyetinden almaktadır' (Cicero, M.Ö. 45-44/2019, s. 18). Aklını özgürce kullanabilen her birey, en ideal rejim olan cumhuriyeti kuracak ve koruyacak yasaların olduğu bir düzende yaşamayı tercih edecektir. Nitekim, *Devlet Üzerine*'de de, insanların aklını kullanarak en çok tanrıları mutlu edeceğini söyler:

> *Yeryüzünde yapılmış hiçbir şey, tüm evreni yöneten yüce tanrıyı, insanları site adı verilen adil bir toplumda bir araya gelmeleri ve topluluk oluşturmaları kadar mutlu etmez; bu tür toplumların yöneticileri ve koruyucuları böyle yüce bir makamdan gelir ve yine oraya döner* (Cicero, M.Ö. 45-44/2014, s. 228).

Cumhuriyet, insanların kendi aklına ve bu akılla idrak ettikleri haklarına dayanacağı için 'başka hiçbir şey daha seçkin, daha özgür ve daha kutsanmış olmaz' (Cicero, M.Ö. 45-44/2014, s. 141). Ortak fayda, işlevsellik ve fikir birliği gereğinin gözetildiği bu yönetim şekli, insanların erdemli ve hür yaşamlar sürebilmesinin garantisidir (Yellin, 2023, s. 64). Cumhuriyet, halkın siyasi erdemine dayalı bir rejimdir (Pettit, 1997, s. 20). Ancak erdeme dayalı hayat, vatandaşların müdahil olmaları ve gerektiğinde harekete geçebilmeleri kapasitesiyle doğrudan ilişkilidir.

Cicero, Roma Cumhuriyetinin son günlerinde cumhuriyet için yazmış olsa da, aslında Roma'yı değil; gelecekteki cumhuriyetleri kurtarmayı amaçlamaktaydı. Roma'nın geri dönülmez bir yola girdiğini, ardı arkası kesilmeyen iç savaşlar göstermekteydi. Ne var ki, Roma'nın cumhuriyetten imparatorluğa dönüşmesi, gelecek nesiller için onları kapsayacak bir cumhuriyet idealinin de sonsuza kadar yok olduğu anlamına gelmiyordu. 'En iyi rejimde' yaşanacak 'en iyi hayat' (Yellin, 2023, s. 61) tarifi, Cicero'ya göre şimdiki zamandan geleceğe aktarılabilen bir bilgiydi. Böylece, çürümekte ve çöküşte olan bir cumhuriyetin son günlerinde durup geleceğe cumhuriyetin erdemlerini anlatmak ve umutlanmak, tarihe, 'Cicero Anı' olarak geçmiştir (Reid, 2016, s. 172). Cicero'nun geleceğe seslenişinin bir kâhin otoriterliğinde olmaması, onu okuyanları, kendi hür irade ve eylemleriyle, kendi ellerinden geldiğince, tarihin akışını cumhuriyet lehine şekillendirebileceklerine inandırır (Yellin, 2013, s. 288). Cicero'nun gelecek nesillere ideal cumhuriyeti anlatabilme beklentisi, bir sonraki bölümde anlatılacağı gibi boşa çıkmamış, cumhuriyetleri krize giren vatandaşlar, Cicero'nun yazdıklarında rehberlik aramıştır.

*Devlet Üzerine'*nin 'Scipio'nun Düşü' başlıklı son bölümünde Cicero, ideal cumhuriyetin belki de hiç gerçekleşmemiş, adeta mitolojik bir modelini anlatır. Mükemmel bir Roma Cumhuriyeti yeryüzünde hiçbir zaman yer almamıştır ama taşıdığı potansiyelle o ideal modeli temsil eder. Cicero, tarihsel olgular konusunda, meselenin esas 'özü ve doğası'nı vurgulayabilmek için bilinçli olarak 'seçici' davranmıştır (Amis, 2014, s. 24). Cumhuriyetin kurucularının inandığı değerler ve insanların değil hukukun imparatorluğunu savunarak gösterdiği bilgelik, yüzyıllar sonra bile gelecek nesillerin yoluna ışık tutmaya devam edecektir (Pettit, 1997, s. 20). Roma, 'kadim insanların kadim gelenekleri' üzerine kurulmuştur (Amis, 2014, s. 25). Ancak bu gelenekler, daha sonra yönetici olmayı başarabilmiş adamların yetersizlikleri nedeniyle yozlaşmış ve kaybolmaya yüz tutmuştur. Bu çürümenin tek bir ilacı vardır; o da değerli insanların ne pahasına olursa olsun iyi siyaseti yeniden talep etmesi ve bu siyasetin içinde yer almasıdır. İnsan doğası, iyi siyasetin sağlayacağı iyi hayatı üretecek bilgeliğe sahiptir.

Cicero'nun Platon'un *Devlet*'iyle ilişkilendirerek yazdığı 'Scipio'nun Düşü', Kartaca fatihi Scipio Africanus'un oğluna yeryüzüne bıraktığı mirasını bildirdiği kurmaca bir metindir. Scipio'nun atalarından aldığı ve gelecekteki nesillere bıraktığı bu miras, 'sevgi, adalet ve bilgelik' ile ülkeye hizmet etmektir. Kamusal alanda siyaset aracılığıyla hizmet etmek, tanrıları çok hoşnut eden eylemlerden biridir. Eğer bu eylemin özgürce yapılmasının mümkün olmadığı koşullar ortaya çıkarsa, o ülkenin vatandaşları kurucu değerleri hatırlamalı ve kurucu ataların yolunda yürümelidir (Amis, 2014, s. 23). Ataların yolu, uzun soluklu denenmiş ve artık bir alışkanlık haline gelmiş, toplu normatif davranış biçimleridir (Bettini & Short, 2011, ss. 95-97). Cumhuriyetlerin çöküşünü sadece 'ataların yolundan gitmek' (*mos maiorum*) önleyecektir (Amis, 2014, s. 29). Hiç şüphesiz, Cicero'nun 'ataların yolu' olarak idealize ettiği durum ile tarihsel gerçeklik birebir örtüşmemektedir. Ancak, ideal bir cumhuriyeti çöküşe sürükleyecek iç savaş gibi bir kriz anında, vatandaşların başvuracağı temeli sağlam norm ve değerler yaratılmasında büyük bir sorun yoktur (Breunesse & van Gils, 2023, s. 133). Krizden çıkışı, 'olağanüstü öngörü' (*excellenti proventia*) ile ortaya konmuş bu bilgi sağlayacaktır (Amis, 2014, s. 30). Böylece gelecek nesiller, yürüdükleri yolda karşılarına çıkabilecek tümseklere ve keskin virajlara karşı uyarılmıştır. Aynı öngörüyü, kriz zamanı geldiğinde gerekli adımları atabilmeleri için, artık kendilerinin geliştirmesi gerekmektedir.

Devletler, doğaları gereği farklı demografik grupları özellik ve ihtiyaçlarına göre dengede, mutlu ve iletişimde tutmak zorundadır. Bu grupların kutuplaşması ve düşmanlaşması, en bilge liderlerin bile kolayca çözemeyeceği bir dengesizlik halidir. Krizleri aşmanın yolu, cumhuriyetin erdemini unutmamaktan geçer (Amis, 2014, s. 42). Aile bağlantıları ve maddi zenginlikten bağımsız, vatandaşların erişiminde olması gereken bu erdemin uygulamaya dönüşmesi ve mükemmelleşmesi için kamusal alan, serbest ve özgür tartışmalara açık olmalı, kutuplaşmayı çoğaltmamalıdır (Smith, 2018, s. 228). Cumhuriyetin otoriter bir rejime dönüşmesini önleyecek büyük güç, 'aktif, erdemli ve tam olarak müdahil' vatandaşlık kapasitesidir (Smith, 2018, s. 271). Bu kapasiteyi gerçekleştirmek isteyen cumhuriyetçiler, erdemli olma gereğini savunmak ve talep edebilmek için sürekli bir mücadele içinde bulunmaya hazır olmalıdırlar.

Günümüzde cumhuriyetler, yükselen aşırı sağ, devletinkine benzer iktidar gücüne kavuşan küresel sermaye ağları, sınır aşırı göçmen dalgası ve iklim değişikliğine bağlı açlık ve kuraklık nedeniyle sürekli bir kriz halindedirler. Parlamentoların zayıfladığı, liderlerin Sezar'ın sahip olduğu olağanüstü yetkilere kavuştuğu giderek yaygınlaşan cumhuriyet karşıtı küresel siyaset pratiklerine bakıldığında, tarihsel ve kolektif bir 'Cicero Anı' ile karşı karşıya olduğumuza hiç şüphe yoktur. İyi yasalara sahip olunsa dahi, otoriter siyasetin etkisi altında aklını kullanmaktan vazgeçmiş insan toplulukları, cumhuriyetin sağladığı ortak faydayı göremeyecekleri için, onun garantisi de olamayacaklardır. Aynı şekilde, bu topluluklar harekete geçseler bile, savundukları cumhuriyet erdemlerinden başka çıkarlardır. ABD'de 6 Ocak 2021 tarihinde gerçekleşen Kongre baskını, Amerikan tarihinin en büyük cumhuriyet ve anayasa krizlerinden bir tanesidir. Bu olayların gölgesinde gidilecek yeni başkanlık seçimleri, cumhuriyetin kurucu değerlerinin geleceği hakkında pek çok soru işareti barındırmaktadır. Aşağıdaki bölümlerde, dünya siyasi tarihinin en sağlam anayasal temeller üzerine kurulmuş rejimlerinden biri olarak kabul edilen Amerikan cumhuriyetinin bu 'Cicero Anı' tartışılacaktır.

Neo-cumhuriyetçi kuramların önde gelen isimlerden biri olarak Philip Pettit, cumhuriyet adına tahakküm kurmamanın en kıymetli siyasi değer olduğunu savunur. Ancak böyle bir uygulama içinde, demokratik katılım ve temsiliyet genel olarak özgürlüklerin güvencesi olarak görülse de demokrasinin, popülist eğilimler etkisinde cumhuriyet değer ve geleneklerinden uzaklaşma kapasitesi mevcuttur (1997, s. 30). Diğer bir deyişle, demokrasi her zaman 'cumhuriyetin kurumlarına gereksinim duymaz'. Bu nedenle, cumhuriyetle arasında uzlaşmanın dışında çatışma potansiyeli de bulunur. Tahakküm kurmayan bir cumhuriyetçi hükümet, anayasal kısıtlar dahilinde hareket etmek zorundadır (Pettit, 1997, ss. 185 ve 200). Ancak, popülizmin benimsediği demokrasilerde, halk ve cumhuriyet kurumları arasında her an hareketlenebilecek 'yeni düşmanca bir hudut', mevcuttur (Roberts, 2022, s.683). 6 Ocak olayları, aynı zamanda, böyle bir hududun aşılması olarak da görülmelidir.

3. 6 Ocak Olayları

2020 seçimleri arefesinde Amerikan toplumu, Donald Trump ve onun temsil ettiği değerler ile kurucu değerlerin karşıtlığı üzerinden çok keskin bir biçimde ikiye ayrılmıştı. Demokratlar tarafından Cicero'nun Roma Cumhuriyetine siper olmasına benzer bir an olarak nitelendirilen bu seçim, Cicero'nun 'ataların yolundan gitmek' (*mos maiorum*) çağrısı paralelinde, kurucu değerlere sahip çıkma kampanyasına dönüştürülmüştü (Elliot, 2020). Trump cephesi ise, başlıca Twitter gibi sosyal medya mecraları üzerinden, özellikle sonuçların at başı gideceği öngörülen eyaletlere yönelik oy sahteciliği yapılacağına dair, herhangi bir belgeye dayanmayan, uyarılar yayıyordu. Nitekim, Kongre baskınından sonra yapılan soruşturma, 6 Ocak'taki yürüyüşe katılmak için Washington DC'ye gelenlerin büyük bir kısmının Texas, Florida ve Pennsylvania gibi kara propagandaya maruz kalmış eyaletlerden olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Seçim gecesi Trump'ın oy sayımı sona ermeden mutlak zaferini ilan etmesi ve bunun aksi bir resmi sonucun seçimin çalındığını ispatlayacağını '*tweet*'lemesi, aylardır sosyal medya üzerinden kurgulanan gerilimin zirve noktası olmuştur. 'Ulusumuzun maruz kaldığı büyük sahtekarlık' gibi detayları ya da belgesi mevcut olmayan muğlak bir iddianın peşinden 100.000'den fazla insan, Joe Biden'ın ABD'nin 46. başkanı ilan edileceği gün, Kongre binasının olduğu *Capitol Hill*'e doğru yürümüş, bunlardan yaklaşık 2,500'ü ise içeri zorla girmeyi başarmıştı (Eisen & diğerleri, 2022).

6 Ocak 2021 tarihinde Washington DC'deki 'Amerika'yı Kurtarmak için Yürüyüş' (*The March to Save America* – MASA) etkinliğinde, Trump'ın 12:00'den 13:10'a kadar süren konuşmasının sonuna doğru, Trump destekçisi olduğu bilinen *Proud Boys* (Gururlu Çocuklar) ve *Oath Keepers* (Yemin Muhafızları) gibi nefret gruplarının Kongre'yi işgal girişimleri başlamıştı. Konuşmanın bitişi ile işgalin başlamasının aynı saatlerde olması, olayla ilgili yürütülen soruşturmada Trump'ın kışkırtıcı rolünün ispatı olarak kabul edilmiştir. Ayrıca, yine 6 Ocak günü attığı 'Mike Pence'de yapılması gerekeni yapacak cesaret yok' *tweet*'i, Trump'ın kendi başkan yardımcısını son derece kontrolsüz ve şiddet yanlısı bir güruha hedef göstermesi olarak değerlendirildi. Pence işgal sırasında, anayasal görevi dâhilinde, yeni başkanı ilan edeceği Temsilciler Meclisi ve Senato ortak oturumunu yönetiyordu. Noel tatilinden beri Trump, Pence'e oturumda Biden'ı başkan ilan etmemesi konusunda baskı yapmaktaydı ve Pence'in 'böyle bir hakkı olmadığını' ve 'anayasal görevinden vazgeçmeyeceğini' söylemesi, onu Trump'ın gözünde 'hain' ve 'korkak' yapmıştı. Nitekim kalabalık, Kongre'yi 'Mike Pence'i asalım' sloganlarıyla basmıştı (Kleinfeld, 2021, s. 165) Buna rağmen Pence, görevini yerine getirdi ve Biden'ı başkan ilan etti. Ancak anayasaya sadakat göstermesi, yine popülist siyasetin rasyonalite ile açıklanamayacak bir tuhaflığı olarak, Pence'i bir halk kahramanı yapmamış, 2024

seçimlerinde Trump'ın karşısında adaylıktan çekilmek zorunda kalan ilk Cumhuriyetçi isim kendisi olmuştur. Pence'in yanı sıra Cumhuriyetçi Senatör Lindsay Graham ve Cumhuriyetçilerin Temsilciler Meclisi'ndeki lideri Liz Cheney de yaşanan olaylar nedeniyle Trump'ın 'tarihteki yerini aldığı'nı ifade ederek başlatılan soruşturmaya aleyhte görüş bildirerek dâhil olmuşlardır (Marcos, 2021).

6 Ocak olayları, Federal Soruşturma Bürosu'nun (FBI) tarihinde açtığı en kapsamlı soruşturma olarak kayıtlara geçti. 120,000 kişinin katıldığı tahmin edilen yürüyüşte, yaklaşık 2,500 kişinin Kongre binasına girdiği ve bunlardan yaklaşık 700'ünün şiddet kullandığı tespit edildi. Ancak, bu kapsamdaki bir soruşturmanın boyutları FBI'ın kapasitesinin çok üzerinde olduğu için, daha sonra rapora 'fitne avcıları' (*sedition hunters*) olarak geçecek ve teknolojiyi FBI'dan daha iyi kullanan sivil vatandaşların da katkılarına başvuruldu (Woodrof ve diğerleri, 2024). Sivil vatandaşlar tarafında yürütülen işgalcilerin gerçek kimliklerini bulma, iletişim ve etkileşim araçlarını anlama ve toplumsal profillerini çıkarmaya yönelik bu olağanüstü çabalar, Amerikan akademisinde lisans sonrası çalışmalarda da kendine yer edinmeye başlamıştır (Wang, 2022). İşgal sırasında göstericilerden biri polis kurşunuyla, üçü de kalp krizi ve aşırı doz gibi nedenlerden hayatını kaybetti. İşgalcilerin saldırısına uğrayan bir polis memuru da geçirdiği çifte kalp krizi sonunda hastanede tüm çabalara rağmen kurtarılamadı. Bazı kaynakların ölü sayısını 5 yerine 9 göstermesinin arkasında ise başka bir gerçek vardır. 6 Ocak günü Kongre binasında görevli olan ve işgalcilere müdahale eden 4 polis memurunun daha sonraki süreçte arka arkaya intihar etmesi, yaşanan şiddetin travmatik boyutunun hafife alınmaması konusunda çarpıcıdır. Nitekim Adalet Bakanlığı, polislerin 'görev başında' öldüklerini kabul etmiştir (Wolfe, 2024).

6 Ocak olayları, Cicero'nun öngördüğü tarzda bir rejim krizidir. Kurucu değerlerini unutmuş, kutuplaşmış ve cumhuriyet erdeminden ve 'kurucu babalar'ın yolundan uzaklaşmış topluluklar, demokrasinin tecelli etmesini sağlayan en önemli araçlarından olan seçimlerin sonucuna müdahale etmeye kalkmışlardır. Seçimi kaybedenin kaybetmeyi kabullenemeyerek küçük çapta, ama etkili, bir ayaklanma çıkarmasının demokrasilerde yeri olmadığı açıktır. Amerikan tarihinde daha önce halkın bir kısmı sadece Abraham Lincoln'ün 1860 seçimlerini kazanmasına büyük tepki göstererek itiraz etmiş ve iç savaş ortamına sürüklenmişti. Elbette ki kölelik meselesinin yarattığı çatışma ortamıyla Trump'ın

başkanlığı tamamen kaybetmemek üzere kişisel ikbalinin peşinde gerçekleştirmeye çalıştığı usulsüz ve yasa dışı güç transferi, tamamen farklı iki olaydır (Rozsa, 2021). Bu nedenle, 6 Ocak'ı bir kere daha benzersiz bir kırılma noktası olarak vurgulamakta fayda vardır. Siyasal elitlerin dezenformasyon yaymak için sosyal medya ve teknolojiyi kullanarak kitleleri ne dereceye kadar etkileyebileceğini görmek açısında da söz konusu olaylar son derece çarpıcıdır. Bütün bunlar, yukarıdaki bölümde de altı çizildiği üzere, cumhuriyetin öz, doğa, akıl ve erdem gibi unsurlarına yapılan çok büyük bir müdahaledir.

Montesquieu'nun yanı sıra Cicero'yu da etraflıca okuduğu bilinen 'kurucu babalar'ın kaleme aldığı Amerikan anayasası (Cole, 2019, s. 6), cumhuriyete yönelik olası şiddet olaylarına karşılık üç koruyucu madde içerir. 'Kurucu babalar', cumhuriyet ideali karşısında son derece akılcı bir tutum benimsemiş, cumhuriyetin karşılaşacağı olası krizleri hesaplamışlardır. Gösterdikleri 'olağanüstü öngörü' (*excellenti proventio*), haksız güç transferlerini önleyecek yasalarla somutlaşmıştır. Anayasaya gönülden bağlılığı süren her bir vatandaş, böyle bir transferin gerçekleşmemesi için elinden geleni yapacaktır. Nitekim, Trump'ın seçimin Biden lehine sonuçlanmasıyla birlikte başvurduğu üç taktiğin tamamı, yetkililerin anayasayı öncelemesi sonucu boşa çıkmıştır. Seçimlerden önceki anketlerde 8 puan geride çıkan Trump'a 'seçim sonuçlarını kabul edecek misiniz?' sorusu her sorulduğunda, 'bakarız' ya da 'göreceğiz' gibi belirsizlik ve risk içeren yanıtlar vermiştir (Zum, 2023, s. 2). Seçimler sona erip hâlâ başkan olduğu süreçte ise, önce Georgia eyaletinden seçilen Cumhuriyetçilere sonuçların resmi ilanını uzatarak, Georgia'dan kendi lehine 'birkaç oy daha' bulmaları çağrısı yaptı. Ardından, mahkemelerden Biden'ın kazandığı kritik yerlerdeki seçimleri iptal etmesini istedi. Bunu yaparken, sürecin sonunda hepsini kaybettiği 60'a yakın dava açtı. Son olarak da, başkan ve başkomutan olarak sıkıyönetim ilan ederek, Washington'ı orduyla zapt etmenin yollarını aradı. Bu çabaları, anayasaya karşı suç işlemek anlamına geleceğinden, karşılık bulmadı. İstediği yetkileri alarak 'Sezarlaşamayan' Trump, son çare olarak radikal sağdan oluşan taraftarlarını, Biden'ın başkan ilan edilmesini engellemek üzere Washington'daki yürüyüşe çağırdı (Kydd, 2021, s. 15)

Sonuç olarak, 6 Ocak olaylarına giden süreçte Trump, ortak bilgi ve sağduyuyu yok edecek kitlesel bir dezenformasyon stratejisi yürüttü. Bu nedenle, artık seçimler sırasında ve sonrasında tam olarak ne olduğuna dair kesin ve doğru bilgilere kamusal alanda ulaşmak mümkün değil. Yapılan araştırmalar, hâlâ Cumhuriyetçi seçmenin çoğunluğunun seçimlerin Demokratlar tarafından "çalındığına" inandığını ortaya koymakta (Kydd, 2021, s. 17). Bu açıdan baktığımızda 6 Ocak olayları sona ermemiş, gelecekte yükleneceği enerjiye bağlı olarak her an kırılabilecek bir fay hattına dönüşmüştür. 2024 seçimleri bu dönüşümün ilk büyük sınavı olacaktır ve tedirginlik hem Demokrat hem de Cumhuriyetçi Parti kampanyalarında hissedilmektedir (bkz. Republican Voters Against Trump, 2024; Face the Nation, 2024; The New York Review of Books, 2024).

