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## Articles

### Somali Women's Past Experiences and Present Realities

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#### Abstract

Since the collapse of the central government in the early 1991, the country experienced prolonged civil war and chaos which has taken almost two decades. Destruction of state structures accompanied by huge violation of human rights subjected to women and girls. The civil war same as it affects people negatively, it also positively transforms societies which is the case of Somali women who acquired new roles and responsibilities during the decades of war. On the other hand, in post-conflict settings new government structures are established with constitution being adopted. Social, political and economic transformation occurs within the post-conflict spaces. Based on this setting, this paper is aimed to examine the extent of human rights violations specifically subjected to women and girls. It also traces the role of Somali women played during the conflict particularly their role in taking part of peace building efforts of the country. The study further evaluates if any progress is being made in regard to women political participation in post-conflict period with analysis on the issues preventing women to fully participate in Somali politics.

**Keywords:** Somalia, Somali women, women rights, war experiences, women as victims, agents of change.

#### 1. Introduction

Most of the literatures on women and war emphasize the negative aspect of war in terms of women. Analysis goes only to the devastating impact of war on women, children and young girls. It is true that during armed conflicts; women and girls are often described as the most targeted groups. Conflict related violence is widespread where rape is the most used weapon during the conflict. This negative aspect of conflict is specifically true in a country like Somalia which experienced decades of war and instability. At the beginning of 1991, the country entered a period of turmoil where everyone's life was in danger let alone women. However, during the decades of war, it is said women to have suffered more. The war left behind tragedies and human rights violations. However, there is just one and only story that has been told about Somalia; fragile state with tragedy, violation, destruction, rape and starvation. It carries no doubt the extent of impact and destruction can have a country which has been without any central and effective government for almost 20 years. The effect of the prolonged civil war had specifically on women stands as one of the main objectives of this article.

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However, what the paper is also arguing is that, despite negative war experiences and human rights violations, Somali women's capacity has changed and they received space to maneuver and organize themselves. It specifically argues that the conflict offered new opportunities, roles and responsibilities to women. The tragic events of the country had also witnessed the capacity of women who stood against the violence and the general state of impunity. Despite male dominance and bone patriarchy, women have played immense role in peacemaking efforts of the country. Therefore, this study takes in to account the two main leading and contesting status of women and war; victims of war and agents of change. The study is basically qualitative in nature which employs historical approach along indepth secondary analysis by utilizing existing and available data. Data sources include books, Journal articles, news, and reports from government, UN and NGO's.

## **2. Discussion and result**

Traditionally Somali women's role just confined domestic affairs only; managing house hold chores, child rearing, and caring. Decision making at the household level and at the public was always in the hands of male. Although women have traditionally exercised certain decision making autonomy at the family level especially in the management of animal products like milk and ghee because this was perceived as women's issue and role. Generally women remained outside decision making spheres where only men are allowed to take part and attend clan meetings (Warsame, 2004). However, women's political activism can be referred back to the period of colonialism specifically 1943 to 1960 where women actively took part anti-colonial movements and that stands as a grass root for understanding women movements in Somalia.

Moreover, the postcolonial government contributed to the transformational change of women although they were not guaranteed political vacuum in the newly government, but the right of freedom of expression and voice preserved in the constitution as a basic right in 1961 by the republic government (Ingiriis, 2015). On the other hand the period after 1969 until the civil war has been described as women's golden era by some scholars. As soon as the military regime ascended the power, political and social changes occurred in Somalia (Ismail, 2013). This period was a period of transformations which had a profound impact on women. Under the scientific socialism, women got recognition in the political spaces. Although it was the benefit of the government, but Barre regime allowed women to organize themselves. It is claimed that women witnessed positive changes during the military regime. However, the military government collapsed in the early 1991. The country entered in to a period of hostility, chaos and instability. It became a totally different period for women during the decades of war. Many transformations have occurred to the lives of Somali people in general and in specific women. Departing from here, this paper is trying to present how women experienced the prolonged civil war; looking the extent of violation subjected to them and how their role changed going beyond the confinement of domestic affairs. Also, how these changes shaped their political participation today. The study will specifically focus if any improvement has been realized in regard to women political participation and the challenges that still hindering women to fully take part of the politics.

### **Civil war era: Women as victims of violence**

The period of civil war was the most violent period throughout the history of Somalia. It is said 25,000 people to have killed in Mogadishu just four months of fighting between 1991 and 1992 (Accord Insight, 2013: 45). In addition, 1.5 Million Somalis left the country and became refugees in the neighboring countries like Kenya, Ethiopia Djibouti, Yemen and also Europe and North America while an estimate of 2 million people internally displaced (Inculsive Peace and Transition Initiative, 2018: 2). According to Gardner, the customary conventions and code of honor that Somalis used prior to the civil war to regulate conflict between clans and offer protection for women and children to ensure freeness from violence have been widely destroyed and violated during the war periods (CISP and International Alert, 2015: 10). Women and children faced unequal brunt of hardships during the prolonged civil war. The conflict disproportionately affected women. But this is not surprising as women occupied inferior and powerless position in the Somali society for a long time (Shire, 1993; Refworld, 1994). Although men and boys represent the majority of the people being killed in the war but the conflict hugely affected women and children. They were killed, raped, looted, forced to displace, abandoned and sexually dishonored. In addition, their husbands were killed leaving behind large number of widows and orphans. The bereavement and separation led large portion of women to displace within the country or become

refugees in other countries. Because of the pressures of the conflict further accompanied by poverty, despair and displacement, their marriage was destroyed leading to live alone without even tiny support from relatives. Women became the sole breadwinners of the family (Bryden, Steiner, 1998). In addition, they became the target group of rape, abduction, sexual slavery and clan-related revenge killings. The long armed conflict had also caused society's breakdown, forced displacement and family separation (CISP & International Alert 2015: 10). However, the tragedy forced women to turn heads of the families which is unaccustomed to the traditions of Somalis.