4. 'Cicero Anı'nın Gölgesinde 2024 Başkanlık Seçimleri

6 Ocak olaylarının yıkıcı ve ölümcül kısa vadeli etkileri, Kongre'nin ve FBI'ın yürüttüğü soruşturmaların sonucunda -mümkün olduğu kadar- belirlenmiş ve kayıt altına alınmıştır. Ancak, işgalcilerin profilleri ve birbirleriyle nasıl iletişime geçtikleri hala tam olarak çözülememiş olduğu için olayların uzun vadede etkisinin ne olacağı da tam olarak öngörülememektedir. 2024 seçimlerinde Trump'ın yeniden aday olması ve yeniden seçilememesi durumunda aynı kampanyayı aynı şiddetiyle yeniden yürütecek midir? Trump'ın çağrısına daha önce yanıt veren kitle, bu sefer daha kalabalık ve organize bir şekilde hareket edebilecek midir? Bu soruların varlığı, 2024'teki ve daha sonraki yıllarda gerçekleşecek seçimlerin, bu olayların gölgesinde hep bir risk faktörü taşımasına neden olmuştur. Bundan sonra aşırı sağ ile anayasa koruyucuları (*mos maiorum*) arasında iç savaşa varabilecek çatışma ihtimali, hep bir yerlerde saklı duracaktır (Kydd, 2021, s. 4). Ayrıca, Trump'ın başkan seçilmesi durumunda peşinden gelecek çok sayıdaki soruşturma dosyası ve mahkeme celbi mevcut olduğundan, böyle bir başkanın aldığı kararlar Amerikan kurumlarının ve karar mekanizmalarının meşruiyetine de gölge düşürecektir (Alcaro, 2024, s. 2). Amerikan anayasasının gözettiği en önemli ilkelerden biri olan hukukun üstünlüğü ile halkın iradesi arasındaki dengenin tamir edilmesi bu travmanın giderilmesinde büyük önem taşımaktadır.

6 Ocak olaylarının ardından gidilen ilk seçimde yine benzer saldırıların gerçekleşebileceği ihtimalinin yarattığı tedirginlik, yerel basının seçimlerle ilgili attığı manşetlerde de kendini göstermektedir. Yine aynı iki adayın karşı karşıya gelmeleri, Trump'ın seçilirse 'kendisine yapılanların' hesabını soracağı

hakkındaki ifadeleri, 2022 ara seçimlerinde Cumhuriyetçilerin Temsilciler Meclisinde çoğunluğu ele geçirmesi, seçim hazırlıklarının gergin bir atmosferde gerçekleşmesine neden olmaktadır. Brookings Institute ve Public Religion Research Institute (PRRI) tarafından ülke çapında ortaklaşa yapılan bir araştırma ise, her dört Amerikalıdan üçünün seçimlerin riskli olduğunu düşündüğünü ortaya koymuştur (Roth, 2023). 6 Ocak olayları gibi bir durum yaşandıktan sonra, bir dahaki seçimlerde mağlubun yenilgiyi barışçıl bir şekilde kabul edeceğinin garantisi artık kaybolmuş gibi gözükmektedir. Özellikle, Cumhuriyetçilerin çoğunlukta oldukları Temsilciler Meclisinin liderinin Trump'ın 2020 yılındaki itirazlarının 'esas mimarı' Mike Johnson olması, endişeleri haklı çıkarır niteliktedir. Bu nedenle, Johnson'ın seçimden önce istifasının gergin atmosferin yumuşamasına katkı sağlayacağı düşünülmektedir. Ayrıca hukukçular, Cumhuriyetçilerin, bir kere daha yenilirlerse, seçim sonuçlarına itiraz etmek için eyalet mahkemelerine benzeri görülmemiş biçimde yüklenmelerinin, böylece seçim sonucunun resmi ilanı için son gün olan 11 Aralık'a kadar sonuçların yetişmemesinin de mümkün olduğunu ifade etmektedirler.

2020 seçimlerinden iki hafta önce verdiği bir röportajda Trump, 'Kaybettiğimi düşünebiliyor musun? Bütün hayatım -ben ne yaparım? Siyasi tarihin gördüğü en kötü adaya kaybettiğimi [nasıl]söyleyeceğim,' diyerek seçimi kaybetme ihtimalini düşünmek bile istemediğini defalarca dile getirmiştir (Abel, 2024, s. 263). Seçimi kaybettiği kesinleştikten sonra da yanındaki danışmanlarının, seçimlerin çalındığını gösteren bir delilin bulunmadığı konusundaki hiçbir telkinine kulak asmamış ve aksi ortada olduğu halde seçimin çalındığına dair yürüttüğü kampanyayı daha da yoğunlaştırmıştır (Abel, 2024, s. 265). Bu ısrarın sonucunda anketler, Cumhuriyetçilerin seçimlerin 'özgür ve adil' olduğuna yönelik inançlarının yüzde 70'ten yüzde 35'e indiğini göstermiştir (Abel, 2024, s. 269). Bu sebeple, Amerikan üniversitelerinin hukuk bölümleri bu güvensizliğin bir daha çatışmayla sonuçlanmaması ve kutuplaşan tarafların seçime hazırlanması için çeşitli raporlar yayımladılar. Örneğin, UCLA'in hazırladığı metin; eyaletlerin mutlaka bir acil durum planının olması, komplo teorilerinin azalması için serbest ve rahat oy kullanılmasına olanak tanınması, basın kuruluşlarının birini sürekli 'önde ilan etmemesi', onun yerine 'kesin bir şey söylemek için çok erken' ifadesini kullanması, sonuçlarla ilgili yayılan bilgilerin doğru ya da yanlış olduğunu ölçecek bir teyit mekanizmasının yaratılması, özel durumlar haricinde dijital oy kullanmaya müsaade edilmemesi ve sandık görevlilerinin iletişimlerinde .gov uzantılı adres kullanmaları gibi çok yerinde tavsiyelerde bulunmaktadır (Appel ve diğerleri, 2023, ss. 4-6). Trump'ın barışçıl ve sorunsuz bir güç transferine müsaade etmemiş olduğu gerçeğinin kazındığı toplumsal hafıza, 2024 seçimleri öncesini travmalı bir atmosfere çevirmiş, kendini güvende hissetmeyenlerin sayısında kayda değer bir artış olmuştur.

Ancak, 2020 seçimlerine ait her şeyin bir demokrasi ve cumhuriyet krizine işaret ettiğini söylemek de doğru değildir. Öncelikle, pandeminin ve Trump taraftarlarının kara propagandasının olumsuz etkilerine rağmen seçime katılım oranının 1890'lardan bu yana en yüksek seviyesine ulaştığını belirtmemiz gerekir. Yine, 6 Ocak olaylarından sonra görevinden ayrılan seçim memurlarının oranı yüzde 40'ı bulmuşsa da, boşalan yerlerin her birinin yeni ve yetkin kişilerce doldurulmuş olması da ümit vericidir (Roth, 2023). Bununla birlikte, yapılan anketler çerçevesinde, başkanların hesap verebilirliklerinin ne kadar önemli olduğu ve kamusal alanın kıymeti bir kere daha doğrulanmıştır (Dunn, 2023). Amerikan siyaseti 6 Ocak olaylarını, her şeye rağmen, anayasal mekanizmaların yerinde ve işlevsel olduğu gerekçesiyle, geleceğe ait belirsizlikleri de kabul ederek, şimdilik başarıyla göğüslemiş gibi gözükmektedir. Neticede seçimler, hesap vermek, mahkemeler ve siyaset söylemi, adil ve anayasaya uygun bir biçimde yürütüldüğünde, demokrasilerin karşıtı değil uyumlu birer parçası olarak kabul edilmelidir. Bu anlamda 6 Ocak olayları, bir yandan seçim güvenliğinin organize bir şekilde nasıl tehlikeye atılabildiğini, diğer yandan da hakların gaspına karşı anayasal direnişin cumhuriyeti nasıl koruduğunu göstermiştir (Abel, 2024, s. 12).

'Scipio'nun Düşü'nde Cicero, cumhuriyetçi erdemin saldırgan kalabalıklardan mutlaka korunması gerektiğini ve gerçek insanlık onuruna giden yolu bir avuç vazgeçmeyen insanın yürüyeceğini Scipio Africanus'un şu sözleri aracılığıyla anlatır:

> *O halde yukarıya bakıp da… ebedi yurdunu seyretmek istersen, kendini avamın sözlerine vermeyecek, başarıların için insani ödül beklentisi içinde olmayacaksın; bizzat erdem kendi cezbedici ödülleriyle seni gerçek onura çekmelidir, başkaları gördüğü gibi konuşacaktır, bırak konuşsunlar. Onların*

> *her konuşması gördüğün dar bölgelerle sınırlıdır, herhangi biri hakkında söyledikleri daimi olmayacak[tır]…* (Cicero, M.Ö. 45-44/2014, s. 235).

İnsanın vazgeçmemesini sağlayan itici güç, erdemdir. Gerçek erdem de, cumhuriyet yönetimi içindeki bilgeliği ve pratik beceriyi yükseltmektir. Bu şekildeki bir yükseliş, yukarıdaki bölümlerde bahsi geçen kusursuz öngörü hasletini de daha kolay ortaya çıkaracaktır. Bütün erdemler eylemle cilalanır ve bu bağlamda siyasi erdem, felsefi erdemden farklıdır. Arendtçi bir yaklaşımla, düşünme ve eylem alanlarının birbirinden ayrı olduğu varsayımı ve felsefi erdemin düşünsel alanın özcü tartışmalarına ait olduğu kabulüyle, siyasi erdemin ağızdan çıkan söz ve yapılan işe dayalı olduğu unutulmamalıdır (Villa, 1998, s. 157). Siyasetteki erdem, mutlaka doğru davranış içinde bulunmayı içerir. Bunun için de Cicero, her zaman için aklı ve erdemi temsil edecek, cumhuriyetin, gerçek ya da mitolojik, kurucu değerlerini savunacak yozlaşmayacak bir elit gruba gereksinim olduğunu vurgular (Cole, 2019, s. 4). Yetki sahibi herkesin anayasaya karşı görevlerini yerine getirmesi ve vatandaşların oy kullanması cumhuriyet için hayati önem taşır.

5. Sonuç

6 Ocak olayları, siyasi konularda radikalleşmiş, komplo teorilerine inanan, ırkçı sembolleri benimsemiş ve çevrim-içi örgütlenen şiddet yanlısı bireylerin, ABD gibi gelişmiş bir demokrasinin mevcut olduğu ve siyasal şiddetin dünya geneliyle kıyaslandığında çok büyük boyutlara ulaşmadığı bir ülkede bile yıkıcı eylemlere neden olabileceğini göstermiştir. Bu bağlamda, popülizmin önceden tanımlanan sosyolojik kategoriler üzerinden harekete geçmediği; aksine, 'akışkan kimliklerin' birbiriyle kesişen çıkarları etrafında birleşerek kendilerini temsil etmeyen kurumlara karşı koyabilecekleri varsayımı gerçeklik kazanmıştır (Roberts, 2022, ss. 682-683). Ancak yapılan araştırmalar, bu tür örgütlenmelerin asıl hedefinin kurumlardan ziyade, siyasal, ekonomik ve sosyokültürel hayata eşit, özgür ve neşeyle katılan vatandaşlara, onları kamusal alanda sindirerek fiziki ve duygusal zarar vermek olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır (Kleinfeld, 2021, s. 169). Şiddetin uygun ortamı bulduğunda kendi ateşini kendi harladığı düşünüldüğünde, şiddet ideolojisinin sıradanlaşması, normalleşmesi ve hafife alınması ile mücadele etme gereği büyük önem kazanmaktadır.

Trump'ın başkanlığı, şiddetin söylem ve eylem olarak normalleştiği, olağandışı bir dönemdir (McQuilkin & Chakrabart, 2023). Örneğin, başkanlığının son döneminde yükselen 'Çin ile savaş' söylentisini sönümlendirmek için Çinli mevkidaşı ile kendisinden habersiz görüştüğü gerekçesiyle Genelkurmay Başkanı Mark Milley'in 'asılması' gerektiğini söylemesi, içerdiği şiddet imasıyla, Amerikan kamuoyunu şoke etmişti (Pengelly, 2023). 6 Ocak sürecinde ise, Trump'ın gerçeğe dayanmayan bir söylemle çağrısını yaptığı ve organize ettiği yürüyüşün yol açtığı yıkıntı karşısında geçirdiği soruşturma sürecinde hiçbir pişmanlık belirtisi göstermemesi ve sorumluluk almaması, şiddet karşıtı bir bilinç taşımadığını göstermektedir. Hatta, yargılanma süreci devam eden Trump, 2024 başkanlık seçimlerinde Cumhuriyetçi aday olmak için düzenlediği seçim kampanyaları sırasında, 6 Ocak gösterilerine katılanların Amerikan milli marşını söylediği kayıtları propaganda malzemesi yapmaya devam etmektedir (Dunn, 2023). Buna rağmen, yaklaşan 2024 seçimlerinde en güçlü adaylardan biri olması ise, Cumhuriyetçi seçmenin 6 Ocak olaylarından etkilenmesi gereken derecede etkilenmediğini göstermektedir.

Cumhuriyetin geleceği için duyulan umudun bir strateji haline gelebilmesi için, Cicero'nun gelecek nesillerden beklentisine uygun bir şekilde vatandaşların, öncelikle, sandığa gitmesini sağlamak gereklidir. Örneğin, 2020 seçimlerinde kayıtlı Demokrat seçmenin üçte birinin oy kullanmadığı bilinmektedir (Alber, 2024, s. 276). Sandıklardan uzaklaşmanın en temel sebeplerinden biri, vatandaşların karar alma mekanizmalarına siyaset aracılığıyla katılabileceklerine olan inançlarını yitirmeleridir. Yapılacak yasalara anlamlı diyaloglarla etki yapabileceğine inanan herkes, yeniden siyasetin bir parçası olmayı tercih edecektir (Remer, 2013, s. 6). Cicero, rasyonel bir biçimde yürütülen diyalogların, farklı görüştekileri 'karşı taraf' olarak itibarsızlaştırmak yerine, hakikati ortaya çıkarmayı amaçladığına işaret eder. Bu sebeple, sözle kutuplaştırmak yerine, 'ortak zemin arayışı'nda olmak gerekir. Ne var ki, Amerikan iç siyaseti uzun zamandır ortak fayda yaratmayı öncelemek yerine söylem, eylem ve karar alma bakımından kutuplaşmanın beslediği bir hoşgörüsüzlük sergilemektedir. Ancak, 6 Ocak'ta yaşanan olaylar silsilesi, bunun artık sürdürülebilir bir tutum olmadığını açık bir biçimde göstermiştir.

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[Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article]

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE AND DESIGN EFFECT ON PERFORMANCE

Hüseyin KARŞILI *

ABSTRACT

The main purpose of this article is to emphasize the importance of organizational structure and design effects on work performance. Accordingly, the article explains organizational structure and its definition on several organizational designs and eventually conclude the impacts on work performance. Organizational structures differentiate companies by enabling managers and employees to be more effective problem solvers and more productive in decision making processes in company' own benefit. The scope of this study is limited by the definition of organizational structure or organizational design on management and business literature. The research is supported by academic journals and books covered the subjects related to organizational structure/design. The key words and terms used are: 'organizational design', 'organizational structure' and 'performance'. Articles were chosen by distinguishing the key words on articles abstracts or introduction parts. The aim of this literature review has been to successfully explain the fundamentals of organizational design. Nevertheless, many research papers stated that there is no positive relationship between organizational structure and performance. Simultaneously, organizational design plays a significant role in organizational behavior.

Keywords: *Organizational Structure, Organizational Design, Management, Performance, Job Performance*

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*Yard. Doç. Dr., Lefke Avrupa Üniversitesi, İnsan Kaynakları Bölümü
(hkarsili@eul.edu.tr) https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6609-9371
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ÖZ

ORGANİZASYONEL YAPI VE TASARIMIN PERFORMANS ÜZERİNDEKİ ETKİSİ

Bu makalenin temel amacı, organizasyonel yapı ve tasarımın iş performansı üzerindeki önemini vurgulamaktır. Buna göre, bu makale, organizasyonel yapıyı ve onun çeşitli organizasyonel tasarımlardaki tanımını açıklamakta ve sonuçta iş performansı üzerindeki etkilerini sonuçlandırmaktadır. Organizasyon yapıları, yönetici ve çalışanların daha etkin problem çözücü olmalarını ve şirketin kendi yararına karar alma süreçlerinde daha verimli olmalarını sağlayarak şirketleri farklılaştırmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın kapsamı, yönetim ve işletme literatüründe organizasyon yapısı veya organizasyon tasarımı tanımı ile sınırlıdır. Dört veritabanına; EBSCO, Science Direct, Taylor & Francis ve Google Scholar'a internet üzerinden erişilmiştir. Araştırma, organizasyon yapısı/tasarımına ilişkin konuları kapsayan akademik dergi ve kitaplarla desteklenmektedir. Kullanılan anahtar kelime ve terimler şunlardır: 'organizasyon tasarımı', 'organizasyon yapısı've 'performans'. Makaleler, makale özetleri veya giriş kısımlarındaki anahtar kelimeler ayırt edilerek seçilmiştir. Bu literatür taramasının amacı, organizasyonel tasarımın temellerini başarılı bir şekilde açıklamak olmuştur. Bununla birlikte birçok araştırma makalesi örgütsel yapı ile performans arasında pozitif bir ilişkinin olmadığını belirtmiştir. Aynı zamanda örgütsel tasarım örgütsel davranışta önemli bir rol oynamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Organizasyon Yapısı, Organizasyon Tasarımı, Yönetim, Performans, İş Performansı*

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1. Giriş

In order to secure long-term survival, organizations functioning in today's fiercely competitive and quickly changing business climate must constantly restructure themselves. Reorganization goes by many names, including flattening, reengineering, downsizing, and rightsizing, but the end objective is always the same: increasing worker effectiveness and production. Reorganizations sometimes include significant layoffs, with the hope that information technology will allow remaining staff to make up the difference. Moreover, the main purpose of this study is explaining organizational structure and its definition on organizational design literature also distinguish some effects on performance in order to find out the direct connection between the performance and organizational structure and design. The scope of this study is limited by the definition of organizational structure or organizational design on management and business literature.

Nevertheless, as many observers have noted, this strategy is limited by a person's capacity to manage extra needs for information processing, which ultimately results in ‘information overload’. Organizations and individuals alike must learn how to absorb the additional information flows brought about by the environment's rapid rate of change and the rise in information communication. This problem led to the concentrate on creating organizational structures that facilitate the use of successful and productive learning procedures (Davenport, 1996). Moreover, data collection of this article have been made through searching databases online. Databases used in this regard include EBSCO, Science Direct, Taylor & Francis and Google Scholar. In these databases, 14 articles and 6 books were found which contain organizational structure studies and performance. Literature is examined through content analysis which is a widely-used way to analyze the terms and words in the texts and to find out the related contexts (Duriau et al., 2011). This method was used to determine the organizational design or performance in the term of organizational structure where it has a context in the existing literature.

1.1 Organizational Structure and Design

An organization means that there are people who work together to achieve the same goal or purpose instead of working alone (Fadeyi and Ajagbe, 2015). Mintzberg (2009, pp1-8) pointed out that organizational structure specifies ‘how people can be organized or how their jobs are divided and coordinated’. Nelson and Quick (2011, pp1-8) emphasized that departments in organizations can be separated into various units, including manufacturing, sales, marketing, accounting and advertising. In addition to this argument, they also pointed out that ‘departments are connected to shape the organizational structure. Nevertheless, Quangyen and Yizhuang (2013) stated that organizational structure gives the necessary shape in order to achieve the goal in the business environment.

According to Daft (2008), there are three main factors in order to explain organizational structure:

a) Organization structure needs to indicate formal reporting relationships involving the number of levels in the hierarchy and the span of control of managers and supervisors

b) Organizational structure help to gather the groups of individuals into the departments and then departments create all the organization
c) Organization structure employs the design of systems to see effective communication, coordination and integration of efforts between departments.

Rao and Rao (1999) mentioned that an organization is related to how well employees, tasks and facilities are within together in order to achieve the common goal. According to Allen (2021, pp9), organizing is a process of identifying and grouping the work to be performed, defining and delegating responsibility and authority and establishing relationships for the purpose of enabling people to work efficiently together in order to accomplish objectives. Therefore, organizing has features such as:

1.1.1 Identifying the work: It mainly needs to identify all necessary work to do in order to achieve the goals. Systematically, work needs to be grouped, so that the employees can get clear and separate their tasks. Tasks need to be separated and distributed to the employees equally, owing to the fact that no one is able to do all the work in the organization. Importantly, identification and classification help managers to concentrate on important issues and prevent them to lose time on duplicating, overlapping and their efforts.

1.1.2 Grouping the Work: Division creates the need for coordination at the work. All tasks need to be related to each other and the same ones need to be grouped together. Therefore, divisions and departments created under the arrangement of the manager.

1.1.3 Establishing Relationships: To get attached with the department directors, reporting relationships must be clarified. Subsequently, a formal relationship has been built and it helps employees to know which tasks must be done, how it will be done, to whom it will be done and how tasks are related to each other. Within a formal relationship, if there is no formal relationship, it is difficult to manage and control all the work in order to achieve the objectives of the organization.

1.1.4 Delegating Authority: Authority means acting right, giving orders and being in charge. Meanwhile, it also means getting respect from others. Authority is necessary because it helps managers to finish the tasks with confidence and demonstrate the results. While managers give the tasks within clear authority and responsibility lines to his/her employees, they know what their duties and expectations are.

1.1.5 Providing Coordination and Control: Mutual relationships between different positions need to be clearly determined. Also, tasks of different people and their efforts must be clearly coordinated. Moreover, performance must be measured, evaluated and controlled from time to time. If a mistake is made, a quick separation must be made here and the necessary decisions and measures taken immediately.

1.2 Types of Organizational Charts

The main aim of this section is to explain the different types of information sharing design in organizations. In this regard, the most important information sharing designs include the *vertical* and *horizontal* information sharing. In addition to these structures, *bureaucratic design* should be stated as well. Bureaucratic design is known as a type of design that is usually used in large and more complex organizations. Bureaucratic structure has a definite standard and ideal processes for tasks and job performance. Thus, it is possible to say that is has a higher control mechanism.

1.2 Vertical Charts: In this chart type, the top has the main role where associates' roles are at the bottom within the organizational hierarchy. Authority is higher at the top compared to the associates at the bottom. In addition, positions are at horizontal level.

1.3 Horizontal Charts: In this chart, authority moves from left to right. Top manager is located extremely on the left and, for example, an accounting employee is extremely on the right. Horizontal structure helps to reduce the effect of hierarchy which increases the functional relationships.

1.4 **Circular Charts:** In this type, top manager is in the middle of concentric serial circles. The different roles of the organization have closed each other in this way and in this chart each role plays an important function.

1.2.1 Centralized or Decentralized?

Organizing should be all about control and efficiency when it comes to important tasks, a hierarchical authority structure, rules, regulations, and feedback systems. Are problems all dependent on the top levels for a solution? Basically, it means all lines are concentrated in the center. On the other hand, decentralization is known as the opposite of the centralized structure. Decision making process and authority belong to the lower structural levels and there are more face to face communications, informal talks, more flexibility, less rules and regulations.

1.3 Mintzberg Theory

Mitzberg (1989) had renewed the classical theory behind the organizational design. According to Mitzberg (1989) there are five types of organizational structures in the 20th century:

1.3.1 Entrepreneurial: In this structure, managers behave more openly, creative-minded and also, the take significant risks. The strength of managers comes from the fact that they are more active, more optimistic and are the activists of the future in this type of structure. On the other hand, their lack of focus on the business, such as undisciplined tasks, lack of control over management and lack of efficiency can pose a major risk to this entrepreneurial structure.

1.3.2 Machine: Mitzberg (1989) stated that a machine is a highly bureaucratic within the organization. This structure includes government and big set-in types of organizations. The advantage of this structure is that they have a long life and they don't easily break. However, the disadvantages of this structure include the lack of openness to new ideas and the lack of efficiency due to the bureaucratic structure.

1.3.3 Professional: Professional type of structure is similar to the machine design. It has the advantage that it is run by highly skilled professionals who are overly qualified for economic management. Managers have skilled employees in their jobs and have more decentralized decision-making processes compared to the machine structure.

1.3.4 Divisional: This structure is used commonly in big businesses that have large product lines and multiple business sections. Frequently, companies separate their products into divisions and within these divisions upgrade certain managerial divisions. This format is called centralized and vice presidents are able to see all the divisional aspects in their sections.

1.3.5 Innovative: This structure is called as a 'cutting edge leadership' structure. It's a mutual structure in new industries or companies in order to be modern leaders in the market. Innovative design is a type of decentralization. Decentralized structure helps skilled people to take action with efficiency, however struggling on leadership and not being clear on authority are the disadvantages of innovative design.

2. Organizational Structure and Performance

Decades of organizational structure play important roles, such as financial growth and social relations in the company and efficiency. Walton (1986) stated that structure is the first step for organizing the company including roles and positions, hierarchical levels and accounting issues, not to mention problem solving and consolidation mechanisms. On the other hand, Ajagbe et al., (2011) stated that there is no relationship between employee performance and span of control. That being said, they also underlined that in decentralized organizations there is higher job satisfaction due to the span of control that gives employees authority over what they are responsible for.

2.1 Overview

An organization theory (also known as the contingency theory) examined the environments and components of various organizations in the 1970s in an effort to better understand how organizational structures may be handled (Jung and Kim, 2014). Contingency theorists, drawing on the administrative theories of Taylor (2006), Barnard, and Fayol (2008), provided guidance to managers and leaders on how to enhance organizational performance (Lounsbury and Ventresca, 2003). Furthermore, Robinowits et al. (1977), highlighted two main purposes of organizational structure, which probably have an impact on worker conduct and organizational effectiveness. First, structures are developed to reduce or control the effects of individual differences on the organization; second, structures serve as backdrops for the exercise of authority, the making of choices, and the carrying out of operations.

2.2 Structure and Perceived Performance

Structure is made up of several ideas and is separated into fundamental components called structural variables or structural dimensions (Kimberly, 1976). Thus, physical and non-physical organizational structure aspects can be distinguished. The physical structural aspects of an organization include its size, breadth of control and tall/flat hierarchy (Jung and Kim, 2014). On the other hand, according to Dalton et al., (1980), organizational policies and practices such as formalization, decentralization, centralization, and specialization are thought of as the non-physical structural aspects that regulate the employee behaviors of the company.

2.3 Span of Control and Performance

The number of people that a first-level manager, such as a supervisor, directly controls is referred to in management science as a span of control (Gulick, 1981). The span of control has two ways:

1) Wider span control where managers control and deal with large amount of employees
2) Narrower span control where managers control and deal with small amount of employees

Nevertheless, Quangyen and Yezhuand (2013) indicated that organizational structure helps to diminish the unclearness between employees and also give assistance to understand their behavior.

There has been a shift in the focus of academic studies on the effects of span of control. Previously, researchers were interested in the extent to which span of control affected members' behaviors and activities within organizations (Gulick, 1981). The explanation most likely stems from the distinction between individual and organizational performance, which is regarded as a result of a supervisor's broad versus limited scope of control (Jung and Kim, 2014).

When the existing literature is examined, it reveals that the relationship between performance and span of control is not always consistent. The psychological idea of 'attention span', which describes how many objects the human brain can focus on at once, sparked interest in span of control (Jung and Kim, 2014). It is not clear whether a supervisor can manage the numerous group relationships and attain a higher level of group performance given the traditional understanding of span of control (Jung and Kim, 2014). According to Simon and March (2015) theory of bounded rationality, managers can perform better or be more efficient by limiting their span of control. From an economic standpoint, more control over an organization's operations translates into higher transaction costs, which lowers organizational performance (Perrow, 1986). However, if the subordinates have high levels of self-confidence and personal skills, a large span of control with many subordinates can give supervisors and their subordinates the chance to develop and maintain teamwork, cooperation, and high morale, as well as foster the skills of self-confidence and initiative (Jung and Kim, 2014). According to the findings of recent research, a broad range of control and the individual performance of scientists and engineers in an empirical study of a sizable electronics company are positively correlated. However, some empirical research revealed no connection between efficacy and span of control (Ronan and Prien, 1973).

In conclusion, empirical research on the correlation between span of control and performance is still lacking and more research is needed.

2.4 Importance of Organizational Design on Performance

The association between organizational size and performance has drawn the attention of researchers, however the findings have not always been consistent (Boyne, 2003). According to some empirical research, organizational performance and size are inversely correlated (Amirkhanyan et al., 2008). This makes sense because it costs more to coordinate work and relationships when an organization has more members (Steiner, 1972). Conversely, further empirical research has discovered a favorable correlation, suggesting that individual workers are valuable resources for enhancing performance (Jung and Kim, 2014).

Performance and organizational structure have long been studied in relation to each other, and they can be broadly divided into two categories. A model illustrating hierarchical authority relationships that vary according to important and quantifiable structural dimensions like formalization, centralization, span of control, vertical and horizontal differentiation, and specialization falls under the first category. This model has been incorporated into a wide range of theories and perspectives, such as executive and organizational cognition (Wood and Bandura, 1989), the resource-based view of the firm (Markides and Williamson, 1996), complementarity theory (Milgrom and Roberts, 1995), contingency theory (Donaldson, 2001) and the information processing perspective (Burton and Obel, 1998). Organization structure affects the behavior of the employees. Hall (1977) stated that there are two simple activities have an effect on personal behavior or organizational performance:

1) Structures are made for decrease or control the impact of personal fluctuations at the organization
2) Structures are positioned where power is placed; decision making and actions which organizations are already taking.

Moreover, Van de Ven (1976) stated that organizational design is important for both organization and its subdivisions due to the performance such as efficiency, physiologically and effectiveness. Structure means that policies and tasks that are already considered in the company as dictation or put restrictions into employees. On the other hand, dimension of structuring for example, span of control, size and administrative power is not the scale to explain the behavior of or limitations of the responsibility owners in organizations.

Organizational behavior can be explained as:

2.4.1 Specialization/Complexity: Specialization means there are a lot of divisions and divisional tasks in the organization (Payne and Mansfield, 1976). Furthermore, Huge and Dewar (1973) emphasize that complexity is a set of different distinctive occupations. Even though there is a strong relationship between specialization/complexity and performance, it's concluded as there is no establishment between specialization and performance at all (Corwin, 1970; Reimann, 1976).

2.4.2 Formalization/Standardization: Formalization means an extension of being suitable for any situation as outlined in writing. Standardization is similar to formalization. Standardization dictates or puts boundaries on behaviors and processes of employees in the organization. Formalization is also called as job description, such as description of tasks and activities, however it leaves job classification outside in this outline. Even though job classification is written to clearly outline the expected behaviors from employees; it is not clear about putting orders or boundaries on who is going to be in charge to take the responsibility.

Regardless, standardization can have a specific description about activities to see potential employees by testing. In addition, formalization is about *'what'* an employee is going to do; while standardization is about *'how' an* employee will do it.

There should be a minimum level of formalization/standardization in order not to have any 'role ambiguity' in the organization. Hence, 'role ambiguity' could affect employees' behavior and also performance (Khan et al., 1964; Rizzo et al., 1970).

Consequently, Hackman and Lawler (1971) and Hulin and Blood (1968), state that formalization and standardization can impose limits on the work environment and the result can be frustration, dissatisfaction, boredom, absenteeism and a lack of good results from employees. On the other hand, many studies reported that there is not a relationship between performance and formalization.

2.4.3 Centralization: Centralization includes the setting of authority in order to make decisions. Typically, one or a few people hold the control of decision-making mechanisms in organizations. In the literature, this setting is called centralized structure. The main point of centralization is that a single person makes all decisions. The minimum effect of centralization can happen by decentralization in an organization where the decision making process is evenly utilized by each employee. Nevertheless, many studies have shown that there is no positive relationship between centralization and performance.

2.5 Empirical Research Information Processing

Numerous empirical studies have looked at information processing and one of those studies analyzed the connection between formal structure variables and organizational performance. There are two crucial points to take into account, but the complete details of those studies are outside the scope of this article. The first has to do with how the analysis unit has changed. The layout of business units and divisions (Olson et al., 2005), departments and functions (Alexander and Randolph, 1985), and the organization as a whole (Nandakumar et al., 2010) are examples of organizational structures. The relationship between performance and the structural variables is the subject of the second point. The way an organizational structure is formed or aligned with other critical elements of the company always affects how well it performs. For instance, Geroulakos et al., (1993) claimed that, in accordance with the contingency model (Miles and Snow, 1978) performance would specifically improve when ‘product-market strategy’ and decentralized decision-making are combined. Return on investment and sales growth are two ways to gauge this. Additionally, Khandwalla (1973) examined organizational profitability as a function of the positive relationship between some organizational variables, such as vertical integration, decentralization, and organizational configuration types as divisional or functional; Jennings and Seaman (1994) looked into the relationship between performance and strategy (prospector, defender); and Olson et al., (2005) conducted multiple studies on multi-variable likelihood relationships of company performance from the perspective of the marketing function's structure, strategic significance of the function and overall company strategy.

2.6 Social Network Viewpoint

People are ‘social beings’ based on ‘networks of relationships’ with others that help fulfil ‘numerous life tasks’, including those that take place both inside and outside of formal organizational settings. This is the foundation for thinking about social networks in the context of organizational design (Kilduff and Krackhardt, 2008). Accordingly, business organizations are held together and assisted in achieving their goals by both ‘formal authority relationships’ and ‘informal connections across departmental and hierarchical boundaries’. Numerous structural elements previously discussed in social network analysis have been incorporated into the network analysis method of organizational design. In this study, the ideas of centrality, connectivity, similarity and hierarchy are the most correlated ones. The relative significance or impact of links or actors within a network is indicated by centrality measures (Borgatti, 2005). Degree centrality and betweenness centrality are the two most popular metrics. The quantity of links or connections of an intersection to other intersections in the network is known as its degree of centrality. For example, the degree of centrality of link A to three other links, B, C and D, would be three. The rate of an intersection that extends over the shortest lines connecting all points of a network with all other links is known as the second measure of betweenness centrality. A link's betweenness centrality increases as the number of these routes on it increases. The degree of direct connectivity between links or actors in a network is measured by connectivity metrics. The most common and straightforward way to use a measure is density which refers to the ratio of the total number of connections to the total number of networks between pairs of crosses. There are ten possible pairs of intersections in a net with five intersections and undirected connections. The network density is 50% if there are just five pairs of these intersections connected. The diameter of the network, or the longest of the shortest paths between any two connections in the graph, is a second way to gauge connectivity (Hunter, 2015).

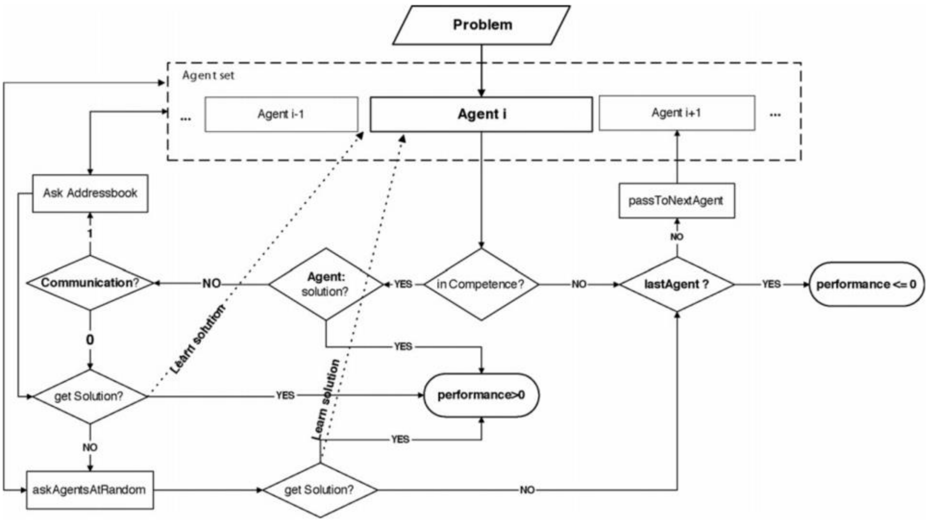
3. A Model for the Impact of Organizational Structure on Organizational Design Effect

Organizations have come to understand how critical it is to evaluate the effects of suggested organizational structures on organizational learning at the design stage of a reengineering process. This is because these terms are used widely in the existing literature and thus it is vital to clarify them in our context before examining the topic further. Descriptive and normative (or, prescriptive) approaches are the two basic methods utilized to research how organizations make decisions (Vroom and Jago, 1974). While normative research creates models that offer a reasonable foundation for decision-making, descriptive studies only explain the process of decision-making. The goal of descriptive research is to provide a clear picture of the situation and the activities that occur within an organization. This method's generalization is very challenging. Conversely, normative research typically concentrates on quantitative techniques that support reasoned decision-making. Despite their evident limits, their advantage is their ease of generalization.

The research community has created a number of organizational models to examine the connection between organizational structure and design effect. These models encompass an organization's decision-making process as well as its structure. Later, Ouksel et al., (1997) created a mathematical model that was even more detailed. There are four primary parts to the model: decision rules, memory, feedback and the framework of information processing. The primary presumptions are as follows:

1. Decision-making practices within organizations are rooted in history.
2. The boundedly rational decision-making practices of the individual agents that comprise the organization are the foundation for organizational learning.
3. Uncertainty absorption happens at every node in the system as subordinates condense their input data into output recommendations to their superiors. This information compression is lossy (March and Simon, 1958).
4. A consensus need not be obtained for general organizational choices. For example, it may be appropriate to allow the majority opinion to take precedence.
5. The choice made by the organization is binary (go/no go).
6. The company must make integrated decisions that are essentially repetitive: quasi-repetitive in that the tasks are usually integrated, indicating that the task is too complicated for a single agent to handle and comparable but not identical to the prior tasks.

Since it is expected that the jobs under consideration cannot be broken down into smaller tasks, it is possible that the right answer for the main task will not always result from combining the correct answers to each smaller task.



Source: Dupouet and Yıldızoglu (2006)

These models are used in one, multiple, or a combination by all decision-making structures. At some point, a hierarchy may deploy democratic teams and a committee may take the place of a single ‘middle manager’. The models mentioned above are fundamental. Organizations, however, might not always match these ‘clean’ designs precisely. Organizations frequently have non-hierarchical connections and non-symmetric designs due to a variety of reasons. Applications of information technology, like email and workflow, for instance, create different structural forms in today's environment. While some organizational cultures place a strong emphasis on the chain of command, others promote lateral communication across functional boundaries.

Five essential criteria were used to investigate their effects on organizational learning and performance. A succinct explanation of each is given below:

Number of agents. The total number of people at the lowest tier of the organizational hierarchy.

Bits per agent. The quantity of evidence pieces that every agent considers in light of a certain organizational choice.

Decision-making structure. The system of organization that assesses person's capacity for learning. In the past, hierarchies, matrix organizations, democratic teams and expert teams have all been assessed.

Evidence weighting. How the weights of the evidence are distributed to influence organizational decisions. Weighting can be applied in an intelligent or randomized way. It may be dispersed uniformly or grouped. One of the three approaches is usually used to assign weights: uniform, non-uniformly distributed, or non-uniformly clustered. Each piece of evidence has a weight. This process is repeated until all bits have been assigned a weight. When using non-uniformly clustered weights, a weight of one is assigned to the first third of all bits, a weight of five to the next third and a weight of one to the last third.