The conflict clearly had gendered aspects. Sexual violence against women and girls has been used as a psychological weapon for the intention to humiliate each other by dishonoring the wives, sisters and daughters of the opponent groups. The kind of act by the militias caused serious suffering for women including physical pain, mental problems and sometimes death. It further led dissolution of families due to cultural mentality that put much shame to the survivor instead to the perpetrator (Ingiriis, Hoehne, 2013: 318).

The extent of violation against women based on clan opposition was very high at the times of war. Rape was perceived as manhood attack against both the husband's clan and the birth clan of women. Therefore, the basic intention was to humiliate and denigrate all the men of women's clan (Refworld, 1994: 103). It was also reported raping young girls in front of the eyes of the parents. Sometimes taking the young girls and never returning to their parents (US Department of State, 1991, 1992; Refworld, 1994). As Muse through her writing on "war crimes against women and girls" (2004, p. 70), argues the worst scenario was the rape camps in Mogadishu in the early 1990s. Militias subjected repeated rape and other kinds of abuse to women by abducting and imprisoning them in to villas. Women and girls were the most targeted groups. This mainly occurred in terms of two issues; being member of any opposing factions or women from weak clan affiliations who had no or little clan protection. Further, According to the country reports on human rights practices (1992, 1993) around 3000 people died everyday due to the famine and starvation. It is said that the majority of them were women and children. As it is always the case for armed conflicts, Asha Haji says that women and children usually remained the first and the last victims of war. Although the war is not their desire neither their decision but they are the ones who suffer more. Somali women were killed, raped, physically tortured and forced to displace. In addition to the lost of loved ones, they also experienced mistrust from the clan system. As a result they were rejected by both their married clans and origin clans (The Nordic Africa Institute, 2007: 18).

Women also suffered serious health problems ranging from Anemia, protein deficiency, to gynecological problems caused by much stress and fear from war related atrocities. They were at greater risk of being killed, raped and sexually assaulted. The Absence of health facilities resulted difficulties on taking care of children particularly for women who remained and displaced within the country. Health facilities were totally destroyed and medical personnel's left the country. And whatever remained just limed on providing basic and primary health services to people (African Rights, 1993: 8-10). On the other hand, according to OECD, the civil war had also affected the civil liberty of women. The conflict resulted general loss in terms of mobility. This specifically influenced on women compared to men. Due to the fact the threat of rape had limited women's freedom of movement (2010, p. 263).

In the year 2011, the country characterized as the fifth worst and most dangerous place in the world to be a woman (TrustLaw, 2011, in Ismail, 2013). The conflict contributed the creation of large portion of displacement, most of them women who are vulnerable of violence. The conflict had also destroyed the systems of health and justice and has long remained unable to protect and assist victims of sexual violence. As United Nations reports stated (Muscati, 2014).

### **The extent of Rape in Refugee camps during the civil war: Refugee Women in Kenya**

In addition to the inequality and gender discrimination that women usually suffer, armed conflict also adds burden of violence arising from the situations of war and access reduction to health which also results from the conflict, shortage of food and lack of resources for their survival and their children as well. Evidences show that, in armed conflict and emergency humanitarian settings, there is a widespread of violence particularly subjected to women and young girls. In the context of Somalia, Several thousands of Somalis left the country soon after the start of the conflict. They seek refuge in the neighboring countries more specifically Kenya. As soon as the war started,

camps were formed in the North Eastern part of Kenya to accommodate refugees from Somalia. Four main refugee camps were opened in Dadaab (Ifo), Liboi, Hagadera and dagahley.

The civil war claimed thousands of lives; some wounded both physically and mentally. As said around million Somalis fled the country to the neighboring states. From the start of war, 300,000 Somalis left the country crossing the hundred miles (800) of Somali-Kenya border. Nearly all refugee Somali people walked miles in order to reach the North-Eastern province of Kenya. According to UNHCR, 80 % of the refugees fled to Kenya were women and children including rape survivors. Even though they left the country to escape the danger, women were continuously experiencing violations. While crossing the borders, women continued to be subjected to rape and also other gender based violence both from Somali militias and the policemen of the neighboring countries especially Kenyan police. The atrocity and violence against women continued even in the refugee camps (UNHCR, 1993). More than hundred Somali refugee women were raped in a short period of one and half year. In between February and August in 1993, one hundred ninety two rape cases recorded by UNHCR. Four of these cases constituted rape against children and one against man. It is stated 107 out of the 192 rape cases occurred in refugee camps of Kenya while the rest of the 85 cases took place in Somali soil. Only in one month time, additional 42 cases were recorded the same year. This constitutes the cases recorded by UNHCR, while the actual cases might be higher than the reported cases. Further UNHCR states that women and girls were continuously attacked by unknown gunmen every time they go to the outskirts of the camp in order to collect firewood or herd animals. Nearly hundred cases committed by bandits. In addition, they were also vulnerable to the violence from the Kenyan police forces. Although it was less extent compared to those committed by bandits. The rape and sexual assault against Somali women and girls had no distinct age. Women and girls were equally raped and subjected to violence. Some women were gang raped by seven persons at one time while others raped several times. In addition, robbing, inhumane treatment and knifing and gunshot were also common in refugee camps (UNHCR, 1993). As quoted "in the nightmare continues" by the African Rights (1993), a refugee woman says "We ran away from the lion, but we only found hyena". Inside the refugee camps of Kenya, there was a shocking scale of violence against Somali women. The overall rape cases against refugee women were unknown until the intervention of UNHCR in 1993. However, Fowzia who was working with UNHCR as project coordinator for women victims of violence through her part of writing on "war crimes against women and girls" asserts that the number of women subjected to violence have passed hundreds and even near to thousands. Women had no ability to report due to the fear from the attackers. Some women claim that they can recognize the faces of the attackers but they were reluctant to speak and talk about the ordeals. They were raped inside their own home and sometimes with presence of their husbands while the children are locked inside a room or sometimes the act is done in front of them. Fowzia adds that grenades, bayonets, daggers, clubs, rifles and walking sticks has been used as a means to attack women and sometimes flashlights to blind them for night attacks. Young girls who had no previously sexual relations had greater risk of health problems or sometimes bleed to death. The attackers used razor blades and bayonets to infibulate them (2004, pp. 71-72). As a consequence of rape and the violations, women incurred both short term and long term health problems. They continued to have back and ribs pain as a result of beating. Further they experienced sleeplessness and shock. Among the long term physical affects miscarriage when pregnant women raped, uncontrolled urination, and hemorrhage (UNHCR, 1993). There was an apparent increase on the number of abuses committed by the Kenyan authorities which reach the highest level in 2009. So many rape cases occurred inside the various refugee camps of Kenya and continued even after a decade from the start of war. In just six days in March 2010, Human Rights Watch had interview with 102 refugee women. Almost half of the interviewees experienced sexual violence and abuse by the police of Kenya. The abuses include extorting money from the asylum seekers, detention and unlawfully arrest. However, their voices were not heard and their complaints ignored instead of investigation (Human Rights Watch, 2010). Given the fact that the Constitution of Kenya lays down key provisions of international human rights instruments in which the country constitutes part of it. The Kenyan constitution states that "each and everyone in Kenyan province including refugees and asylum seekers have the right of property protection, as well as to be free from arbitrary arrest and detention and also have the right to be free from all