Breaking down Tasks. Evidence can be viewed by multiple agents simultaneously (overlapping) or by just one agent (non-overlapping). There are two ways to look at overlapping task decomposition: (a) partial, where multiple agents see only a portion of the evidence; or, (b) blocked, where the overlapping is done entirely within a restricted area of the organization, or distributed, where the overlapping occurs throughout the entire organization.

3.1 Organizational Design Performance Model

In their study, Lin and Carley (1995) created 7680 instances that were examined for organizational performance using a total of seven factors. Task environment, organizational structure, task-decomposition scheme, training scenario and agent style are the five factors that determine the type of organization. Proactive agents made an effort to plan ahead for decisions, while reactive agents responded to inputs. Two internal circumstances were examined: the kind and intensity of tension inside. In addition to the matrix organizational structure, Lin and Carley (1995) looked at the three organizational structure types that were studied by Mihavics and Ouksel (1997). Their goal was to ascertain how agent style affected the functioning of the organization. In comparison to elements like organizational structure, job decomposition scheme and work environment, Lin et al. (1995, p. 284) found that ‘agent style is a relatively weak factor in organizational decision-making performance’. Differently put, whether an agent is proactive or reactive has much less impact on organizational learning and performance than other variables, suggesting that organizational architecture is more important than individual agent characteristics. More than 460,000 potential structures can be created by a complicated model that was developed in a recent study by Carley and Lin (1995). The organizational design, task environment, stress, training and agent style characteristics are all included in the model. The simulation of each model is limited to 1,000 decisions, which may not fully display the asymptotic behavior or nearly stationary periods associated with the structures' performance potential. The findings show that making more decisions can occasionally lead to making better ones. There are two possible explanations: either organizations' learning potential is slowed down or limited as the volume of information increases (due to the increased number of possible evidence patterns) or information overload occurs (people are unable to process larger amounts of information).

3.2 Hierarchy

The formal structure of the Exploration and Product Division in this case study predictably fulfils all the requirements of a 'fully hierarchical structure'. The highest possible score, 1, is therefore equal to the sum of the scores for each of Krackhardt's (1994) four graph-theoretic dimensions. Since every employee in the network can reach every other employee, albeit through different paths, the informal structure's connectedness score is likewise 1. Since all connections were taken to be bidirectional, the exchange or hierarchy score is 0, the lowest value that can be obtained. The exchange value would have been higher in this network if the connections were directional. Because the efficiency value (0.924) is less than 1, it can be concluded that there are more outgoing relationships on average than 1 would anticipate given the corresponding formal structure.

4. Conclusion

The aim of this article is to successfully explain the fundamentals of organizational design. Nevertheless, many scholarly work stated that there is no positive relationship between organizational structure and performance. Simultaneously, organizational design plays a significant role on organizational behavior. According to Dalton et al., (1980), the crucial point is that differentiation between span of control, formalization/standardization or other types of structures may not be able to affect behavior at all. Hence, organizational designers design functional structures.

First, it has been shown that the mathematical model proposed by Ouksel et al., (1997) is reliable and capable of producing outcomes that are more broadly applicable. It will be able to investigate more intricate groups with intricate relationships and decision-making powers because of this foundation.

Second, it has been discovered that there are unique phases of organizational effectiveness when dealing with new problems: startup, learning and stability. To ascertain the elements that enable scholars to pinpoint the onset and stabilization points of learning, more research is required. Relaxing some of the model's assumptions about the accuracy and timeliness of input and feedback will increase the realism of the experiments. Understanding a priori assessment of some of the effects of switching organizational designs would be made possible by the knowledge of how different organizational design characteristics affect performance, although the present study extends the knowledge of how organizational design affects to some extent.

There are at least three areas related to organizational learning and performance where more study is required but which are outside the scope of this article. First, it is necessary to assess the influence of the complexity of the decision functions. Second, the modification of decision functions. And, lastly but equally important, the final results could be significantly impacted by the primacy and recency effects.

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[Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article]

GENDER (IN)EQUALITY REVISITED IN LIBERIA FROM A LIBERAL FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE AND BEYOND (2005 – 2022)

Dauda Sekou BILITY*

ABSTRACT

Liberian political landscape has been dominated by male political figures since its independence in 1847. The first elected female president in the country was possible as a result of a post-war election in 2005. However, gender inequality persists in Liberia's public realm, with women continuing to be underrepresented. Women currently make up only 11 percent of the parliament's 103 members. Against this backdrop, this article examines the progress made in addressing gender inequality in the political system of Liberia, focusing on the governments of President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and Ambassador George Manneh Weah, who was elected as President in 2018, evaluating specific empowerment areas. Thus, two key questions are addressed in this vein: During Madam Sirleaf's administration, what advancements were made in the struggle against gender inequality in Liberia's political system? And are those advances being maintained during the presidency of Ambassador Weah? This research article was conducted using qualitative

* Independent Researcher/ Liberia – Bağımsız Araştırmacı/ Liberya.
(meetdaud@yahoo.com) http://orcid.org/0009-0007-8814-0671

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methodology, which was supplemented with data and information gathered from the United Nations Development Index, the Gender Equality Index, the Democracy Index, and Freedom House, as well as relevant scholarly literature.

Keywords: *Sirleaf and Weah's Administrations, Liberia, political system, liberal feminism, gender inequality*

ÖZ

LİBERYA'DA TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET EŞİTSİZLİĞİNE YENİDEN BAKMAK: LİBERAL FEMİNİST PERSPEKTİF VE ÖTESİ (2005 – 2022)

Liberya'nın siyasal alan, 1847'deki bağımsızlığından bu yana erkek siyasi figürlerin hakimiyetindedir. Liberya'da seçilen ilk kadın cumhurbaşkanı, 200''teki savaş sonrası seçim sonucunda mümkün olmuştur. Bu duruma rağmen, ülkenin kamusal alanında cinsiyet eşitsizliği halen devam eden bir olgudur. Diğer bir deyişle, kadınlar siyasal alanda yeterince temsil edilmemektedirler. Kadınlar şu anda parlamentonun 103 üyesinin sadece yüzde 11'lik bir oranına denk gelmektedir. Bu çerçevede, bu makale Liberya'nın siyasi sisteminde cinsiyet eşitsizliğine karşı kaydedilen ilerlemeyi incelemekte Başkan Ellen Johnson Sirleaf'in yanı sıra 2018'de başkan olarak seçilen Büyükelçi George Manneh Weah'ın yönetimlerine odaklanarak belirli güçlendirme alanlarını mercek altına almaktadır. Böylece, çalışma iki temel soru ele almaktadır: Madam Sirleaf'in başkanlığı sırasında Liberya'nın siyasi sisteminde toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğine karşı mücadelede ne gibi ilerlemeler kaydedildi? Peki bu ilerlemeler Büyükelçi Weah'ın başkanlığı sırasında da sürdürülüyor mu? Bu araştırma makalesi, Birleşmiş Milletler Kalkınma Endeksi, Cinsiyet Eşitliği Endeksi, Demokrasi Endeksi ve Freedom House'un yanı sıra ilgili bilimsel literatürden toplanan veri ve bilgilerle desteklenen nitel araştırma yönetmi kullanılarak yürütülmüştür.

Keywords: *Sirleaf and Weah Başkanlıkları, Liberya, siyasal sistem, liberal feminizm, cinsiyet eşitsizliği*

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1. Introduction

When discussing sustainable development, the pursuit of gender balance has taken center stage in international relations. In the case of Liberia, there hasn't been a lot of research done on gender inequality. This article aims to address and explore the status of gender equality in the case of Liberia in Africa since 2006 onwards. Madam Ellen Johnson Sirleaf has been the first elected female head of state in Africa entirely. Having said that, what sorts of challenges exist in Liberian endeavour towards gender equality –precisely participation and empowerment of women –will be addressed and discussed in this work. One of the key contributions of this study is closely intertwined with the fact that liberal feminism or reform-oriented approaches in building attempts towards achieving gender equality are also without challenges. To unravel the impediments in front of gender inequality we need to go beyond liberal feminist approaches.

2. Theoretical Framework

There are theories of International Relations (IR) that provide a more complete picture of gender issues and society. In this way, the greatest explanation for the subject at hand is provided by gender reform feminism, which is linked to the liberal, Marxist, socialist, and post-colonial ideas that have dominated the gender balancing movement since the 1970s. Achieving gender parity in all spheres of society is its aim. The prevalence of imbalance practices—both formal and informal—in the workplace, in the distribution of financial resources, and in the division of labour and family responsibilities has been brought to light by feminist thought. Prior to the 1970s, cultural beliefs placed men in a higher position and denigrated women. Mothering was thought to be a woman's power and responsibility; they were recognized as mothers before, during, and after they were anything else. In this regard, for Judith Lorber,

> *Gender* is now understood to be a social status, a personal identity, and a set of relationships between women and men, and among women and men. *Sex* is no longer seen as a one-way input or basic material for social arrangements, but a complex interplay of genes, hormones, physiology, environment, and behavior, with loop-back effects. *Sexuality* is understood to be socially constructed as well as physiologically based and emotionally expressed (2001, p. 8).

Judith Lorber grouped the theories of feminism into three wider categories which exhibit their approaches and political strategies as she calls "with regard to the *gendered social order*" in which one of them is 'gender reform feminism' (2001, p. 8). According to Lorber (2001), no national economic data account for the "responsibility of women." Reform feminism argues that gender inequality is systemic, not personal. These disparities result from women being forced into low-wage jobs that are undervalued, from their heavy workloads of taking care of the home and children, and from their unequal access to political office. These prejudices are ingrained in social systems on a national and worldwide level. The overall strategy of gender reform feminism is to achieve the gender balance as a means of reforming the imbalance in the gender social structure, which involves achieving parity between women and men in society, their domestic responsibilities, their access to work and business opportunities, their positions of authority, their political power, their education, health care, and their mandate to increase the number of women in government. To achieve equality between genders, "the social order" must be reformed (Acker, 1987, p. 423). The aim of feminism as a political movement is to achieve legal, social and cultural equality between women and men. Gender inequality takes many different forms, depending on the economic structure and social organization of a particular society, as well as the culture of a particular group within that society. Although we speak of gender inequality, it is usually women who are at a disadvantage compared to men in a similar situation. Women are often paid less for the same or comparable work, which reduces their chances of promotion. There is usually an imbalance between the amount of housework and childcare a woman does compared to her husband, even if they both spend the same amount of time doing paid work outside the home. Gender inequality often refers to the fact that women are paid less for jobs like nursing and childcare than males are for jobs like construction and mining. (Lorber, 2010).

3. Feminist theory, gender equality *and beyond*

The concept of citizenship has not been a part of feminist discussions until the 1990s (Kartal, 2016, p. 60). As the feminists of the first wave of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries fought for voting rights. It is hard to believe that these rights were among those once denied to women of all social classes, races, ethnicities, and religions – "the right to vote, own property and capital, borrow money, inherit money, keep money earned, initiate a divorce, retain custody of children, attend college, become a licensed physician, argue in court and sit on a jury. The theory of equality that 19th century feminists relied on in their fight for women's rights stemmed from liberal political philosophy. Therefore, first-wave feminism's goal was to get equal legal rights for women" (Lorber, 2010, p. 2). Another aspect of the nineteenth-century feminism concentrated on a woman's right to "own" her body and control when and how she got pregnant rather than equal rights for all. In the 20th century, women's authority over legal contraception was a fiercely fought feminist cause, rivalling the battle for suffrage in Western nations. The publication of Simone de Beauvoir's The Second Sex in France in 1949 marked the start of the second wave of the contemporary feminist movement. This comprehensive analysis of women's historical and contemporary situation in the West makes the case that men establish the norms and values and that women are the Other, devoid of the traits that the dominants possess. The performers are men, while the reactors are women. As a result, males are the first sex and women are always the second. According to de Beauvoir, the supremacy of males and the subjugation of women are social constructs rather than biological phenomena: "A woman is not born, but rather becomes; civilization as a whole produces this creature... which is described as feminine" (De Beauvoir, 2011).

It was in the late 1960s that the second wave of feminism became an organised political movement, as young people began to publicly criticise many parts of western culture. Since then, the feminist movement has contributed significantly to social change by drawing attention to the ways in which women continue to face greater social disadvantages than males, by examining the sexual oppressions that women experience, and by putting out suggestions for both legal and political solutions in addition to interpersonal ones (Lorber, 2010). Many feminists focused on advancing women's legal rights, political representation, and access to traditionally male-dominated fields of work and professions during the 1970s and 1980s. Other feminists fought to end sexual harassment and assault of women workers and students, as well as prostitution, pornography, and sexist portrayals of women in the media and other cultural creations. Others concentrated on altering history, language, and knowledge to represent the experiences and contributions of women that had before been marginalised (Lorber 2010).

Lorber further elaborates on feminism's third wave of feminism as a movement of younger generation of feminists in the 1990s, where the notion that male oppression of women is opposed, they follow the curricula in schools as well as a social, economic, and political environment issue that is far less gendered.

Instead, they accept men to be feminist campaigners. They believe that women's agency and female sexuality are forms of power, and that gender equality is the standard (Lorber, 2010).

Given this, Liberal feminism is accepted as one of the early reflections of feminist theory which centred its idea on women’s status in society as secondary and attempted to rebuild this unequal balance in the form of “opportunities and segregation” (Wolff, 2007). The liberal feminists as compared to radical feminists, embrace the argument of “economic re-organization and considerable re-distribution of wealth” (Wendell, 1987, p. 66) given the fact that their key political objectives are revolved around equal opportunity. In this regard, Wendell argues that; political commitments of the liberal feminists are to attain both equal and legal rights and opportunity; the enhancement of women's individual acknowledgment and worth, the encouragement of equal education. In achieving these goals, the role of education as “a major tool of social reform” is crucial (1987, p. 66). Contrary to the radical and Marxist feminists, the role and function of the state is not, in fact, considered as a focal point by liberal feminism. For instance, Oldfiled argues that “Liberal individualism has a conception of citizenship as statuses, and concern has been expressed that the individual’s status as citizen is being undermined in one way or another, principally by governments. Civic republicanism has a conception of citizenship as ‘practice’, and the concern has been that the opportunities for the practice of citizenship are being eroded, again principally by governments” (1990, p. 177).

In the 1990s, issues concerning culture and identity started to examine the concept of citizenship, which led to its inclusion of citizenship in the gender studies. The gendered practices of political citizenship dominate the citizenship of women (Quoted from Brush, 2011, Kartal, 2016, p. 62). Liberal feminism is more easily accepted in the public since it is based on the dominant political and economic ideals of liberalism, or the society in which we live (individual freedom, equal chances, democracy, etc.). Its claims for legal equality are hard to argue against in the modern era; in Western nations, it would be hard to argue against women's access to education or their ability to vote. These are significant wins for liberal feminism that are no longer questioned (Cottais, 2020).

Gender inequality manifests itself in many ways, including the way society is structured (girls in the same social class receive less schooling than males), the economic system, and the customs of any specific group living in that society (Lorber, 2001, p. 4). Even if we talk about gender inequality, it is a truth that women and girls are frequently at a disadvantage compared to men and boys in identical situations. Liberia is not an exception in this sense; in most rural areas, girls' education is not prioritised, particularly when the family cannot afford to pay for the education of both its girls and boys. In this case, boys' education is given preference, as boys are believed to have greater potential to take on familial responsibilities once they reach the age of majority. Girls, meanwhile, are thought to grow up and marry, thereby joining another family; this makes girls' greatest achievement an appropriate marriage. It is important to note that men can also experience disadvantages because of gender inequality. Most men who serve in the armed forces and engage in direct combat are men. Men are typically assigned to perform hazardous jobs including security, firefighting, law enforcement, and military service in many nations. (Lorber, 2001). "Although in this 21st century, women are enlisting in the police and fire department, and in some countries, they fight in wars, a widespread societal assumption about the gender arrangement is that women's responsibility is to take care of the home" (Reiter, 2012, p. 12).

The nature of politics in general and liberal democracy in particular raises another contextual difficulty regarding the political engagement of men and women: historically, liberal democracy has benefited males more than women. The public-private divide, which has served as the foundation for political regimes ever since, has kept women in the home. This gender disparity can be traced back to ancient Greece. In fact, women had no place in politics, according to philosophers and political scientists like Hegel, Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, Locke, and Hobbes, who believed that women were better suited for caring responsibilities as spouses and mothers.

Women were not recognized as national decision-makers in ancient Greece; in turn, women's concerns were side-lined in democratic theories (Sonwalkar, 2003). They were denied the right to vote, and suffragists utilised this paradigm to demand the right to vote until liberal political philosophy of the 19th century advanced the idea of the "free and rational" individual. But according to Rai, the conceptual underpinnings of liberal philosophy are intrinsically gendered in ways that uphold patriarchal norms and disregard the subordination of women in both the politics and society (2000, p. 2). Furthermore, feminist researchers argued that liberal theory's concept of the abstract individual is not wholly gender neutral and questioned it. They argued that women were restricted to the home sphere since liberal democratic thought was based on the idea that males were political actors (Pateman, 1996). This is the reason why, despite having the ability to vote, women are unable to effectively influence public policy or bring the private sphere under the public domain.

4. Lessons from Liberia

The idea of gender inequity is not new, particularly in traditional African civilization. There are many gaps in the global utilisation of human resources because of gender inequality in this day. For some reason, the situation is somewhat different in other parts of the world because there is an equal opportunity for everyone to demonstrate their skills, regardless of gender representation. From a narrow viewpoint, gender inequality disadvantages women, which may be connected to the percentage of illiterate women in Liberia (Jallah, Larsala, & Baah, 2021). On the one hand, Liberia today is considered as a ‘partly free’ country and exemplifying in the region where elections are conducted through contestation and are competitive, the violence against women is still one of the critical issues in the country (Freedom House, 2024).

During Liberia’s 14-year civil war, it was men’s responsibility to fight. The soldiers and commanders of various warring groups were predominantly men and boys. While the men were on the front lines, women were supposed to stay behind and take care of the elderly and young in refugee camps. Despite the diversity of ethnic groups that make up Liberian society, each adhering to unique customs and traditions (Guannnu, 1999), gender-based practices persist among them, particularly the notion that women should take care of the home (Gibbs, 1965, p. 208). Many women in Liberia lack the opportunity to reach positions of authority at the national level as a result of these cultural norms and expectations.

For example, the percentage of time that men and women spend on household tasks is stated in the United Nations (UN) report on women in Liberia (Phillips, 1998; Rai, 2000). In addition, in the realm of politics, women’s representation in the bicameral legislative system, which consists of the House of Representatives and the House of Senate, is severely disproportionate to that of men in Liberia. As of 2011, the House of Representatives consists of 73 seats and the Senate consists of 30 seats, 2 for each of the 15 political subdivisions. Women had only 11% of the 103 total seats, according to the UN Report on Women in Liberia (UN Women, 2021). Women are forced to engage in traditional politics, which benefits the majority gender, as a result of their underrepresentation in the national legislature.

5. Key Factors Affecting Gender Balance

Numerous studies have been conducted in the literature that outline the barriers that prevent women from participating in politics in some, if not all, African nations. Those include political violence, party preferences, the illiteracy and employment gaps, empowerment, cultural and traditional norms, and the stereotyping of women. Fear of torture and intimidation is linked to political activity in many African countries. Although it is evident that men are equally impacted by this, women face more barriers to participating in local and national politics. It is common in Liberia. Ben Manbande (2017) asserts that:

> Electoral violence, usually committed along tribal and partisan lines, has been commonplace in sub-Saharan Africa, and Liberia has been singled out as a nation where political actors feel entitled to endless impunity while their actions have led to the deaths of many people and the destruction of properties (Jallah et al., 2021, p. 7).

Political Parties' Preferences for Gender. Political parties are the most practical mechanism for electing persons to public office in a number of African nations, primarily in West Africa. The political engagement and representation of women in election processes are undermined by the institutional beliefs and policies of these organisations. Political parties designate candidates for both local and national elections; these candidates garner support from the public, contribute a sizeable portion of the parties' overall financial commitment, and develop policies related to government (Iknowpolitics, 2019). Liberia's political parties are not unique in this regard. It is challenging for political parties to nominate women for elected office due to the disparity in economic power between men and women as well as societal views about women's roles. Instead, all parties must carefully select candidates who are well-liked by the public and who have the necessary influence to lead. Numerous female candidates faced intimidation and threats during the 2017 presidential and congressional elections. At their campaign event, some were forcibly removed from the stage, and their billboards were demolished. According to reports, certain political party officials even intimidated Ms. MacDella Cooper, a female presidential candidate running on their platform (NDI, 2016).

In Liberia, there were twenty-five political parties as of 2018, just two of which had female leaders. Since many women have little interest in politics, the political elites have fewer women to choose from when nominating them. Women have disadvantages in election processes due to these beliefs and the political strategies of the parties, and their unequal involvement in decision-making processes impedes the achievement of gender parity in society and the achievement of sustainable development goals by 2030.

Employment Gap between Men and Women. Family characteristics have a major impact on employment for both men and women, but women are disproportionately affected, according to Kay Lehman Schlozman, Nancy Burns, and Sidney Verba (2001) in their study titled "A Multistage Model of Gender, Employment, and Political Participation." For example, a woman's capacity to work full-time is more likely to be impacted by marriage and having preschool-aged children than by her spouse. Men and women use somewhat different pathways to enter the economy and eventually land a full-time job. Since volunteering is one of the safer routes to take, more men than women end up in formal employment.

When it comes to fulfilling familial responsibilities, men typically continue working in families where both parents are present, while women take on unpaid caregiving duties at home (Schlozman et al., 1999). Alternatively, these obligations may force men to pursue full-time work while women take on part-time work. It is implied that women are less likely than males to work full-time and that they seek out different kinds of employment. As a result, women who do enter the economy typically hold lower-level positions.

According to demographic figures, there is a significant gender employment gap in Liberia between men and women working in non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and the civil service. According to the research, there is a greater disparity in the employment rates of men and women, accounting for both formal and informal labour. In this regard, the Republic of Liberia’s Gender Ministry Report from January 2009 states:

> Women are disproportionately clustered in the least productive sectors with 90% employed in the informal sector or in agriculture, compared to 75% of working men. Men are more than three times more likely to be employed by the civil service, NGOs, international organizations, or public corporations. The manufacturing sector hires men at a rate of 2 men for every 1 woman. In mining and panning, more than 9 men are hired to every 1 woman. In forestry, the ratio of men to women is 4 to 1 and in the services sector, it is 3 to 2, men to women respectively. Only in agriculture and fisheries are men and women employed on an equal basis (MoGD, 2009, p. 23).

Non-governmental organisations (NGOs), state corporations, and Liberia's civil service agencies employ women three times less frequently than do men (CWIQ, 2007). Put otherwise, the working class in Liberia is made up of three times as many men as women. Specifically, the proportion of men in the working class is 25.5 percent, while the proportion of women in the working class is much lower at 8.0 percent. It can be observed that somewhat less than half of Liberians in the working class work unpaid in the household, on farms or in other agricultural fields, or in unofficial economic sectors. Of those working as unpaid family carers, women make up 56% of the workforce, while males make up 34%. Significantly, 74% of all women employed in Liberia are “informal labourers, and 41% of women with university education work informally, compared to 24% of men with university education” (CFR, 2024). This clearly demonstrates the significant job gap that exists in Liberia between men and women. Until these issues are resolved, women and girls will continue to face significant impediments to political involvement and to be underrepresented in politics.

Education/literacy. Numerous studies in the literature have confirmed that the great majority of rural constituencies in a normal African state are typically blamed for being inaccessible, lacking in pertinent services, and having inadequate education. Because of this, the residents of these rural regions have few, if any, prospects for actual empowerment. This has also increased the rate of illiteracy and decreased the opportunity for personal growth that could lead to assuming leadership positions in political activity. These factors negatively impact men and women's political potential, but they erect greater obstacles for women. Because their societies are more receptive to their struggles for power, men have more alternatives for robust responses. The Gender, Children and Social Protection Ministry of Liberia (2009) reports that the literacy rate for men in rural communities is 60 percent, while it is 86 percent for men in urban communities. For women, this is a startlingly low rate of 26 percent compared to 61 percent for women in urban communities. Additionally, there are significant gender differences in secondary school attendance, particularly for high school in both rural and urban areas. The gender difference in high school attendance is less pronounced in urban areas than it is in rural ones, but there are still more boys than girls enrolled. In rural communities, the net attendance per ratio for girls is as low as 6%, and for boys it is 13%. In metropolitan communities, girls make up between 29 and 32 percent of the total number of attendees among boys (Demographic Survey, 2007).

A 2009 report from the Ministry of Gender, Children, and Social Protection (2009) states that 64.7% of the country's population is literate, with 78.1 percent living in urban areas and 21.9 percent in rural areas. In the meantime, men outnumbered women in terms of literacy rates: whereas 77.0 percent of men are literate, only 54% of women are. Women's political engagement is also severely hampered by the literacy problem.

Role of Traditional and Cultural Norms. In Liberia, customs and cultural norms have a big influence on whether women participate in politics. According to George (2019), customs and traditions that have an impact on the social structure all have an impact on women's capacity to participate in politics, both in rural constituencies and the national polity, as well as their potential to rise to prominence and become electable within the national polity. The patriarchal family structure that permeates society is the root of the difficulties that women encounter in these countries. Under this arrangement, men have the exclusive authority to decide what to do and take charge of the household. Particularly in the rural areas, these kinds of traditional ideas and cultural approaches—particularly about women's responsibilities and standing in society—remain unwavering (Sadie, 2005).

The responsibilities that traditional members of society play, and the division of labour are still determined by gender. Women are confined to and placed in household responsibilities (Kangas et al., 2015). Consequently, women's formal political engagement remains impeded by the prevailing conception of the female gender identity, which is primarily domestic and caregiving in character.

6. Administrations' Achievements from 2006 to 2022

Appointed Positions: As president, out of 21 ministries, Madam Sirleaf appointed women to head six: Finance, Commerce, Justice, Youth and Sports, Gender Children and Social Protection, and Ministry of the Interior. Then, several women were appointed by Madam Sirleaf as junior ministers of the government. For instance, there were 318 Directors in total at the Civil Service Institutions. After Madame Sirleaf's appointments, 52 of them were women. Also, Madam Sirleaf continued this commitment by appointing two women judges to the five-judge bench of the Supreme Court of Liberia. Liberia has 15 political subdivisions, each being represented to the president as a "superintendent." President Sirleaf appointed women to five of the 15 superintendent positions (Knights, 2014). In addition, six of the 22 Liberian ambassadors she appointed to serve in various allied countries were women.

On the other hand, addressing the participants during the international conference for women known as the 'Sheroes Forum', held in Liberia in 2018, President Weah expressed his commitment to women's empowerment and referred to himself as a 'feminist in chief'. President Weah recalled to Liberian women and other international women on this opportunity that when she was contesting for the presidency, she chose a woman, Madam Jewel Howard Taylor, as her vice-presidential candidate. Besides, he appointed numerous women to senior government positions, and took a series of actions to emphasize his support for the cause of women's advancement (The Executive Mansion, 2018).

President Weah appointed women as heads of several ministries including Health and Social Welfare, Gender, Children and Social Protection, Commerce, Public Works and Agriculture. The number of women ministers in the cabinet was five out of 19 (UN Women, 2021). Likewise, Weah nominated a number of women, including the directors of the National Fisheries Authority and the Liberia Free Port, as deputy ministers and directors of various ministries and agencies, respectively. Under his leadership, out of the 318 directors of civil service institutions in Liberia, 40 were women. In 2018, immediately after he became president, Weah completed three appointments to the Supreme Court of Liberia: two men, and one woman who serves as the chief justice. The total number of women at the Supreme Court remains two. From among the 15 political subdivisions, President Weah appointed three women superintendents. In addition, President Weah appointed 24 ambassadors and charge affairs (diplomatic agents), eight of whom are women, to represent Liberia in allied countries around the world (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2022).

Education: The Liberian Education Trust (LET) was established within the first year of President Sirleaf's administration to meet the needs of Liberian women with regards to education. It is fair to say that this is an exceptionally active group. It has built more than 50 schools, recruited more than 500 teachers and trained women through intensive programmes. It also provided scholarships to about 5,000 women and girls enrolled in formal education and literacy initiatives. Equally important, as of three years after its launch, LET reportedly had reached every county through its buildings, literacy, and scholarship programs (Knights, 2015). In this context, the rating of writing and reading of females ages 15 and above is imperative to examine. Prior to 2005, female literacy rate was around 20 percent. It raised to 27 percent in 2007, while this rate reached to 34 percent in 2017; meanwhile, according to World Bank statistics, education expenditure at the time accounted for 6.5 percent of the Liberian national budget, while military expenditure accounted for only 0.7 percent. Considering that the funds allocated to education are higher than the funds allocated to the military, it would be a fair claim to say that the Sirleaf administration gave high priority to human development.

Since President Weah took office in 2018, promoting education of girls has been one of his most significant achievements. There has been incremental improvement in female education. Before 2018, the literacy rate of females ages 15 and above was 27 percent; as of 2018 the rate stood at 34.1 percent. When national education and military expenditures for 2020 and 2021 under President Weah are compared, we observe the following figures: education expenditures accounted for 13.7 percent of the national budget in 2020 and 6.9 percent in 2021, while military expenditures were measured at 0.9 percent in 2020 and 1 percent in 2021. Thus, a commitment to human capacity development, including education for women, is evident within the Weah administration. That being said, in spite of this incremental progress, much still needs to be done to address the large gender gap in the education sector due to the underrepresentation of women. Liberia ranks 178th out of 191 countries and territories in this area. “low human development category” (HDI, 2022).

In accordance with the data provided by UNESCO, the literacy rate of the country stands at 48.3 percent in 2022. In rural areas, ratio for the adult literacy is 34 percent - 48.4 percent and 24.1 percent for male and female respectively (Global Giving, 2023).

7. Women’s Empowerment and Challenges in Liberia

The Sirleaf administration has undertaken an intervention to strengthen young girls, especially with the necessary skills that will enable them to be economically stable, make healthy choices and protect themselves from sexual abuse. In line with this purpose, The Liberian Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection initiated the Empowerment of Adolescent Girls and Young Women (EPAG) project in 2009. The main objective of this project was to increase the employment and income of 2.500 young Liberian women by offering training in livelihood and life skills, and easing their transition to productive work:

> Smooth the path of adolescent girls to productive employment through job skills training and business development services. The training will focus on technical skills, as well as the integration of life skills training to address some of the crucial barriers to the development of adolescent girls in Liberia. A program as such is beneficial to the Liberian adolescent girls as they will learn skill that would transcend the conventional female’s skills like sewing and cooking (Adoho et al., 2014).

As a result of EPAG, the employment rate for women increased from 47 percent to 60 percent in 2011 (Knights, 2015). In addition, positive improvements were found in a number of empowerment indicators. The most important of these indicators are financial availability, self-esteem and concerns about the present and future. During Sirleaf's Presidency, UN reports assert that Liberia has taken steps to fulfil the recommendations of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women which is set up for monitoring the compliance with the Convention of all types of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). Liberian government signed the Convention on October, 1998. As of 2009, in a report provided by the Committee on Elimination of Discrimination against Women, the Liberian Minister of Gender and Development, Vabah Gayflor stated that; "the Government was working to create a more equal and non-discriminatory society, economy and State by making gender mainstreaming a priority in the country's development .... We are in the process of writing a new history for our nation's women and girls" (Reliefweb, 2009). The Committee experts recognized the Liberian government is committed to women's empowerment, however, "urged that more be done to meet the challenges head on. One expert noted that 44 per cent of Liberian women over the age of 20 had experienced violence in their lifetime and 22 per cent of Liberian women overall had experienced violence in the past year" (Reliefweb, 2009).

In most cases, Weah administration has remained committed to women's empowerment and has made significant efforts to eradicate gender discrimination and ensure equal access to economic empowerment. His administration brought an end to a contentious issue for Liberians concerning land ownership. Since the end of the civil war, Liberian government has granted concession companies access to indigenous lands. Following four years of robust discussions on the Land Rights Act, President Weah signed it into law in September 2018. With this new land law, individuals could obtain ownership of their indigenous lands by providing the authorities with evidence such as oral testimony, maps and documented agreements with neighbours. Customary land was not accessible to women prior to the passage of the Land Act. In the communities they married into, they were often viewed as outsiders and thus were not allowed to participate in land decisions. Since the enactment of the Act, many rural women have taken advantage of this provision to obtain land and thus achieve economic independence. As a result, their socio-economic status has improved and they are now participating in local decision-making processes related to the management of land, as well as other natural resources.

UN Women in Liberia, through the Government of Liberia with the support of the Women's Economic Empowerment (WEE) unit, organised a capacity building programme for women in 2019, focusing on agriculture and providing access to agricultural tools and high quality seeds for investment, benefiting 576 women and 60 men. This was to guarantee that they had enough funds to invest in their own Village Savings and Credit Associations and to run their own agricultural enterprises (VSLAs). A VSLA is a self-sustaining and self-managed organization of 20 to 30 women in a targeted community that can borrow money. Additionally, over 50 rural women between the ages of 25 and 58 from 15 counties in Liberia now have the necessary knowledge and skills to prepare, package and market rice and cassava. This is the successful outcome of a technical workshop on building value chains for rice and cassava, organised with the support of UN Women's regional office in Dakar. These women, who have now acquired new knowledge and skills, are actively engaged as local trainers for other rural women. 500 young women and girls were subjected to a 9-month training programme. The main focus of these trainings was on reading and numeracy skills, which will also benefit the development of company formation and financial management skills. Other programmes were also available. For example, 200 young women also participated in vocational skills training, including cosmetology and tailoring, not to mention sexual and reproductive health training, including menstrual hygiene management. Rural women farmers trading in agricultural products in south-eastern Liberia have established 16 new VSLA groups comprising a total of 420 rural women entrepreneurs. These are in line with international commitments such as the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, the aforementioned CEDAW and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, but also with national priorities set out in the Pro-Poor Agenda for Prosperity and Development (2019-2023), the National Gender Policy, the Women's Economic Empowerment Unit's work to promote gender equality and women's empowerment. During Weah’s Presidency, the country also initiated the global campaign “16 Days of Activism to Eliminate Violence Against Women” in the centre of Monrovia (UN Liberia, 2018).

a. Women's Participation in Elections (2005–2016)

A series of recommendations of the National Electoral Commission on the registration of political parties and independent candidates were applied in the 2005 elections with the aim of increasing women's participation and representation in the political process. The recommendations indicated that political parties should nominate no less than 30 percent of either gender for public elected offices and its governing council; yet, the electoral law did not contain this quota and the NEC did not use penalties for those who failed to comply with the requirement. Consequently, of the 21 political parties that participated in the elections, only the Liberian Labour Party (LPL) was able to pass the 30 percent threshold. In the 2005 elections, the percentages of women candidates in the three most prominent political parties were as follows: Congress for Democratic Change (CDC) 21.7 percent, Unity Party 8.8 percent and Freedom Party 22 percent. In total, 109 out of 802 candidates in 2005 were women, or about 14 percent. The 2005 elections were very important in the sense that they were the elections with the highest proportion of women. 14 percent of candidates elected to the 64-member House of Representatives were women; 17 percent of the 30-seat Senate were women (UNDP, 2021). This election also brought the first woman president and 14 women out of a total of 105 elected officials, including 13 women in the legislature.

Figure 1: Percentage of Women's Political Participation in 2005 Election

Location	Total Number	Men	Women	Percentage of Women
President	22	20	2	9%
Vice-President	22	21	1	4.5%
Senate	215	194	21	9.7%
Representatives	543	458	85	15.6%
Candidates	802	693	109	13.5%
Elected officials	105	91	14	13%
Registered Voters	1,352,720	676,340	676,360	50%

Source: NEC Voter Registration Statistics, 2005.

When it comes to the 2011 elections, women made up 49 percent of the total electorate and there was one woman as a presidential candidate. Of the 860 candidates who registered and applied for parliamentary, presidential and vice-presidential seats, 158 were women. As observed in the 2011 elections, this apparent under-representation of women is a natural consequence of the gender quota regulation, which was agreed upon but had serious problems in its implementation. During this election, nine women were elected at the legislature, including one elected during the representative by-elections in 2015. In these elections, five of the incumbent women representatives were re-elected and three new women representatives were elected. In the Senate, there was a highly competitive race for 15 seats, but only one-woman candidate was elected. In the new legislature, the number of woman representatives was eight, and two senators, indicating that the proportion of women lawmakers decreased from 16 percent in 2006 to less than 10 percent in 2012, and 11 percent from 2014 to 2017.

Figure 2: Percentage of Women's Political Participation in the 2011 Elections

Location	Total Number	Men	Women	Percentage of Women
President	16	15	1	6%
Vice-President	16	15	1	6%
Senate	248	238	10	4%
Representatives	580	450	130	22%
Candidates	860	702	158	18.3%
Elected officials	90	82	8	9%
Register. Voters	1,798,930	920,448	878,482	49%

Source: NEC Voter's Registration Statistics, 2011.

b. Women Participations in Elections (2017–2022)

In 2014, the new electoral law was amended to include the expression "endeavour to ensure". Nevertheless, there was no precise and thorough explanation of what this phrase meant, nor was there any accountability for it (Elections Law, 2014). During the 2017 Representative and Presidential elections, only one of the 24 registered political parties or coalitions complied with the recommended 30 percent gender quota in the candidate lists, and the Liberia Restoration Party had the only female presidential candidate. When the candidate lists of the three largest parties and the coalition formed are analysed, a very striking finding emerges. The lists of these actors are not even close to fulfilling the proposed gender quota: The Coalition for Democratic Change had 11.5 percent of the gender quota, the Unity Party 17 percent and the Freedom Party 10 percent (UNDP, 2020). During the presidential and representative elections in 2017, women remained fully engaged, as in the 2011 general elections, constituting 49 percent of the total eligible voters, yet 16 percent of candidates. Regardless of this deep commitment to the political process, the number of representatives remained the same at nine women and 64 men, while the number of senators remained the same at two women and 28 men, bringing the total number of women deputies to 12.3 per cent. In 2021, this percentage dropped and is now below 11 per cent. The total number of women elected is therefore 10, with two more women in the Senate.

Figure 3: Percentage of Women's PoliticalParticipation in 2017 Election

Location	Total Number	Men	Women	Percentage of Women
President	20	19	1	5%
Vice-President	20	14	6	30%
Senate	NA			
Representatives	984	828	156	15.8%
Candidates	1024	861	163	16%
Elected officials	705	696	10	1.4%
Register. Voters	2,183,683	1,120,950	1,062,733	49%

Source: NEC Voter's Registration Statistics, 2017.

c. Policies to Enhance Gender Equality

Article 5 of the Organic Law of Liberia sets requirements for national unity in a single polity. As a result, laws are enacted to enable and encourage the participation of all citizens in the political system. This establishes the legal framework for policies that address inequalities. In this regard, one of the notable policies under Madam Sirleaf was the participation of the Liberian government, women's NGOs and civil society groups, religious groups, youth and community-based organizations, public and commercial institutions in the multidimensional strategy group that formulated the National Gender Policy (NGP) in 2009. This strategy, which demands an interdisciplinary effort and approach, is a gender policy that is vital to the continued stability of Liberia. Minister of Gender, Children and Social Protection Vabah K. Gayflor explained the importance of the NGP and the role it plays in Liberia's growth and stability:

> The Government of Liberia is strongly committed to gender equality as a means of maintaining peace, reducing poverty, enhancing justice, and

> promoting development in the country. It is the furtherance of this commitment, that a National Gender Policy was developed in 2009 through a wide consultative process with inputs from various stakeholders. The policy recommends that gender mainstreaming and gender budgeting should be adopted as a development approach and shall inform the economic reform agenda, medium and long-term development planning, value reorientation, social transformation, and other development initiatives of government (MoGD, 2009, p. 9).

The NGP aims to promote gender-sensitive systems so that both women and men can take part in the public sphere and benefit equally from development initiatives (Knights, 2015). This policy shows the willingness of Sirleaf's administration to embrace gender equality. Her administration made some progress in closing the gender gap in political participation, such as with the electoral law. In March 2013, The Liberian Senate overwhelmingly agreed to ratify the Electoral Reform Legislation of 2011 contained in Section 4.5 (1A): "*In submitting to the Commission, a list of candidates for elective office, a political party or coalition should endeavor to ensure that the governing body and its list of candidates should have no less than 30 percent of its members from each gender*." The reason for this policy as explained under (1B) of the electoral law, "*Is to support the move to gender equity in the representation of both genders in the governance of political parties and in the list of candidates they present for every election*" (Elections Law, 2014). Several national policies have been implemented by the Sirleaf administration to deal with various aspects of Liberian women's political participation and underrepresentation.