forms of inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment". However, Kenya which opened its gates to the Somali refugees since the start of war had failed to protect women from violation.

On the other hand, women did not only face physical and emotional difficulties as a consequence of the rape subjected to them. Also, the physical and the psychological trauma accompanied by strong cultural stigma which is attached to rape incidents. Women often meet family rejection in specific and community rejection in general (Muse, 2004: 75). However, rape consequences vary according to the background of the victim. In case of unmarried women beside the rejection, finding a husband becomes disintegrated. As a young girl who is 16 years old raped claims "people just see me and treat me like prostitute, all I want is just to disappear from this world and being buried alive because it is the only solution for my grievance". By the same token, an older woman who is raped becomes also shattered in the eyes of the community (El bushra, 2004: 79-80).

### **Women as agents of change**

The civil war state exposed the life of everyone in a danger. However, it is true that the civil war adversely affects/affected people especially women but it is also true that it positively transforms women's capacity which is the case of Somali women. The opportunity that the war opened for women is something worth mentioning. The civil war era became the first time that women got chance to exercise authority and to serve as the agents of change and peace apart from the colonization period in which they had taken part. The civil war witnessed the capacity of Somali women. They were not only the victims of the war but also peace-makers. From the start of war, women become stuck to earn money in order to manage the life of their families and their basic needs. However, this later shifted in to addressing the root causes of their difficulties and their continuous suffering. Starting from the grassroots, they became peace advocates, educators and human rights protectors. Their movement gradually started to move upward. Women acquired trust from the community and among themselves. As a result, they gained access and built communication with community leaders (Timmons, 2004: 2).

Traditionally women's involvement in conflict resolution and peace building was minimal. They performed indirect role in forging peace between the hostile parties (Warsame, 2004: 43). However the civil war positively transformed women's capacity from an invisible to more visible role. Women once they got aware on the situation that their people befallen, they turned as peace promoters and keen to conclude the fighting. Many women have taken part the war against the dictatorship regime in 1980s. They acquired respect in taking part of the struggle. Some women took advantage of the respect they gained in participation of the movement against Barre. They demanded concessions from warlords and militias. That led several women to come up with the initiative to establish civil society organizations while others became active leading members of the CSO's. This further made possible women to engage in peace building (Jama, 2010: 62). During the years of conflict, women managed to form active and overwhelming national and international networks with other women's social and humanitarian organizations both inside and outside the country. According to them empowerment and equality of gender had been a source for justice and democracy. However, women turned as crucial peace builders during the long lasted civil war. The war opened up new opportunities and responsibilities when the country was just described as a failed state. They take more active role in organizing themselves and their community at large. Although they were often excluded from formal peace efforts but they actively and visibly participated in the processes of peace making, leadership and state-reinstating. Practitioners of gender development figured out that war enables redefinition of social relations by rearranging, readopting and reinforcing patriarchal ideologies that exist at the community level. However it does not fundamentally alter those ideologies. In this respect, the position of women and men carry in the process of making peace emerges in a different way. Each faces separate experience and relationship which is based upon the type of gender. As the war raged between the opposing clans, many women acted as peace envoy or messenger between the rival clans. With this engagement as messengers enabled them to get the chance of positively taking part armed conflicts that normally results from men with power and authority over resources (Ingiriis, 2012). Women employed different strategies including acting as messengers in order to foster peace. It is been noted that some strategies that women employed were more traditional while others were more innovative and modern. Playing the role of messengers between the warring clans was among the tools they used. However, that was driven from the patrilineal descent and clan exogamy. In the Somali society, normally woman is a member of her own clan and also relates to that of the husband.



Therefore, whenever the two groups are in conflict women usually find a way and create line of communication between the opposing clans. That either prevents or ends the conflict (Kapteijns, 1993). This method is only effective if the conflicting parties have the mentality that women, children and elderly do not deserve the sword. Otherwise it places at greater risk for women messengers when the parties know no boundaries. However as previously noted, in Somali society, only men have the means to make peace. Women have been excluded from decision making forums and negotiations but their position within the clan structure made the possibility to bridge clan divisions and to always act as first channel for conflict resolutions. They have been active for convincing elders and clan leaders to intervene the conflict (Jama, 2010: 62).