In 2018, during President Weah's administration, another very important development occurred. On this year, the National Gender Policy (NGP), which mandates the promotion of gender equality at all levels of government, approved the policy and legislation for action on women's political participation. Furthermore, it is the first pillar of the national government's agenda under the theme Pro-Poor for Prosperity and Development (PAPD): *Power to the People* is to increase the number of women who participate in politics at the national and municipal levels in order to meet the target of 30 percent by 2023. Another important policy achievement, the importance of which should not be overlooked and should be emphasized accordingly, occurred in 1986. The 1986 Electoral Law was amended to require 30% representation of both men and women on the executive boards of all political parties and coalitions in Liberia. Nonetheless, implementation and penalizing those who do not comply with the 30 percent gender quota has been unsuccessful.

The House of Representatives enacted a modified version of Section 4.5 in February 2022, during Weah's administration, outlining the procedures for enforcement and punishment: "*the National Elections Commission can reject candidate listings that do not meet the 30% quota*." This development has left all political parties and coalitions operating within Liberia's political system with no choice but to comply with the electoral law, which is committed to reducing the inequality gap between men and women.

A variety of regional and global legal frameworks have been accepted by Liberia in order to advance women's political and civil rights both locally and nationally. These include the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), and the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women – The Maputo Protocol. In order to fulfil Sustainable Development Goal 5 on Gender Equality, which fosters equality and socio-economic development, in 2019, the Liberian national legislature introduced a draft domestic violence law that aims to protect vulnerable persons and also provides for corrective measures for perpetrators who violate the law. The Liberian government also established a sex offenders' registry and allocated $2 million in 2020 (UNPRESS, 2020).

8. Conclusion

Presidents Sirleaf and Weah have had different administrative agendas during their administrations. This is mainly due to the different needs of Liberians during their terms in office. Yet, when it comes to gender equality and the empowerment of Liberian women, it must be said that the two leaders share similarities. Madame Sirleaf was certainly more vocal in her support for women's rights. However, throughout her administration, she has not achieved any results that would suggest that she has prioritized gender-centered policies more than President Weah. Both Presidents have performed equally well in putting gender-centered policies first and taking institutional measures to close the enormous gender divide. Both leaders stayed in office and demonstrated a continued commitment to gender equality and women's empowerment. This is mainly because there is a clear recognition that much more needs to be done to address gender inequalities in Liberia's political system if the country is to have sustainable development.

Yet, the findings of this research illustrate that state institutions in Liberia remain largely male-dominated. According to the Human Development Index (2022), Liberia is ranked 178th out of 191 nations worldwide for gender disparity, and 163rd out of 185 countries for having more women in parliament (UNDP, 2022). Women hold only 11 percent of the 103 seats in the Liberian National Legislature as of 2021. These statistics show that women and girls are underrepresented, given that they make up 47.3 percent of the country's population according to the 2008 census. Women aged 20-24 who were married or in a relationship before the age of 18 constitute 35.9 percent of the female population. It is important to acknowledge that this has a significant impact on women's employment in Liberia as well as their ability to participate equally in politics. Marriage and having children impose more commitments and responsibilities on women than on men. Women are more likely to engage in unpaid care and domestic work. As of 2021, 6.7 percent of the time spent by women and girls aged 15 years and over corresponds to 2.6 percent of the time spent by men. The World Bank Development Index emphasize that the employment rate of women is 47.4 percent, making their financial strength and influence on the public sphere low compared to men.

Additionally, this study revealed that women's participation in schooling is minimal. The literacy rates indicate that the proportion of women to men who can read and write, and can understand common daily activities from ages 15 and above is just 34 percent. However, this rate among men is 63 percent. These are the factors that hinder women's equal political participation in Liberia's national governance. To succeed in closing the gender inequality gap in Liberia's political system, these key obstacles must be fully tackled.

Liberal feminism contributed significantly to the advancement of feminism, particularly first-wave feminism, but as it assimilated into society’s norms, it progressively lost its appeal. Despite the fact that, many feminist theories focused on advancing women's legal rights, political representation, and access to traditionally male-dominated fields of work during the 1970s and 1980s, addressing and unpacking the impediments in achieving gender equality in the case of Liberia necessitates an intersectional understanding as well as the role of state and the socio-economic disparity that women are embedded. Through aiming to create unity and inspire the masses, liberal feminist action was meant to become innocuous and unquestioning. Its foundation in individualistic, neo-liberal principles also hinders the theorization of women's oppression as collective, systematic, and structural (Cottais, 2020).

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[Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article]

CLASH OF IDEOLOGIES, CIVIL WAR AND THE RISE OF HOUTHIS IN YEMEN: THE IMPLICATIONS OF REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ACTORS

Madiya BANO*

ABSTRACT

Yemen, a country located at geo-strategic nexus of international trade routes, is beleaguered by a civil conflict and has descended into one of the most severe humanitarian crises witnessed in contemporary history. The civil strife, which erupted in March 2015 as widely documented, has intensified due to the engagement of multiple international actors, each pursuing divergent political agendas and advancing respective strategic interests. This article, in this regard, aims to explain how the diverging ideologies eventually precipitated the emergence of an armed political faction—the Houthis. While the article acknowledges the significance of internal dynamics in a civil conflict, it also underscores that the role of overriding international stakes must not be undermined. To understand the intricate web of interests and strategic objectives, the article examines historical context and the role of local, regional, and international actors. It aims to unravel the intricacies of the conflict to provide a comprehensive understanding of the

* Independent Researcher / Denmark – Bağımsız Araştırmacı / Danimarka (madiya2022@gmail.com) https://orcid.org/0009-0008-9386-5201

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underlying dynamics in the hope to pave a way for the potential solution through reconciliation of various stakeholders involved in the conflict.

Keywords: *Yemeni Civil War, humanitarian crises, Houthis, geopolitical interests, international actors, strategic objectives*

ÖZ

İDEOLOJİLERİN ÇATIŞMASI, İÇ SAVAŞ VE YEMEN'DE HUSİLERİN YÜKSELİŞİ: BÖLGESEL VE ULUSLARARASI AKTÖRLERİN ETKİLERİ

Yemen, uluslararası ticaret yollarının jeostratejik kavşağında yer alan bir ülke, iç savaşla mücadele etmekte ve çağımızın en ağır insani krizlerinden birine sürüklenmiştir. Mart 2015'te patlak veren ve geniş şekilde belgelenen iç çatışma, farklı siyasi gündemler yürüten ve kendi stratejik çıkarlarını ilerletmeye çalışan birçok uluslararası aktörün dahil olmasıyla şiddetlenmiştir. Bununla birlikte, Yemen'in karşı karşıya olduğu karmaşıklık mevcut çatışmanın ötesine geçmekte, ülkenin onlarca yıldır karşılaştığı zorlukların bir güç mücadelesini yansıtmaktadır. Bu makale, güncel dinamikleri kapsamlı bir şekilde anlamayı kolaylaştırmak için, tarihsel itici güçlerin zengin bir değerlendirmesini sunmaktadır. Bu çalışma, farklılaşan ideolojilerin zamanla silahlı bir siyasi fraksiyonun—Husilerin—ortaya çıkmasına nasıl yol açtığını irdeleyecektir. Ayrıca, bölgedeki etki mücadelesi ve böylece farklı fraksiyonlara çeşitli yabancı güçlerin desteği, çatışmanın diplomatik yollarla çözülmesine yönelik çabaları engellemekte ve böylece çatışmanın devamına katkıda bulunmaktadır. Makale, bir iç çatışmada iç dinamiklerin önemini kabul etmekle birlikte, baskın uluslararası payların rolünün göz ardı edilmemesi gerektiğini de vurgulamaktadır. Çatışmanın karmaşıklıklarını çözmeyi ve çatışmaya dahil çeşitli tarafların uzlaşması yoluyla potansiyel bir çözüm için zemin hazırlamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Yemen İç Savaşı, insani krizler, Husiler, jeopolitik çıkarlar, uluslararası aktörler, stratejik hedefler*

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1. Introduction

Yemen is situated at southwestern part of the Arabian Peninsula, with the Arabian Sea to the south and the Red Sea to the west; the importance of this geography cannot be emphasized enough. It has been at the intersection of world trade routes and its significance has come to the fore recently with the ongoing war in Gaza since October 7th, 2023. Besides its strategic significance, it is economically attractive as an oil producer with several offshore oil and natural gas deposits. However, for almost a decade, Yemen has been wracked by the civil war that originated from a domestic power struggle. The convergence of various geopolitical interests and competing agendas of regional and global powers has plunged the country into a devastating humanitarian crisis and rendered the conflict intractable. The current literature on Yemeni Civil War lacks considerable attention to Yemeni society, hence the aim of this article is to highlight the fragility of Yemeni society through a comprehensive analysis of the rise of Houthis as a political force and their historical roots. In light of this, the article offers a rich evaluation of the underlying societal dynamics while also touching upon the political, and strategic drivers of the current civil war. In addition, the article postulates that Yemen’s delicate societal fabric over the course of centuries rendered it fragile, however with the onset of international intervention, Yemen devolved from a fragile to a broken state. Although main focus of this article is the clash of ideologies and rise of Houthis in Yemen, a brief analysis of external dynamics is imperative to provide a holistic view of the conflict.

The introduction section is followed by the conceptual framework which discusses a brief literature review of the theories applied to analyze the external dynamics. The third section provides a comprehensive analysis of Yemen’s historical experiences both from religious and societal perspective. This section is more of a historical analysis, thus devoid of specific theoretical framework and is intentionally longer as it is pivotal for understanding the current situation. It is divided in two sub-sections; the first part focuses on how various Islamic ideologies gained ground in Yemeni society and how they differed from one another. To understand the intricacies of current conflict, one must understand the inherent complexities that lie at the very core of the Yemeni society. The second sub-section explains how these diverging ideologies and their exploitation by political forces eventually culminated in the rise of a political armed group, the Houthis. The third section concludes with the argument that these experiences rendered Yemen a fragile state, an analysis supported by weak state literature. The fourth section contends that with the onset of international intervention, Yemen’s status plunged from a fragile state to that of a broken state. It discusses external power intervention including both regional and extra-regional actors. Unlike historical analysis, this section focuses on current geopolitical dynamics and neorealist theoretical framework helps to assess these developments better. The quest for regional domination turned Yemen a battleground for the playout of geopolitical rivalry between Saudi Arabia and Iran through their respective support to local actors, analyzed through neorealist theory of offensive realism. Furthermore, overriding international stakes and involvement of extra-regional actors in the conflict are elucidated using the theory of internal conflicts and international actors. This section also seeks to highlight the forgotten victims of war, the innocent Yemeni civilians, who paid a huge price in terms of breakdown of civilian infrastructure and starvation. The last section of the article summarizes the main findings and also includes the recent developments in the wake of Israeli-Palestinian war as it has had tremendous impact on Yemen as well.

2. Conceptual Framework

Yemen's civil war, initially a contest for power among local actors, escalated into a broader regional conflict influenced by external forces, often characterized as part of the Middle East's Cold War dynamics. The external intervention can be studied from two perspectives- regional and global. Regionally, the geopolitical rivalry between Saudi Arabia and Iran manifests through their support for competing factions in Yemen’s ongoing civil conflict. This rivalry has been the subject of analysis for several decades under the frameworks of balance of power and regional hegemony pursued through proxy warfare. While both frameworks are pertinent for examining this intricate relationship, offensive realism in IR provides a more robust explanation for the increasingly aggressive involvement of the respective stakeholders.

Offensive realism, as introduced by John Mearsheimer in his seminal work entitled “The Tragedy of Great Power Politics,” contextualizes the political interests and shifts in power dynamics that propel the ambitions of competing actors to acquire power (Mearsheimer, 2001). He asserts that competition for power does not end after its acquisition, rather powerful countries become obsessed with this pursuit, eyeing for hegemony. Offensive realism is different from its defensive counterpart as the former assumes states as inherently power-seeking, aggressive, and unsatisfied with the status quo, thus engaging in inter-state competition while the latter assumes states as seeking survival and security through balance of power. Mearsheimer posits that the rise of a powerful state poses a threat to other states, leading them to form alliances against it, thereby perpetuating the incessant quest for power. Mearsheimer (2001) contends that the anarchic nature of the international system prevents the maintenance of a status quo and compels states to continually seek greater power in their pursuit of hegemony.

In this regard, offensive realism fits well to the case of regional geopolitical rivalry between Iran and Saudi Arabia, however for the case of international intervention from well beyond the Middle Eastern borders, it is more of a question of balance of power and checking on other superpowers so as to not let them gain an upper hand in regional politics. Hence, to analyze international intervention, this article considers John Stedman's theory of International Actors and Internal Conflicts. Stedman (1999) postulates that internal conflicts in a country have several layers and external factors. Although these conflicts begin as domestic struggle, they devolve into full scale civil wars when internal weaknesses are exploited by international actors to advance their respective interests (Stedman, 1999). He describes their actions as unintended and intended where a faulty judgment owing to incomplete assessment of the situation is categorized as unintended and specific assistance to advance specific action by a group is intended action. Since Yemen's geography lies at the heart of international trade routes, Yemeni conflict garnered enormous attention and thus intervention, in form of both intended and unintended actions, from both the region and also the international system, i.e. the superpowers. Stedman (1999) highlights a grave potential danger of external interventions, underlining that oftentimes external actors lack accurate on-ground information, making faulty judgements, inadvertently targeting civilians, and fueling escalation. Stedman also explains the prolongation of such interventions by the fact that the gain from conflict intensification in form of resource exploitation, weapons trade, among other benefits to external actors, often outweighs the benefits from no-conflict case.

3. Historical Analysis: A Fragile State

The clash of different ideologies on political, ethnic, religious, and geographical grounds has entrenched deep divisions within Yemeni society over centuries, rendering it a fragile state. The absence of authentic political affiliation has created a power vacuum that various actors are attempting to fill in in order to advance their respective interests. The control of Yemen's territory is divided among three dominant actors- the *de-facto* internationally recognized government (backed by Saudi Arabia) controlling oil-rich provinces of Marib and Hadramout, the United Arab Emirates (UAE)-backed Southern Transitional Council (STC) controlling Aden, the economic capital of Yemen and the Houthis controlling the capital Sanaa that hosts the most critical state institutions and telecommunication companies (Sameai, 2023). To understand the foothold of these actors in Yemen, it would be noteworthy to assess the evolution of Political Islam, a major ideological force in Yemen. The following section discusses various ideologies that emerged in the region after the expansion of Islam. Although the divisions in Islam manifested early on, they have been mainly institutionalized over the course of past two centuries. In this light, clash of ideologies focuses mainly on Salafism, Wahhabism, and Zaydism. The next sub-section explains manifestation of Houthis as the political defenders of Zaydism.

3.1 Clash of Ideologies

Islam, as a religion, experienced a significant schism into Sunni and Shiite branches in its nascent period. Following the demise of the last Prophet of Islam, Prophet Muhammad, a contentious debate over the rightful succession of leadership within the Islamic community led to the formation of two distinct groups: Sunnis and Shiites. Sunnis, forming one faction, acknowledged the four Rashidun caliphs as the legitimate leaders of Islam after the demise of Prophet Muhammad (Su, 2022). In contrast, the Shiites asserted that Ali, the prophet's closest male relative, was the rightful first successor. This bifurcation gave rise to the Sunni jurisprudential schools –the *Shafii*, *Hanbali*, *Maliki*, and *Hanafi*– each with divergent interpretations of Islamic law and *Hadith*, fostering varied political movements like Salafism and Wahhabism, and inciting the genesis of entities, such as the Muslim Brotherhood (*Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin*). The Shiite branch also comprises multiple sub-sects including Zaydi, Twelver, Ismaili, and Alawite, and has seen its political expression through groups such as Hezbollah and the Houthis. Such sectarian divisions are not exclusive to Islam; for instance, Protestant Christianity features an array of denominations including Presbyterian, Methodist, and Congregationalist. The Shiite spectrum further branched out due to allegiances to Ali's descendants, particularly his sons Hassan and Hussein. The Houthis, pivotal to the discourse at hand, are aligned with the Zaydi faction of Shiite Islam (Abdulmajid, 2022). To thoroughly comprehend the ideological clashes, the nuances within political Islam, and the ascendancy of the Houthis in Yemen, an appreciation of the historical backdrop and core doctrines shaping these ideologies is indispensable.

Salafism, a movement within Sunni Islam, emerged in the waning years of the 19th century, primarily as a countermeasure to Western imperial penetration in Egypt. It advocated a restoration of the foundational Islamic practices of the first three generations of Muslims—Prophet Muhammad, his companions, and their direct successors, collectively known as the Salafs (Schmitz & Burrowes, 2018). Salafism is characterized by its strict adherence to the Quran, the Sunnah, and the consensus of the Salafs, eschewing the traditional Islamic interpretive methodologies advanced by *Ulama*s and other religious authorities (Ali, 2015). The Salafist ideology vehemently promotes the unabridged application of Sharia law and categorically denounces religious innovations, including the veneration of Shrines (Trauthig, 2020). Within Salafism, there are variations: *Purists* avoid political engagement, *Activists* engage actively in politics, and *Jihadists* advocate armed struggle to restore early Islamic traditions. Salafism is particularly prevalent in the Gulf countries, with significant proportions of the populations in Qatar and the UAE identifying as Salafis, alongside notable followings in Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, and Kuwait (Izady, 2000). While some analysts perceive Salafism as an ideological backlash against imperialistic forces and Western ideologies, emphasizing its roots in the early Islamic civilization and its association with key figures of Islamic revivalism, namely Hasan al-Banna, Rashid Rida, Muhammad Abduh and Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, it is pertinent to note that contemporary Salafism that emerged in the 1960s is marked by a more traditional, stringent, and literalist interpretation of Islam. Prominent proponents in this modern expression of Salafism include Muqbil bin Hadi al-Wadi'i, Muhammad ibn al Uthaymeen, and Muhammad Nasiruddin al-Albani (Abu Khadeejah, 2017).

Wahhabism, an Islamic reformist movement, was founded in the 18th century by Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab in the arid region of Najd. He criticized Sunni practices such as the reverence for saints and visits to shrines, labeling them as heretical deviations and forms of shirk (Pike, 2015). Initially met with widespread skepticism, al-Wahhab gained considerable influence by forming a strategic partnership with Muhammad bin Saud, the ruler of Ad-Diriyah and progenitor of the Saud dynasty. He convinced Saud that adopting the Wahhabi doctrine would bring “power and glory,” thus confer political legitimacy and compliance within the kingdom (Lacey, 2010, pp. 10–11). In the aftermath of the Ottoman Empire's dissolution, the Al Saud family took control over the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina, established the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and disseminated Wahhabism across the Islamic heartland. The discovery of petroleum in 1939 and the ensuing financial windfall, enabled the far-reaching propagation of Wahhabism via pedagogic channels, the press, religious centers, and scholarships. This widespread diffusion bolstered the stature of Wahhabi religious scholars in educational, judicial, ethical, and religious domains during the 20th century (Kepel, 2004, pp. 61-62). While the Al Saud dynasty remains the political guardian of Wahhabism, it heavily relies on Wahhabi clerics for legitimacy, even when making pragmatically controversial decisions, such as the adoption of contemporary technologies and armaments, or entering into alliances with non-Muslim entities to consolidate power (Commins, 2009, p. 208). This dependency also extends to suppressing religious dissent against unpopular policies. Nevertheless, a series of pivotal events, including the 1979 insurrection at the Holy Mosque, the stationing of American forces in the 1991 Gulf War, the 2001 World Trade Center attacks, and the alignment with the Western bloc have significantly undermined Wahhabi credibility and sown seeds of skepticism and disaffection both within the Kingdom and across the global Islamic community (Commins, 2009, p. 156).

The distinction between Wahhabism and Salafism is often misty, as the terms are frequently used interchangeably within political and sometimes academic discourse. Nonetheless, a clear distinction exists between the two ideologies. According to Christopher Blanchard, Wahhabism is “a conservative Islamic creed originating from and centered in Saudi Arabia,” whereas he describes Salafism as “a more puritanical Islamic movement that has emerged at different times and places within the Islamic world” (Blanchard, 2008, p. 2). This suggests that Wahhabism is a more geographically and ideologically confined interpretation of the broader Salafist movement. Further refining this distinction, Lebanese political scientist Ahmad S. Moussalli asserts that Wahhabism is a specific manifestation within the Salafist framework, indicating that while Wahhabism falls under the umbrella of Salafism, the converse does not necessarily apply – not all adherents of Salafism subscribe to Wahhabi principles (Moussalli, 2009).

Zaydism represents a moderate sect within Shiite Islam that diverged from other branches during a succession dispute concerning the imamate. This sect, also known as the Fivers, supported Zayd ibn Ali, the grandson of Husayn, as the fifth *imam*. Zaydism emerged around 740 CE in Kufa, Iraq, catalyzed by Zayd's active resistance against the Umayyad dynasty. Zaydis uphold the doctrine of *hijra,* promoting emigration from regions ruled by unjust and non-Zaydi authorities.