A second more important method women employed was peace demonstrations, demanding peace through chanting slogans that women need not war but peace. At the demonstrations women also used very traditional method of composing their specific poetry (Buraanbur) to promote peace. Reciting that kind of poetry, sometimes helped women to transmit their messages which made militiamen to accept the message and end the hostility (Ingiriis, Hoehne, 2013: 321).

Further, women have also played an active role on mobilizing resources for the purpose of financing peace meetings and demobilization. While Somali men emphasized only realizing political settlements with the mentality that peace will ensue. But women had greater and comprehensive vision of peace than men which includes sustainable livelihood, education, and reconciliation. Women realized that the struggle of peace and women rights is inextricably linked.

#### **Notable Women who break the chain**

There are few women who inspired other fellow Somali women. Among the popular women is **Marriam Hussein Awreeye** who dedicated her life advocating human rights in Somalia. Marriam is the widow of previous human rights lawyer (Ismail Jimale Osoble). She established human rights center in Mogadishu and given the name of her late husband (Ismail Jimale Center for human rights). The center was founded soon after the collapse of the central government to record human rights violations of the country with the hope once the country recovers the perpetrators could be brought to justice. Also **Dr. Hawa Abdi**, a notable female philanthropist and her two daughters risked their life to assist women and children for more than the two decades of war. She became the only women doctor at a time when women were given neither the right to be seen or heard. When the civil war broke out she decided to stay and to not leave the country (Ingiriis, Hoehne, 2013: 321). During the hostilities, **Dr. Hawa** built 400 bed hospitals using her own money. Once upon time she woke up while the war going outside her home. One of the fighters asked her why she is running the hospital knowing that she is a woman and old. Mama Hawa stood against him and replied asking what he has done to his people other than destroying them. She further added that she will not leave the hospital even if it costs death and she is ready to die with her people with dignity (Wallace, 2011). Dr. Hawa was strong enough and has done many things along with her two daughters. She had given care to the sick and wounded people often for free. Mama Hawa saved thousands of Somali people mostly women and children. Due to her prominent role in the field of gynecology, Dr Hawa nominated for the Noble Peace Prize in the year 2012. On the other hand, several other Somali women lost their lives in the middle of assisting their people during the years of war. A community leaders like **Starlin Abdi Arush, Mana Abdirahman Suldaan** who ran an orphanage center and Swiss relief worker Verena Karrer dedicated their lives enhancing the status of women and children in the southern part of Somalia especially Merca. In 2002 Starlin and Karren was killed (Ingiriis, Hoehne, 2013: 321). Starlin actively participated peace negotiations and fighting against tribalism of the country. Her efforts range from negotiating with warlords, setting up hospitals, chairing Somali Olympic committee to aid worker. Among her remarkable job for saving the country was her involvement in 1993 for the negotiation on ending the stand-off between the warlord Mohamed Farah Aided and the American peacekeepers who perceived Aided as the cause of all evil. However Starlin was killed at early age of 45 by unknown gunman. Her fiancé expressing her love to the country says that saving people was her first priority and she put even above her own future (Astill, 2002).

On the other hand, **Asha Haji** is also among the active Somali women. She is women rights activist and hugely lobbied women's participation in peace processes. Asha is also the founder of Save Somali Women and Children (SSWC) which was established in 1992 (Global Peace Builders,

2020). When Somali women was excluded from the various peace process, Asha initiated the notion of *sixth clan*\* in order to draw attention the importance of women's involvement in to the peace process. Asha is peace and women rights activist. She strongly advocated women's participation in conflict resolution and also campaigned against the traditional cultural practices (FGM) (The Elders, 2014).

### **The struggle of women (Political participation perspective)**

It was 1991 January when the international community officially announced end of the military regime led by Mohamed Siad Barre. The country as a whole witnessed political chaos and instability. According to different sources, Somali women became not only the victims of war. Indeed the war disproportionately made them suffer from the continuous use of violence particularly rape which constitutes the most employed weapon of war. Nevertheless, they also turned active participants in peace building activities. As Nakaya (Nakaya, 2003: 466-467) in her analysis on "women and gender equality in peace processes in Somalia and Guatemala" argues that the movement of Somali women is a product of humanitarian crisis caused by the prolonged civil war. Women played role even taking care of the combatants by providing shelter and medical treatments. As part of the attempts to restore peace, Somali women contributed also increasing the level of education by restoring destroyed schools. As mentioned, Somalis are patrilineal in nature based on clan exogamy. Following this point, Nakaya states that women do not only belong to her father's clan but also to that of the husband because of their children. So they form close ties with their father's and husband's clan. That made possible to act as an agent for the cross-clan dialogues. Hence, several NGO's led by women has been established in order to strength dialogues on peace-making. However it's stated that 1998 meeting on National Reconciliation in Addis Ababa was the first time formulized Somali women's participation in formal peace processes. The meeting brought the establishment of Transitional National Council (TNC) that required the presence of woman for each of the three delegation members from each of the eighteen Somali regions. But the inclusion of women in TNC was just based on clan associations. Although it failed but there were no measures intended to improve the status of women.

However, it was only 2000s when Somali women started to formally and directly challenge men throughout the different political structures; local council, regional and national parliaments and national cabinet (Inclusive Peace and Transition Initiative, 2018: 2). Due to realization on the calamity and the difficulties that the community befallen, women never hesitated to actively contribute community transformations and inspired to end the fighting. Nevertheless, being based on clan exogamy made women's identity to split in to two; between her original clan; the father's clan and the one with the husband which to some extent enabled them to act as a channel between the clans as mentioned above. However, this diminished due to mistrust from both parties to women's loyalty. However, women's efforts in terms of social and humanitarian aspect had gradually developed expanding from the ground levels to local structures, regional and national levels. Women's success in the aspect of humanitarian as well as peace issues laid the foundation for the National Peace conference of Arta in the year 2000. That became the fourteenth attempt as thirteen previously peace attempts failed. However, once the president of Djibouti called reconciliation and peace conference during the Security Council meeting in September 1999, there were only sixty intellectuals among them five women including Aisha Haji Elmi; co-founder of sixth clan. They campaigned women to participate as independent and equal partners. With the support of Ismael Omar Guelleh, president of Djibouti, women were accepted to stand their own not as observers (El Bushra, Gardner, 2003: 193). Nonetheless, the thirteen peace reconciliation attempt again failed. This is followed by the 14<sup>th</sup> conference. It became the first time where hundred women became among the estimated 2000 to 3000 Somalis selected for the representation of clan affiliations. The selected hundred women from the five Somali clans started to cooperate and work with each other with the hope to bring women issues to the table. However, they realized that peace accords based on traditional clan structures and clan-based power sharing would not give women consideration in decision making structures. As a result women sought to establish new identity for women in politics. During the conference in Arta, around 92 women

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\* There is five major clan in Somalia so this refers to the women's clan. It is an initiative that women came with during one of the peace building meetings for the purpose of securing women seats in the political spaces.

agreed to break the chain based on clan allegiance. They agreed to vote as a single bloc and that was where the idea of “*Sixth clan*” emerged (Summons, 2004: 18). This new term which refers to the clan of women officially emerged during the Arta peace conference of 2000s and also entered in to the discussions of gender and politics in Somalia during that period. Women lobbied across the whole major clan leaders to persuade women to take part of the conference as sixth clan and separate unit. They actively engaged persuasion of clan leaders and challenged to think beyond clan boundaries (Ingiriis, Hoehne, 2013: 324). Through the words of Asha Haji Elmi during the conference of “Arab women on economic and political issues” held in Dhakar on May 1, 2005 explains how the sixth clan emerged said that:

“The sixth clan was born out of the frustration. Within our society, although we are victims of conflict we had no voice for the national solution. In a patriarchal society such as ours, women have no right to represent their clan, nor any responsibility for protecting the clan. A group of us had the idea to form our own clan, in addition to the five pre-existing clans. The sixth clan gave us the first political entry point for women as equal partners in decision making. The women elected me to be their leader. We went to the negotiation table with the five clan leaders. We put women’s interest into the peace process... we engendered the language. Instead of merely referring to men, the language (government documents) now says he or she”.

The sixth clan coalition lobbied women representation and as a result 10 % allocated for women representing 25 seats, five from each and every of the five major clans. According to Summons (2004, p. 19) during the conference 70 % of coalition members voted as a single bloc that enabled the formation of national charter which regulates reservation of 25 seats for women out of the 245 parliament member of Transitional National Government (TNG). In addition, the charter also contributed guaranteeing the human rights of children and also women and minorities. Starting from the early 2000s, Somali women became engaged in to the politics of country as this was the first time women in south central Somalia entered in to the national politics after the collapse of the central government. As already mentioned, 25 seats were given to the women in the newly formed Transitional Government in Arta, Djibouti. As Ingiriis and Hoehne (2013) claim, prominent women also acquired extra seats. TNG had also the first female minister throughout the history of Somalia. The Arta conference of 2000 has been described as one of the most inclusive conference (Inclusive Peace and Transition Initiative, 2018). Certainly, Sixth clan has been the first organized political movement funded and purely led by women inspired to seek the rights of women in general and their representation at all levels of making decisions in the government. However, despite it is success on realization women quota in the Transitional National Government women continued to face political barriers. They continued to be denied as a platform (sixth clan) and as an independent group in the subsequent peace conferences of 2002-2004 and 2008-2009 in Kenya and Djibouti respectively. Yet women participated in the conferences as part of their clans (Ingiriis, Hoehne, 2013: 324). However, the Arta conference followed by the peace talks in Kenya, Nairobi which concluded on January 2004. The Nairobi gathering produced the agreement to establish new parliament and new government that will replace the TNG. The new agreement called the appointment of 275 parliament members from each of the clan with reservation of 12 % quota for women delegates. Summons (2004: 20) states that the Sixth Clan Coalition (SCC) achieved a milestone in the conference as the co-founder and the chair of SCC signed peace agreement becoming the first Somali women to sign an agreement. In theory, 12 % quota was allocated for women but in reality the situation was different for the newly established Transitional Federal Government (TFG) that replaced the TNG. Only half of the 33 seats (12 %) taken by women and only one woman appointed for minister position. Nevertheless, another TFG was established roughly after four years in Djibouti. As a reality on the ground, women were supposed to acquire the 12 % already allocated for them even though the enlargement of the parliament comprising 550 parliamentarians. Again, same as the previous government, women held half of the seats. However, the TFG of 2009–2012 had several women ministers.