The most prolonged Zaydi imamate, led by the Qasimids under Mansur Bi’llah al-Qasim, spanned from 1597 to 1872 CE. This era overlapped with the First Ottoman period (1538–1635) and concluded with the Second Ottoman period (1872–1918) in Yemen. Following the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire after World War I, the Qasimi Zaydi imamate was reestablished as the *Mutawakkilite* Kingdom in 1918, a regime that lasted until the revolution of 1962 (Madelung, 2022).

3.2. The rise of Houthis

The Ansarallah Movement, commonly known as the Houthi Movement, originated as a political and armed Islamic struggle in the Sa’ada province of northern Yemen during the 1990s (Alley, 2010). This movement emerged under the leadership of Hussein Badreddin al-Houthi, who was a proponent of the Zaydi branch of Shiite Islam. Initially, the movement focused on addressing issues such as economic underdevelopment, corruption, and political marginalization while advocating for a more democratic and non-sectarian governance of Yemen. The movement also positioned itself as a guardian and revitalizer of Zaydi religious and cultural values. However, the movement escalated into a violent insurgency in 2004 following the assassination of Hussein al-Houthi and several of his guards by the Yemeni military in Sa’ada (Juneau, 2016). Currently, the leadership has passed to his brother, Abdul-Malik al-Houthi. In 2003, the Houthis adopted the slogan “God is great, death to the US, death to Israel, curse the Jews, and victory for Islam," and have since utilized their media platforms to critique what they perceive as Arab collusion with US-Israeli interests (Taqi, 2015).

The historical origins of the movement are rooted deeply and dates back to the dissolution of the *Mutawakkilite* Kingdom of Yemen in 1962. As previously mentioned, Zaydi religious leaders governed Northern Yemen for almost a millennium, from 897 AD until the monarchy's dissolution in 1962 (Schmitz & Burrowes, 2018). The Zaydi monarchy was overthrown by revolutionary military officers supported by Egypt, with additional assistance from the Soviet Union, leading to the establishment of a republic governed by an Arab nationalist administration. However, the transition to a republican state was tumultuous, resulting in an eight-year civil war in Northern Yemen that concluded in 1970. Following the republican *coup d'état,* Zaydi royalists retreated to the mountainous regions near the Saudi border and engaged in a civil war to reclaim control of Northern Yemen. During this conflict, the royalists were backed by Saudi Arabia and Israel, whereas Egypt and the Soviet Union supported the republicans. Eventually, the republicans secured victory, effectively marginalizing the Zaydi presence in Yemeni political affairs. Moreover, post the Arab-Israeli War of 1967 (Six-Day War) with Israel, Saudi Arabia reconciled its differences with Egypt. While Saudi influence in Yemeni politics persisted, Egyptian involvement waned following their defeat in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war alongside their Arab allies (Youssef, 2004).

After tumultuous political landscape and following a succession of *coups*, in 1978, Ali Abdallah Saleh, a Zaydi and a republican general, ascended to power. Known for his opportunistic leadership style, Saleh ruled, rather misruled Yemen for the ensuing 33 years. As an experienced political strategist, he adeptly utilized complex sectarian tactics and frequently altered alliances to further his objectives. It is quite challenging to encapsulate Yemen's state under his leadership, given the inconsistency of both his domestic and foreign policies. This inconsistency contributed to the rise of multiple factions and entrenched Yemen in an intractable conflict. During his tenure, Saleh established a network of tribal alliances to maintain a fragile balance of power, managing the intricate web of relationships he himself had crafted. However, after his demise, these factions pursued their distinct agendas, further complicating Yemeni politics and weakening the central government's authority. In the international arena, Saleh's policies were equally inconsistent. He supported Iraq during the 1991 Gulf War and endured a Saudi-backed civil war in 1994. His diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia and the United States (US) were complex; initially, he opposed the US in the 1990s, but shifted to collaborate with them in the 2000s against al-Qaeda (Soufan, 2017). To establish firm control, Saleh regime harshly suppressed the Zaydis, perceiving them as remnants of the old monarchical order and a potential threat (Schmitz, 2014). In an effort to diminish Zaydi influence in the north, he played sectarian strategies, promoting the settlement of Sunni Muslims from the Salafist and Wahhabi sects, who had ties to Saudi Arabia, in traditionally Zaydi territories (Freeman, 2009).

Post-1970s, Saudi Arabia endeavored to expand its influence in Yemen, capitalizing on the country's strategic location along key international trading routes. To fulfill its strategic aims, Saudi Arabia supported the establishment of a Salafi Wahhabi group in Sa'ada, a northern Yemeni province, with the objective of converting the local Zaydi Shia population to Salafism. This initiative was consistent with the goals of both the Yemeni and Saudi governments, which collectively contributed to the suppression of the Zaydi community. One of the most influential Salafi institutions that emerged during this period was Dar al-Hadith, an educational institute founded in the early 1980s by Muqbil bin Hadi al-Wadi, a Yemeni cleric who had studied in Saudi Arabia. Located in Dammaj, within Sa'ada Province, Dar al-Hadith played a pivotal role in promoting Salafism in the region. By the 1990s, the concerted efforts of the Yemeni and Saudi governments had effectively fortified the Salafi presence in the area. Following the unification of North and South Yemen into the Republic of Yemen in 1990, Zaydis maintained a demographic dominance in Sana'a, the capital city, as well as in the northern and western provinces, yet nationally, they were outnumbered by Salafis (Baron, 2015). The genesis of the Houthi insurgency, a grassroots movement, is widely recognized as a Zaydi backlash against the escalating Salafi influence in northern Yemen (Schmitz, 2015).

In 1994, during a southern secession attempt that escalated into a civil war, Saudi Arabia leveraged its Salafi base in Yemen to support the secession, which President Saleh ultimately suppressed (Bonnefoy, 2010). As the political landscape evolved, the increasing Salafi sway alarmed both the Zaydis and President Saleh. In a return to his conventional tactics of factional manipulation, Saleh backed the Houthis as a countermeasure against the Salafis, endorsing Hussein al-Houthi's candidacy for parliament under his ruling party's banner. Regrettably for Saleh, Hussein al-Houthi subsequently became his adversary, culminating in an armed confrontation in Sa'ada in 2004 that led to Hussein al-Houthi's demise in September of the same year. Subsequently, the movement was renamed the Houthi movement in tribute to their fallen leader.

The period from 2004 to 2010 was characterized by sporadic clashes between the Houthi forces and the government under Saleh, culminating in six clashes between them and an additional confrontation involving Saudi Arabia. The violence commenced in June 2004 when Yemeni security forces killed several Houthi supporters, marking a significant escalation in hostilities and contributing to the radicalization of the group (BBC News, 2004). The situation further deteriorated following the assassination of the movement's leader, Hussein al-Houthi, by government forces on September 10, 2004, exacerbating the conflict (BBC News, 2004). The leadership of the movement was then assumed by his brother, Abdul Malik al-Houthi. A subsequent round of violence in the spring of 2005, spanning March to April, resulted in an additional 1,500 fatalities. The violence resumed in early 2007 with three coordinated Houthi attacks on government facilities between January 28 and February 1, which resulted in the deaths of 22 Yemeni soldiers (Al Jazeera English, 2007). In response, the government initiated a large-scale offensive involving 30,000 troops, which led to significant casualties among both soldiers and militia members (International Herald Tribune, 2007). A ceasefire agreement, mediated by Qatar on June 16, 2007, briefly halted the hostilities. Under the terms of the agreement, rebel leaders agreed to disarm and accept exile in Qatar in return for the release of detained rebels (Al-Hajj, 2007). However, the peace was short-lived, and armed conflicts resumed in April 2008. On May 2, 2008, a devastating bombing occurred at the Bin Salman Mosque in Sa'ada during Friday prayers, resulting in the deaths of 15 worshippers, with neither side claiming responsibility (France 24, 2008). Subsequently, on August 11, 2008, the government launched Operation Scorched Earth, deploying fighter jets and tanks against the Houthis (Human Rights Watch, 2008). This military action resulted in the displacement of thousands of civilians and Houthi supporters in the northern region of Sa'ada province.

The third phase of the insurgency escalated as confrontations between the Houthis and Saudi security forces brought an international dimension to the conflict. On November 4, 2009, the Houthis reportedly attacked the Saudi border, resulting in the death of a Saudi border guard and the seizure of Jebel al-Dukhan area (Al Jazeera, 2009). In response, Saudi Arabia launched extensive airstrikes in northern Yemen the following day, which resulted in the deaths of 40 rebels. The Houthis accused Saudi Arabia of collaborating with the Yemeni government against them, while the Yemeni government charged Iran with supporting the Houthi rebellion. The Houthis alleged that the US entered the conflict in December 2009 by conducting 28 air raids in the provinces of Sa'ada, Hajjah, and Amran (Human Rights Watch, 2013). On January 1, 2010, the Yemeni government proposed a conditional ceasefire, stipulating five terms: the Houthis' withdrawal from mountain strongholds, restoration of safe passage on roads, release of all detained civilians and soldiers, return of all military and public equipment seized by the Houthis, and evacuation from all properties held by local authorities. On January 25, Abdul Malik al-Houthi agreed to the conditional ceasefire to reduce further civilian casualties, warning that the Houthis would respond if provoked by either Yemeni or Saudi forces (Al Jazeera, 2010). Despite this agreement, the truce failed to take effect on the ground, and hostilities among the Houthis, Saudi, and Yemeni forces continued unabated.

The above analysis underscores that the violent Houthi insurgency acted as a precursor to the ensuing civil war in Yemen. Existing tensions were further compounded by the Arab Spring that swept the region by 2011, which created a power vacuum that intensified these conflicts and empowered non-state actors. For the Houthis, the Arab Spring offered a strategic window to strengthen their position by seizing government facilities. Originating from the Ansarallah movement of the 1990s, the roots of both the Arab Spring and the subsequent Yemeni Civil War of 2015 are linked to the insurgency that began in 2004.

4. Reflections of the 2011 Arab Uprisings

The Arab Uprisings or Spring that engulfed most of the countries in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) also hit Yemen. The Arab Spring protests sprouted in Yemen on January 27, 2011, when over 16,000 demonstrators gathered in Sana'a, the capital (Irish Times, 2011). Despite President Saleh's declaration on February 3 that he would not seek re-election in 2013 nor hand over power to his son, the protesters remained unsatisfied, leading to further demonstrations on the same day (BBC News, 2011). The Houthis' involvement in the Arab Spring was marked by Abdul Malik al-Houthi's declaration of support for the pro-democracy protests on February 27, which prompted substantial numbers of Houthis to participate in protests across the North. As previously noted, the Arab Spring provided the Houthis with an opportunity to strengthen their political influence in Yemen. Their strategy was incremental, initially focusing on fortifying their base in Sa'ada Province. The Houthis engaged in hostilities with pro-government forces under Sheikh Uthman Mujalli on March 19, 2011. After nearly a week of skirmishes, they forced the local governor to evacuate, and by March 26, 2011, they had instituted their governance in Sa'ada Province (ReliefWeb, 2011). Subsequently, on July 8, the Houthis, bolstered by their control of Sa'ada Province, initiated an expansion into the adjacent Al-Jawf Province. They faced resistance from the *Islah* (Yemeni Congregation for Reform) Party, a faction linked to the Muslim Brotherhood and purportedly supported by Saudi Arabia in Yemen (Tayler, 2011). The conflict in Al-Jawf persisted for over four months, resulting in significant casualties on both sides, including a car bombing in August that claimed the lives of 14 Houthis. By late October 2011, the Houthis had successfully taken control of Al-Jawf Province (Islam Times, 2011).

The rapid territorial expansion post-Arab Spring underscores the Houthis' capacity to leverage Yemen's instability in a bid to enhance their influence. In November, the Houthis advanced into Hajjah Province, engaging in confrontations with the pro-government Kashir and Aahm tribes. This offensive resulted in the capture of the Ash Sharaf district, providing the Houthis with access to the sea through the Midi port and control over vital highways, paving a strategic route to Sana'a. Meanwhile, on November 23, 2011, amidst this escalating conflict, President Saleh consented to a power-transfer agreement in Riyadh, brokered by the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). This agreement stipulated that Saleh would cede power to Vice-President Mansur al-Hadi within 30 days and, in exchange, be immune from prosecution (The Associated Press, 2011). This agreement, perceived by many protesters and the Houthis as an attempt to establish a pro-Saudi administration, did little to stabilize the region.

On February 21, 2012, al-Hadi was elected president, receiving 99.8% of the vote and was sworn in amid ongoing national discord (Kasinof, 2012). The power transition, however, was marred by Saleh's continued influence and the rejection of the GCC deal by the Houthis, leading to a power vacuum. This vacuum saw various tribal groups either aligning with the Houthis or the *Islah* party, while Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) gained a foothold in southern Yemen. As the clashes continued in Hajjah and Al-Jawf, the Houthis aimed to consolidate their power in these provinces while also seeking opportunities and strategic alliances to advance towards Sana'a. In September 2012, amidst Anti-US protests triggered by the release of the film "Innocence of Muslims," the Houthis utilized the opportunity to disseminate their propaganda in the capital through posters. In a surprising turn of events, Saleh allied with the Houthis, his former adversaries, united by their mutual exclusion from the GCC agreement and Saleh's desire to retain political influence.

The year 2014 marked a significant escalation in Yemen with the Houthi takeover of Sana'a, an event often referred to as the Battle of Sana'a. On August 18, 2014, the Houthis, along with pro-Saleh factions, initiated protests against rising fuel prices in Sana'a. These protests escalated into violence on September 9, 2014, when pro-Houthi demonstrators advancing towards the cabinet office were met with gunfire from security forces, resulting in the deaths of seven protesters. Intense clashes followed on September 18 between the Houthis and Sunni hardliners from the Islah Party as a result of the Houthis' attempt to take over Yemen TV. The situation reached a turning point on September 21, 2014, when the Houthis seized the government headquarters in Sana'a, leading to the resignation of Prime Minister Mohammed Basindawa and the subsequent collapse of the GCC-backed Hadi administration. This event signaled a critical juncture for Saudi Arabia, prompting an international intervention and transforming the tribal armed skirmishes into a comprehensive civil war (BBC News, 2014; Karasik, 2014).

5. International Intervention: Devolution to Broken State

While in the previous section, Yemen was analyzed as a fragile state owing to its several years of tumultuous domestic politics. In this section however, we will analyze the dynamics, particularly, the international intervention which led to the plunging of its status from fragile to broken in less than a decade. According to the 2022 Fragile State Index (FSI), Yemen is the world's most fragile state, with the highest index score of 111.7 (The Global Economy, 2022). This ranking underscore the extensive socio-economic and political deterioration within Yemen. The international intervention that worsened the civil conflict in Yemen began in 2015. After losing control of Sana’a, President al-Hadi sought to implement a new federal constitution, but his efforts were thwarted by the Houthis and Saleh, which culminated in his flight to Saudi Arabia as the Houthis attempted to arrest him. This situation precipitated an intervention in Yemen by a Western-backed, Saudi-led coalition in March 2015, comprising Kuwait, UAE, Bahrain, Egypt, Morocco, Jordan, Sudan, and Senegal, with logistical support from the USA, UK, and other Western nations. Saudi Arabia justified its intervention by citing the need to protect its southern border, restore the Hadi government, and counter Iranian influence. The coalition initially managed to recapture Aden in the south and Marib northeast of Sana’a from the Houthis. Concurrently, amidst the turmoil, AQAP took control of Mukalla in Eastern Yemen in 2016. To counter AQAP, the UAE backed the Southern Transitional Council (STC), a group advocating for southern secession. In 2017, the Houthis launched missile attacks deep into Saudi territory. Observing the Houthis’ weakened position against the Saudi-led coalition, Saleh attempted to switch allegiances. However, as he tried to flee Sana’a to possibly in a bid to collude with the Saudis, he was captured and killed by the Houthis on December 4, 2017.

The key factor that plays a pivotal role in the conflict in Yemen, civil war is the control over critical economic assets, including oil and gas extraction sites, production facilities, and essential infrastructure like ports and roads. The Saudi-led coalition has strategically targeted significant infrastructures, notably the port of Hodeidah, which is crucial for managing Yemen’s aid and commercial imports (France 24, 2018). However, despite these efforts, recent reports indicate that the port continues to be under Houthi control. As a peace negotiation attempt, Stockholm Hodeidah truce was signed, unfortunately, as in case of other cease-fires and truces, it remains unimplemented (Dijkstal, 2019). In 2019, the UAE announced its plans to scale back its involvement in the coalition, yet reports suggest it remains heavily engaged, particularly through support to its allies in southern Yemen.

Since the onset of international intervention in 2015, the prolonged conflict has devastated Yemen, with approximately 80% of its population now dependent on humanitarian aid for survival, and around 100,000 fatalities reported (Yemen Data Project, 2023). Both the Houthi forces and the Saudi-led coalition have been implicated in indiscriminate attacks on civilian populations. According to the Yemen Data Project (2023), about 30% of the coalition's estimated 24,000 airstrikes have targeted civilian areas, contributing to nearly two-thirds of the civilian casualties. The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA, 2023) reports that over four million Yemenis are internally displaced, with an additional 280,000 seeking asylum abroad, describing Yemen's situation as the largest humanitarian crisis globally. This crisis has pushed the already impoverished nation toward famine, with 24 million of its 29 million population requiring humanitarian assistance and 20 million facing severe food insecurity. Despite continuous air raids, Saudi Arabia has failed to secure significant ground control. Moreover, the coalition's attempts to align forces loyal to President Hadi with the Southern Transitional Council (STC) to counter the Houthis have not succeeded, further exacerbating the fragmentation among opposition groups, thus condemning Yemen to being a battlefield for proxy wars.

While in the previous section, Yemen was analyzed as a fragile state owing to its several years of tumultuous domestic politics. In this section however, we will analyze the dynamics, particularly, the international intervention which led to the plunging of its status from fragile to broken in less than a decade. According to the 2022 Fragile State Index (FSI), Yemen is the world's most fragile state, with the highest index score of 111.7 (The Global Economy, 2022). This ranking underscore the extensive socio-economic and political deterioration within Yemen.

The international intervention that worsened the civil conflict in Yemen began in 2015. After losing control of Sana’a, President al-Hadi sought to implement a new federal constitution, but his efforts were thwarted by the Houthis and Saleh, which culminated in his flight to Saudi Arabia as the Houthis attempted to arrest him. This situation precipitated an intervention in Yemen by a Western-backed, Saudi-led coalition in March 2015, comprising Bahrain, Egypt, Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco, Qatar, Sudan, and the United UAE, with logistical support from the US, UK, and other Western nations (Robinson, 2023). Saudi Arabia justified its intervention by citing the need to protect its southern border, restore the Hadi government, and counter Iranian influence (Palik, 2024). The coalition initially managed to recapture Aden in the south and Marib northeast of Sana'a from the Houthis. Concurrently, amidst the turmoil, AQAP took control of Mukalla in Eastern Yemen in 2016. To counter AQAP, the UAE backed the Southern Transitional Council (STC), a group advocating for southern secession. In 2017, the Houthis launched missile attacks deep into Saudi territory. Observing the Houthis' weakened position against the Saudi-led coalition, Saleh attempted to switch allegiances. However, as he tried to flee Sana'a to possibly in a bid to collude with the Saudis, he was captured and killed by the Houthis on December 4, 2017.

The key factor that plays a pivotal role in the conflict in Yemen is the control over critical economic assets, including oil and gas extraction sites, production facilities, and essential infrastructure like ports and roads. The Saudi-led coalition has strategically targeted significant infrastructures, notably the port of Hodeidah, which is crucial for managing Yemen's aid and commercial imports. However, despite these efforts, recent reports indicate that the port continues to be under Houthi control. As a peace negotiation attempt, Stockholm Hodeidah truce was signed, unfortunately, as in case of other cease-fires and truces, it remains unimplemented (Dijkstal, 2019). In 2019, the UAE announced its plans to scale back its involvement in the coalition, yet reports suggest it remains heavily engaged, particularly through support to its allies in southern Yemen.