### **Women political participation (from the year 2012 to the present)**

The establishment of permanent Somali state came after long years of Transitional Governments. On August 20 2012, the first international recognized central government was established in Mogadishu with parliamentarians of 275 being formed within the same month including 38 women (Legal Action Worldwide, 2014: 2). According to Legal Action Wide (LAW) the established government repeatedly committed realizing gender equality and empowering Somali women. In 2013,

the government led by Hassan Sheik adopted a New Deal Compact. Several commitments of the compact clearly emphasize women rights issues by seeking to address gender inequalities on the ground (Legal Action Worldwide, 2014: 5). However women continued to experience gender imbalances and several other challenges in enjoying their rights and attaining equal access to assets and services. Although, representation of women in the parliament and the cabinet marked as an improvement compared to the transitional periods, but women's representation still remained very low. For instance, in the strong parliament of 275 persons, women were only 37 representing (14 %) thus making them minority. While the ten person cabinet, women were only two despite the agreements and the principles of Garowe II which provides women 30 % representation of all political institutions (UNDP, 2012a). In spite of the low representation of women, Hassan Sheik government became the first government ever to appoint women as a Deputy Prime Minister as well as Minister of Foreign Affairs. The two appointed women were Fosiyo Yusuf Haji Adan who has been given the highest position ever and Maryam Qasim the Ministry of Development and Social Services which comprised around five ministries combined together. Moreover, three other women have been part of 20 Deputy Ministers (Dini, 2013). However, women were not content the representation given to them by the first republic government after the civil war. In an interview with Amina carried by Shukria Dini (2013) highlights that the government did not give proper representation to women, appointing deputy prime minister for women does not mean it will bring more attention to women issues said Amina. However, as usual the electoral process of the elections of 2012 had been in the hands of TFG and the UN who further gave the responsibility 135 clan leaders for the purpose of appointing Parliament members. Even though the elders alerted to ensure the inclusion of women in the government particularly the parliament but there were no any specific measures and mechanisms intended to enforce the issue. According to UNDP report, as of 2012, the Gender Inequality Index for Somalia has been 0.776 which placed the country the fourth highest position at the global level (UNDP, 2012b).

In 2014, the Federal government appointed new cabinet increasing the ministerial portfolio from 10 to 25. This significantly lowered women's presence in the cabinet taking the proportion from 20 % to 10 % in 2014 but this not altered the number of women in the parliament (UNDP, 2014: 7). However, things changed slowly as the country turned its way in to federal system in 2012. There were many efforts and attempts to secure the position of women in the political space. Civil society organizations with the support of international community pushed the problem that women experienced in the 2012 elections. Among the attempts was realizing gender quota and mitigating the power and influence of clan leaders in the Somali elections. In the National Leadership Forum, a minimum of 30 % quota of women at all government levels reiterated. For the 2016 election new electoral model have been adopted where 14025 delegates were in charge to vote parliamentary members. Unfortunately, clan leader's influence were still there as the delegates appointed by them. However, women acquired near the allocated quota. the current government led by Mohamed Abdullahi Farmajo, women hold 24 % moving from 14 % which has been marked as a milestone for Somali women (Concar, 2017).

In the national elections of 2016, 66 women have been elected to the Lower House out of the 275 total members while 13 women acquired seats in the Upper house of a total 54 seats. Moreover, the appointed cabinet of 27 positions women was given 6 positions being Ministry of Ports and Marine Transport and also the Ministry of Commerce and Industry which represent first period to be given to women (Samatar, 2019: 182). However, recently the president has appointed a new Prime Minister which replaced the former Prime Minister (Khaire) who served as the country's PM since the national election of 2016. The new PM, who was appointed on September 18 this year, announced a month later on his appointment new cabinet ministers composed of 26 ministers and deputy minister. Women represent four out of the 26 new ministers appointed (Dhaysane, 2020). Women's position in the cabinet lowered from six to four. As mentioned above, the government of Khaire; the predecessor of the current PM, women held six prominent positions from the total 27 ministerial posts.

Furthermore, the elections at the federal states like Puntland which took place in 2018 (parliamentary elections) only one woman was selected from the total contested female which were 16. By the same token, in Somaliland 82 parliament members in the lower house only one represents women while there is no women in the upper house (Affi, 2020). On the other hand, Galmudug state women hold 6.7 % for the elected 89 members while South West state in the recent elections women acquired 17 % (16 out of the 95 Mps) which is the most highest compared to other states (Hiiraan Online, 2020).

### **Barriers to women Political Participation**

For decades Somali women have experienced marginalization from decision making and leadership activities. Yet they represent 49.3 % which is almost half of the population with the fact, just few women being part of higher ranks in the formal political positions. Nevertheless, this is not only limited to the central government. At the federal level for instance, Puntland and the self declared state Somaliland which experienced relative peace have not yet realized better representation of women in the parliament (Abdi, 2016). Current figures suggest that women representation in the parliament close to 25 % in spite of the 30 % quota formally allocated for women though this marks as an achievement compared to the 14 % in 2012 but still women make low percentage. Further, Somalia still employs old electoral model which contributes the marginalization of women as it's in the hand of traditional male leaders where the selection of initial candidates is required from them. As Stephanie Carver (2017) states women who run for political positions within male dominated system face challenges; first, women are already outside the customary decision making processes and this leaves little space to vie and declare themselves as political candidates. Second, there is lack of legal mechanism and even policies intended to ensure the 30 % compliance. Knowing that, the provisional constitution designates only women political participation. There is no specific measure in regard to the implementation and enforcement of the quota system by the traditional leaders. As former Minister of MoWHRD Zahra Mohamed Ali asserts "all that women have is a promise that the quota will be filled. They have no one to hold accountable if they are overlooked". In one case or another, female politicians are ignored in the political spaces. For example, the 2016 election in HirShabelle region female politicians were left behind as a result of the objection for the seats reserved for women from the federal indirect electoral implementation team. Women participation in politics is human rights issue as well as justice issue. As Dr. Shukria Dini in her article on women in the government of Somalia stresses that the politics of Somalia not only remained contested but also male-dominated where the system of 4.5 used to select men. It is a politics where male allows male to represent the nation and Somalis as a whole (2013).