Since the onset of international intervention in 2015, the prolonged conflict has devastated Yemen, with approximately 80% of its population now dependent on humanitarian aid for survival, and around 100,000 fatalities reported (Yemen Data Project, 2023). Both the Houthi forces and the Saudi-led coalition have been implicated in indiscriminate attacks on civilian populations. According to the Yemen Data Project (2023), about 30% of the coalition's estimated 24,000 airstrikes have targeted civilian areas, contributing to nearly two-thirds of the civilian casualties. The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA, 2023) reports that over four million Yemenis are internally displaced, with an additional 280,000 seeking asylum abroad, describing Yemen's situation as the largest humanitarian crisis globally. This crisis has pushed the already impoverished nation toward famine, with 24 million of its 29 million population requiring humanitarian assistance and 20 million facing severe food insecurity. Despite continuous air raids, Saudi Arabia has failed to secure significant ground control. Moreover, the coalition's attempts to align forces loyal to President Hadi with the Southern Transitional Council (STC) to counter the Houthis have not succeeded, further exacerbating the fragmentation among opposition groups, thus condemning Yemen to being a battlefield for proxy wars.

6. Conclusion

The article is an attempt to foster a deeper understanding of Yemeni society and major ideological forces in the country. It evaluates various ideologies that gained ground in Yemen over the course of history. These ideologies influenced Yemen’s societal fabric and became entrenched with the sectarian cards played by its opportunist administration to advance its interests. It also explains how the Houthi movement, originated as a grassroots campaign against a corrupt regime, turned violent following the assassination of its leader in 2004, evolving as a major political force in the country. As is known, Zaydism, the doctrinal foundation of the movement, advocates for rebellion against oppression and corruption. Though the movement commenced in the 1990s with a will to reform Yemeni society and politics, it failed and now its focus has shifted to power politics. Saleh was a rival for Houthis and his removal in 2011, created an existential crisis for Yemen’s Houthis which prompted a shift in the Houthi agenda.

The survival of any political group often hinges on the presence of an adversary, the same was applicable for the Houthis. Following Saleh’s death in 2017, their *raison d’être* became increasingly difficult to define and their armed opposition hard to defend as the international intervention supported various local factions within the deeply divided Yemeni society. To bolster their position, Houthis seized the opportunity presented by the recent Israel-Gaza war. They mobilized popular support by targeting shipments to Israel to disrupt the war effort, a strategy that effectively united Yemenis in support of their Palestinian brethren (Al Jazeera, 2024). Their stance on the war and subsequent action at a time when no regional countries came afront to deal with the crisis was applauded by Yemeni society. However, despite the ongoing political attempts to resolve the Yemeni conflict, US retaliatory strikes against the Houthis persist and the war continues. As the Yemeni war has dragged on for a decade, the much rapidly escalating Israel-Gaza war has caught world's attention. Nonetheless, as with other wars, it is imperative to bring an end to the Yemeni war, the world risks normalizing the conflict. A thorough analysis of the underlying convoluted dynamics of the civil war is presented with the vision that it may guide policy and push the reconciliation of the stakeholders involved in these types of prolonged conflicts.

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Yakın Doğu Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, Yayın Etiği Komitesinin (COPE) "Dergi Editörleri için Davranış Kuralları ve En İyi Uygulama Rehber İlkeleri" ve "Dergi Yayıncıları için Davranış Kuralları" belgelerini takip etmektedir.
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Dergide hangi makalelerin yayınlanacağına karar vermek editörün sorumluluğundadır. Yayın Kurulu tüm çalışmaları, ırk, cinsiyet, cinsel yönelim, dini inanç, etnik köken, vatandaşlık ya da politik felsefelerinden bağımsız olarak değerlendirecektir. Alınacak karar, makalenin doğruluğu, geçerliliği ve önemi ile derginin kapsamının uygunluğuna dayanacaktır. İftira, telif hakkı ihlali ve intihal ile ilgili mevcut yasal gereklilikler de dikkate alınmalıdır.

Yayın Etiği ve Hatalı Uygulama Bildirimi

Gizlilik

Editör veya herhangi bir editoryal görevli, ilgili yazar, hakemler, potansiyel hakemler, diğer editör danışmanları ve yayıncılardan başka kimseye bir sunum hakkında bilgi ifşa etmemelidir.

İnceleme için alınan tüm yazılar gizli belgeler olarak değerlendirilmelidir.

Açıklama ve Çıkar Çatışmaları

Sunulan bir makalede açıklanan yayınlanmamış malzemeler, yazarın açık yazılı izni olmaksızın editörün veya yardımcılarının kendi araştırmalarında kullanılamaz.

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Çabukluk

Araştırmayı incelemek için yeterli nitelikte olmayan veya bir makalede yazılan ya da derhal gözden geçirmenin imkânsız olacağını bilen seçilmiş herhangi bir hakem, editöre bildirmeli ve inceleme sürecinden mazurunu istemelidir.

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Yazarların, editör incelemesi için bir makale ile bağlantılı olarak ham veriler sunmaları istenebilir ve eğer uygunsa, bu verilere halka açık erişim sağlamaya ve her durumda, bu verilerin yayınlandıktan sonra makul bir süre depolanması için hazırlanmalıdır.

Özgünlük, İntihal ve Kaynakların Kabulü

Yazarlar, çalışmalarının orijinal olmasını sağlamalıdır ve yazarlar başkalarının çalışmalarını ve/veya sözlerini kullanmışlarsa, uygun şekilde atıf yapılmalıdır. Bildirilen çalışmanın niteliğini belirlemede etkili olan yayınlar da belirtilmelidir. İntihal, her türlü etik olmayan yayıncılık davranışını oluşturur ve kabul edilemez.

Açıklama ve Çıkar Çatışması

Tüm yazarlar, makalelerinin sonuçlarını veya yorumunu etkileyecek şekilde yorumlanabilecek finansal veya diğer finansal çıkar çatışmalarını açıklayan bir açıklama içermelidir. Proje için tüm mali destek kaynakları açıklanmalıdır. Potansiyel çıkar çatışmaları mümkün olan en erken aşamada açıklanmalıdır. Okuyucular, araştırmayı kimin finanse ettiği ve fon verenlerin araştırmadaki rolü hakkında bilgilendirilmelidir.

PUBLICATION ETHICS

This guideline for publication ethics is fully consistent with the COPE Principles of Transparency and Best Practice Guidelines and the COPE Code of Conduct.

Editors' responsibilities Publication decisions

It is the editor's responsibility to decide which of the articles will be published in the journal. The editor, who evaluates the authors' manuscripts, will evaluate them irrespective of their race, gender, sexual orientation, religious belief, ethnic origin, citizenship or political philosophies. The decision to be made will be based on the authenticity, validity and importance of the paper and the appropriateness of the scope of the journal. Existing legal requirements concerning slander, copyright infringement and plagiarism should also be considered.

Confidentiality

The editor or any editorial staff should not disclose information about a submission to anyone other than the relevant author, reviewers, potential reviewers, other editorial consultants and publisher. The editors will ensure that the materials reviewed are kept confidential.

All manuscripts received for review should be considered as confidential documents.

Disclosure and conflicts of interest

Unpublished materials described in a submitted article cannot be used in the editor's or their assistants' own investigations without the express written permission of the author.

Reviewers' responsibilities Contribution to editorial decisions

The peer-review process assists the editor and editorial board in making editorial decisions. It can also serve the author in the preparation of the manuscript.

Promptness

Any selected referee who feels unqualified to review the research reported in a manuscript or knows that its prompt review will be impossible should notify the editor and excuse from the review process.

Standards of objectivity

Reviews should be made objectively. The author's personal critique is not appropriate. Referees must express their views with supporting arguments.

Acknowledgement of sources

Reviewers should identify situations where the relevant published work referred to in the article is not shown in the reference section. Other publications should indicate whether the derived observation or variables are together with their source. Reviewers will report to the editor an important similarity or overlap between the manuscripts considered and other published papers with which they have personal information.

Disclosure and conflict of interest

Information or ideas obtained through peer review should be kept confidential and should not be used for any advantage. Unpublished materials described in a submitted article cannot be used in the editor's or their assistants' own investigations. Reviewers should not consider manuscripts that have conflicts of interest linked to competitive, collaborative, or other relationships or to any of the authors, companies, or institutions affiliated to newspapers.

Authors' duties and reporting standards

Authors should present an accurate account of the work done and an objective discussion of its significance. The basic data should be shown correctly on the paper. An article should contain enough detail and references to allow others to replicate the job. Fraudulent or knowingly misrepresentations create unethical behaviour and are unacceptable. Review and professional editorial articles should also be accurate and objective and editors' opinion should be clearly stated.

Data access and retention

Authors may be asked to provide raw data in connection with an article for editor review, and, if appropriate, should be prepared to provide public access to such data and in any case, should be prepared for storage of such data for a reasonable period of time after publication.

Originality, plagiarism and acknowledgement of sources

Authors should ensure that their work is original, and if authors have used others' work and/or words, it should be appropriately cited. Publications that are effective in determining the nature of the reported work should also be indicated. Plagiarism constitutes unethical publishing behaviour in all forms and is unacceptable.

Multiple, redundant or concurrent publication

An author should not publish articles that generally describe the same research in more than one journal or primary publication. Submission of the same article to more than one journal at the same time brings with it unethical publishing behavior. In general, an author should not present a previously published manuscript for consideration in another journal.

No other copyrighted material may be published elsewhere. In addition, manuscripts reviewed by the journal should not be re-sent to copyright-protected publications. However, by submitting a manuscript, the author(s) retains the rights of the published material. The copyright remains with the authors (CC-BY), thus they can decide about eventual republication of their text. The primary reference must be cited in the secondary publication.

[http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/], which allows others to copy, distribute and transmit the work as well as to adapt the work and to make commercial use of it.

Disclosure and conflicts of interest

All authors should include a statement explaining financial or other financial interest conflicts that may be interpreted to affect the results or interpretation of their articles. All financial support sources for the project should be explained. Potential conflicts of interest should be explained at the earliest possible stage. Readers should be informed about who funded the research and about the role of the fund-givers in the research.

Fundamental errors in published works

When an author discovers a major mistake or mistake in his published work, it is obliged to inform the editor or publisher immediately and to work with the editor to withdraw or correct the paper. If the editor or publisher learns of a published work from a third party that contains a significant error, the author must immediately withdraw the manuscript or correct it or prove the authenticity of the original document to the editor.

References

Graf, C.; Wager, E.; Bowman, A.; Fiack, S.; Scott Lichter, D. and Robinson, A. (2007). Best practice guidelines on publication ethics: a publisher’s perspective. *International journal of clinical practice*, *61*, 1-26. Retrieved from journal_editors_Mar11.pdf

YAZIM KURALLARI

1. YDÜ Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, hakemli bir dergidir ve Nisan ve Ekim aylarında olmak üzere yılda iki kez yayımlanır.
2. Derginin yayım dili Türkçe ve İngilizcedir.
3. Dergide yayımlanan tüm yazıların yayın hakları Yakın Doğu Üniversitesine devredilmiş olur. Dergide yayımlanan her türlü yazıdan yapılacak alıntılarda kaynak gösterilmesi zorunludur.
4. YDÜ Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi'ne gönderilen yazılar özgün olmalı, başka bir yerde yayımlanmamış ya da yayımlanmak üzere başka bir yere gönderilmemiş olmalıdır. Gönderilen yazının bir başka biçimi yayımlanmak üzere incelenmek için bir başka yayımcıya gönderilmiş ya da yayımlanmış ya da yayımlanacak ise yazar bunu yazısını dergiye gönderdiğinde açıkça belirtmelidir.
5. Yayımlanmak üzere dergiye gönderilen yazılar, yayın kurulu tarafından ilk değerlendirmesi yapıldıktan sonra iki-kör hakeme gönderilir. Hakemlerden gelecek rapor doğrultusunda yazının basılmasına, yazardan makalesinde düzeltme istenmesine ya da basılmamasına yayın kurulu karar verir. Yayım kararı yazara (birden çok yazar varsa, adı ilk belirtilmiş olana) en kısa zamanda bildirilir. Yayımlanmayan makaleler yazarlara geri gönderilmez.
6. Hakem değerlendirmesinin tarafsızlığını sağlamak için hakemlere gönderilen yazıda yazarın kimliğine ilişkin herhangi bir bilgi olmamalıdır. Yazarlar makalelerinin başlığını, ad, soyadı, unvan, bağlı bulundukları kurum adı, posta adresi, telefon ve e- posta adreslerini ayrı bir kâğıda yazarak bir kapak sayfası hazırlayıp makaleleri ile birlikte göndermelidir. Hakemlere gönderilecek metinde makalenin başlığı, makale metni, Türkçe ve İngilizce özetler bulunmalı, kimlik bilgileri yer almamalıdır.
7. Dergide yayımlanması istenilen metinler MS Word dokümanı olarak elektronik ortamda e-mail eki olarak doğrudan Editör'e gönderilmelidir. Yazılı metinler A4 kâğıdının bir tarafına 2 satır aralığı ile yazılmalı ve bütün sayfalara birbirini izleyen numaralar verilmelidir.
8. Ana dili İngilizce olmayan yazarlar, İngilizce yazdıkları metinleri göndermeden önce ana dili İngilizce olan bir uzmana okutup gerekli düzeltmeleri yaptırmalıdır.

9. Yazıları yayımlanan yazarlara yayımlanan makalenin bir adet dergi bedelsiz olarak gönderilir.
10. YDÜ Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi'ne gönderilen makalelerin yazım ve biçim koşulları bakımından son denetimlerinin yazar tarafından yapıldığı, yazarın makalenin elektronik ortamda belirtildiği biçimiyle basılmasına onay verdiği kabul edilir.
11. Makale dergi editörlüğüne teslim edildikten sonra baskı düzeltmeleri için yazara geri gönderilmez. YDÜ, Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi yazım ve biçim kurallarına uygun olmayan makaleler hakeme gönderilmez ve basılmaz.
12. Gönderilen metnin tamamı daktilo harfleri ve tek satır aralığı ile A4 kâğıdının alt ve üstünde 5cm, yanlarda 4 cm boşluk kalacak şekilde yazılmış olmalıdır.
13. Makalelerin 5.000-10.000 kelime (derleme makaleler hariç) uzunlukta olması gerekmektedir. 10000 kelimeden fazla olan metinler ancak özel koşullarda kabul edilir.
14. Makale, italik harfler ile içerden yazılmış yaklaşık 120-180 kelimeden oluşan, temel savını ve varılan sonucu betimleyen bir öz ile başlamalıdır. Öz'e makale içeriğini karakterize eden en fazla 5 anahtar sözcük veya deyim eşlik etmelidir.
15. Metin 12 punto büyüklükte Times New Roman yazı tipi ile yazılmalıdır. Makale başlığı 14 punto, Times New Roman yazı tipi, bold ve ana metinden ayrı olmalıdır. Alt başlıklar 12 punto, Times New Roman, bold ve metinden ayrı olmalıdır. İkincil alt başlıkların altındaki alt başlıklar 12 punto, Times New Roman, bold ve italik olmalı ve paragrafın ilk cümlesinin başında yer almalı ve bir nokta ile sonlanmalıdır.
16. Bütün çizelge, grafik ve diyagramlara şekil denilmeli ve birbirini izleyen numaralar verilmelidir. Tablolar olanaklar elverdiği ölçüde az sayıda olmalı ve sadece çok gerekli bilgiler içermelidir. Her şekil ve tabloya Arap rakamları ile bir numara verilmeli ve numaradan sonra başlığı yazılmalıdır ve metin içinde atıf yapılmalıdır.
17. Kaynaklara gönderiler dipnot biçiminde olmamalı, ilgili kaynak(lar) metinde ayraç içine alınarak (yazar soyadı, yayım yılı: -gerekiyorsa- sayfa numarası/ ya da ilgili sayfalar/bölüm) biçiminde gösterilmelidir.
18. Metin içindeki gönderiler ve metne ilişkin ek açıklamalar dipnotlarda gösterilebilir.

19. Metinde gönderi yapılan kaynakların tümü, makalenin en sonuna yerleştirilecek bir kaynakçada yer almalı, gönderi yapılmayan kaynaklar bu listeye konulmamalıdır. Dergi, kitap, derleme, sempozyum adları açık olarak ve italik (ya da koyu renkte) yazılmalıdır.
20. Kaynakça APA 6 kaynak gösterme esasları doğrultusunda hazırlanmalıdır. Metin içi gönderme ve atıflar tam metnin diline uygun verilmelidir. Türkçe tam metin için Türkçe kaynak gösterme usul ve esasları, İngilizce tam metin için İngilizce kaynak gösterme usul ve esasları dikkate alınmalıdır (https://apastyle.apa.org).
21. Yazarlar yayımlanmak üzere dergiye gönderilen yazıları ile birlikte taahhütname ile telif devir formlarını da indirdikten sonra imzalayarak tarayıcı vasıtası ile taratıp yazıları ile birlikte göndermelidirler.
22. Yazarlar makalelerinde ORCİD tanımlayıcılarını eklemelidirler. ORCİD tanımlayıcısı olmayan yazarlar ilgili linkten kayıtlarını yapabilirler.

ARTICLE SUBMISSION GUIDELINES

1. NEU Journal of Social Sciences is a peer-reviewed journal and is published twice a year in April and October.
2. The publication language of the journal is Turkish and English.
3. Copyrights of all articles published in the journal are transferred to Near East University. References must be given in the excerpts from all kinds of articles published in the journal.
4. Manuscripts submitted to NEU Journal of Social Sciences must be original, not published elsewhere or sent to another place for publication. If another version of the submitted manuscript was sent to another publisher for review or published, or if it is to be published, the author must make it clear when he/she sends his/her article to the journal.
5. The manuscripts sent to the journal for publication are sent to the two-blind referees after their initial evaluation by the editorial board. The editorial board decides whether the manuscript should be published in accordance with the report coming from the referees, whether the author is required to correct the article or not. The publication decision shall be notified to the author (if there is more than one author, the first of which is mentioned) as soon as possible. Unpublished articles are not returned to the authors.

6. In order to ensure the impartiality of the referee's assessment, there should be no information on the author's identity in the article submitted to the referees. Authors should write the title of their articles, first name, last name, title, institution name, mailing address, telephone and e-mail addresses on a separate sheet of paper, prepare a cover page and send them with their articles. Turkish and English abstracts should be included in the text to be sent to the referees. The text to be sent to the referees should include the title of the article, the text of the article, abstracts in Turkish and English, and no identifying information.
7. The manuscripts should be sent to the Editor directly as e- mail attachment. Written texts should be written on one side of A4 paper with two intervals and all pages should be given consecutive numbers.
8. Authors whose native language is not English should have a native English reviewer for editing and make the necessary corrections before submitting texts in English.
9. The authors whose articles are published are sent one free of charge from the published journal.
10. It is accepted that the final audits of the articles submitted to the NEU Journal of Social Sciences are done by the author and that the author consents to the e-print version (soft copy) the article.
11. Once the manuscript is submitted to the journal editor, it is not returned to the author for print corrections. Articles that do not comply with the rules of NEU, Journal of Social Sciences are not sent to the referee and not printed.
12. All text sent should be written with typewriter letters with a single-spaced space of 5cm on the bottom and top of A4 paper and 4cm on the sides.
13. Articles should be 5,000-10,000 words long (excluding review articles). Texts with more than 10000 words are only accepted under special circumstances.
14. The article should begin with an abstract consisting of 120-180 words written in italic letters and describing the basic argument and the conclusion reached. The abstract should be accompanied by a maximum of 5 keywords or phrases that characterize the content of the article.
15. The text should be written in 12-point Times New Roman font. The title of the article should be 14 points, Times New Roman font, bold and separate from the main text. Subheadings should be 12-point, Times New Roman, bold and separate from text. Subheadings under secondary subheadings should be 12-

point, Times New Roman, bold, and Italic and should be at the beginning of the first sentence of the paragraph and end with a point.

16. All charts, graphs and diagrams should be called figures and given successive numbers. Tables should be small to the extent possible and should contain only very necessary information. Each figure and table should be given a number with Arabic numerals and its title should be written after the number and should be cited in the text.

17. References should not be in footnote format, but the relevant source(s) should be enclosed in parentheses in the text (author's last name, publication year: -if necessary- page number/or related pages/section).

18. Submissions within the text and annotations of the text can be shown in the footnotes.

19. All references submitted in the text should be included in a bibliography to be placed at the end of the article, and non-submitted references should not be placed on this list. The names of journals, books, reviews and symposia should be written in italics (or bold).

20. The bibliography should be prepared in accordance with APA 6 reference guidelines. In-text references and citations should be given in accordance with the language of the full text. For full-text of Turkish, procedures and principles of Turkish references, for full text in English, procedures and principles of English references should be considered (https://apastyle.apa.org).

21. Authors along with the manuscripts sent to the journal for publication should download the commitment and copyright transfer forms and after they sign they should scan with the scanner and sent them together.

22. Authors should include ORCID identifiers in their articles. Authors who do not have an ORCID identifier can register from the relevant link (https://orcid.org/).