The challenges that women meet are made up of a complex set of factors embedded with culture, religion and traditions. They face multiple challenges including economic, socio-cultural, and security-related obstacles. The advancement of women is significantly influence by culture; which is mainly referred to the values, norms, and beliefs of a particular people. The patriarchal nature of Somalis limits the opportunities of women especially in the political spheres. Taking in to account that patriarchal system deems women subordination with the mind that they are incompatible and unsuitable for political positions. This ideology places women in a less hierarchical space.

However, it is perceived that clannism as the most important barrier in regard to women's political involvement. A research study report indicates that clan leaders identify women as weak in nature compared to their male counterparts. They are regarded as less intelligent to represent the clan. In addition with the cultural norms which do not give permission women to seek political positions, clan leaders who are responsible for the political representation degrade women's efforts as they rarely allow women to hold key positions in the government (AMISOM, 2016: 9). Clan plays an important role in Somali politics. It gives priority to the interests of men while women within their own clan are behaved as a second class and given inferior status. The clan system contributes to the marginalization of women. Women and men are not entitled the same rights. The right to hold positions and represent the clan is only defined as the right of men. Through the words of Shukria Dini (2012), "Clan leaders often tell any woman who is running for a political position whether a parliamentarian member or any other political post that the seats assigned to each clan is just too few to give seats to them. Women with cross-clan marriages particularly meet additional challenges when aspiring and contesting a Member in the Parliament where these women are told to search support and nomination from the clan in which they have married into – which is really a deliberate strategy to marginalize as well as deny women access to seats". In addition, Dini also states that women with cross-clan marriages meet additional barriers as they do not receive seats both from their natal clan and the clan of husband. However, according to the research of Dr. Lewa and Mohamud on "Factors Affecting Women Political Leadership in Benadir Region" revealed that women who win leadership positions are those who break the chain and overcome the challenges posed by clannism through establishing strong connections with progressive male leaders both within and outside the political system and in addition with the advancement of status at the community level (2019, p. 114). In Somalia, instead of universal suffrage,

the electoral system of Somalia is based on clan structure; members' selection of both upper and lower houses of the parliament is in the hands of clan leaders. As a result the representation of women strongly depends on the willingness of those male leaders (Madigan, 2017). Formally, women are excluded from decision making spheres and clan meetings. Knowing that, the politics of the country is based on balancing of power which is between clans and their sub divisions. This lowers women's chance to actively take part in the politics. As a result, the political disadvantage of women in the clan composition can be directly mirrored in formal political spaces as the clan decides individual rights on gaining candidacy (Park, 2017: 14).

However, according to a research carried by EARF (2017, p. 14) shows that clannism represents as the major challenge to women's involvement in politics and leadership positions. There is strong perception in the Somali community that women can not represent the clan interest. Clan leaders exercise significant power and are involved in every political process. In an extreme case, Somali clan system poses enormous threat to women seeking political power. One female MP in Mogadishu expressing the difficulties she faced says:

*"I was competing against a very powerful man as well as a few young women. It was very tough and I faced a lot of intimidation via text message and phone calls telling me that I should step down my candidacy or face the consequences".*

In addition, the findings of (Mohamed et al., 2018; Samantar, 2019) the clan-based political system favors male and undermines women's political participation. The favoritism is based on the fact the patriarchal nature of Somalis and clan power sharing arrangements which deprives the political rights of Somali women.

On the other hand financial resource play essential role on acquiring political positions. Politics is highly commercialized nowadays where politicians allocate funds for political posts. In every part of the world whether developed or developing, politicians provide money in order to succeed for their political campaigns. According to an Empirical study conducted by Sendukas (2010) indicates that women in order to effectively take part in politics require considerable amount of financial resources for their political campaigns. This is in line with the fact that many women lack adequate financial resources to realize political positions. Several other studies showed that women face financial barriers which challenge their success in political spaces. It is been argued that unlike men, Somali women do not have full access to opportunities; education, employment and productive assets which hinders their presence in the political scenes. Certainly, their lack of equal access to opportunities as male counterparts inevitably enables absence of women from decision making spheres which demands having financial muscle. This is further fueled by the socially ingrained prejudices against women which present scenarios that further remove financing and endorsing women for their political ambitions (Abdi, 2016). Income generation is difficult for women in Somalia due to their limited education. In addition many women do not own property or business; they therefore have limited purchasing power compared to men and that explicitly shows that they are economically disadvantaged (AMISOM, 2016: 16). As mentioned, political campaigns demand extensive financial resources which women cannot handle for some reasons. One reason is that, their level of economy based on that, their involvement in the politics tends to be low. According to Samatar and Mohamed, women candidates receive support neither from the government nor from their clan. Their research asserts men are more likely to get financial support from the clan, business groups and political leaders if they stand for political positions while women are ignored (2019: 185). Further, there is a cultural stigma attached to women participation in political affairs. The idea of male superiority is universal although it differs across culture. The society ascribed roles puts women in a hierarch where female sex characterized as less value than male sex. As such, it is normal for men to seek political power while women are supposed to be submissive to men. Any attempt of women to find political power is unwelcomed to the society (Yassin, Mohamud, 2015: 126). This is why many have the mentality that politics is meant only for men while women's role is limited on domestic task and taking care of children. According to Madigan (2017) Dahaba Ahmed who is running for MP for the upcoming 2021 elections addressing the hurdles she is already experiencing said during an event conducted in Mogadishu *"being a woman I am facing so many obstacles and challenges including mainly social pressures and also absence of awareness in the general community about women's capability. Society at large and even families believe that only men can do a better job and are stronger positioned to take up political posts, and that the sole role of women is just related to*

*domestic affairs and to stay at home*". Women in Somalia continuously experience challenges which limit their political participation. Nevertheless, their challenge goes beyond from vying political office, but also once elected they often find difficult to effectively perform their duties and actively participate in key political and legislative processes (National Democratic Institute, 2017). The socio-economic and cultural constraints that Somali women often meet also fueled by insecurity issues which further blocks women from running in to power. According to a research conducted by AMISOM in regard to Somali women political involvement public life found out that women who run for political office are in greater risk of being killed or threatened which may come from the opponents contesting the same political post and further adds that the killings carry by militia or political opponents (2016, p. 17).

Due to the collapse of the central government in 1991. The country witnessed prolonged civil war and chaos which has been going almost two decades where the conflict torn the country apart and hugely affected the economy and the people as well. During these periods, Somali people as a whole have experienced violations which endangered almost every member of the society, leaving no mercy to anyone. Women and children were the most vulnerable among society. They continuously suffered sexual harassment, rape, and all other kinds of Gender-Based Violence. This occurred both in Somali territories and in refugee camps of the neighboring countries especially Kenya. Being one of the worlds starkest and the most neglected tragedy, resulted thousands of people to be under the thrall and the mercy of warlords for decades. The country became one of the worst countries in regard to human rights. Rape which was the most violence subjected to women have been used as a weapon of war. During the war, women lost everything including the little protection they received in the past. Armed conflict hugely affected women and became the most vulnerable group and the targeted ones in the society. Based on the findings, women and young girls have long been the victims of sexual violence. Both women who left the country and the women who remained inside mostly experienced violence. But the extent of violence that refugee women experienced is much frustrating. In search of safe place, women sought refuge in the neighbouring country; Kenya where the Kenyan government established camps for the purpose of hosting Somali refugees. Unfortunately, the terror that women met while trying to escape the war broke in their country was just miserable. Neither their way to the camps nor inside the camp became safe heaven to them.

In addition to the violations, women turned to be the bread-winners of the family as the war left them without husband, brother and even a father. The war contributed changing the gender roles of the sexes. Traditionally, men were the sole family providers and it was uncommon in the society a female head but the conflict led women to gain great responsibility over themselves and their families due to the loss of the husband and family members.

However, apart from the negative effect of war, conflict redefines social relations. It positively transforms women's capacity. Although it does not change conservative and backward ideologies but conflict creates space. Based on the analysis, since the country witnessed social, political and economical changes, this also influenced gender-based roles and responsibilities. In the traditional Somali society there was strong defined roles and responsibilities where the society determines the kind of position and status given to the individual member. However the war to some extent contributed changing those strict defined roles. Women assumed new roles and responsibilities where they turned crucial peace-builders. Their role got beyond the confinement of household chores and private issues.

On the other hand, due to a complex set of factors including culture, clannism and economic condition, Somali women not allowed access to decision making spheres and were often excluded from leadership positions. Considering the fact that strict gender roles exist in the community, but this is not stopped women from contributing to the country's peacemaking efforts. They were active in peacemaking and peace building of the country. Absence of government led women to bear the burden. Women became active contributors where they contributed the country in terms of peace promotion, human rights advocacy and many developmental issues.

Moreover, unlike pre-civil war, women particularly realized considerable advances in the political arena without even support from the male. With the fact, that women had no representation in the politics of Somalia back then in 1960. Even coming the revolutionary period where women had limited rights and representation. The first time when women break the chain was the year 2000. Women's political status improved as they hardly tried their voices to be heard and respect their rights.

The transitional governments established in Arta, Djibouti and Kenya respectively, women got representation in the parliament though it was tiny proportion compared to the male. They additionally gained ministerial positions. This gradually increased with the time; initially the representation of women was very low only 12 % was given to women. This is followed by 14 % representation in the parliament, then 25 % representation and number of female ministers which is the current government. However, yet to be achieved the 30 % quota of women. According to a recent event in which women adopted Somali women's charter states that women advocating for a 50 % representation. However, it is worth mentioning, that the electoral system is still in the hands of male traditional leaders. Knowing their favour of men above women to entrust clan political positions. Nevertheless, one can argue that, the little progress of women political representation resulted from the civilization of Somali politics after the war engulfed the country. However, the little improvement of women's political status does not generally mean that Somali women's rights also improved. There is no enough empowerment of women as the country is not part of main human rights treaties which actually protect and promote women rights like for instance CEDAW. However, there are other laws, policies and programs intended to promote women issues.

The research also discovered that the major challenge that women face in regard to participation of politics is the clan system which long remained and still remaining the backbone of Somali politics. Same as other parts of the world, the government adopted quota system of women representation in decision-making spheres. However, the quota lacks institutionalization. There are no measures and mechanisms intended for the achievement the allocated percentage for women. This indicates the quota system that the government adopted is yet to be realized. One contributing factor is that, the electoral system, the country still employing old electoral model where clan leaders have played and still playing influential role in Somali politics and governance. Even in the last national election of 2016 where it seemed clan influence reduced but played the same role. Clan system hugely marginalizes women in one way another. Throughout the history of Somalia, clan elders never easily accepted woman to represent the clan as they strongly believe that the politics is for men only. Generally, a woman is perceived as less capable and weak who cannot be entrusted any clan position. In addition, women also face financial problems in their attempt to run for political office.

### **3. Conclusion**

This paper is destined to assess the experiences of women during the prolonged civil war; human rights violations against women and young girls, women's role in fostering peace and as well as how these experiences shaped women's status today specifically their political participation given the fact Somali women's less independence before the civil war as the power usually rested upon the hands of male. The study has taken in to account the two main leading and contesting status of women and war; victims of war and agents of change. Both the argument is true for the case of Somali women who experienced huge violation of human rights and at the same time never gave up the hope of transformation. Many women employed their power and capacity to organize themselves and courageously stand against the violence threatening their life as a women and their community as well. Despite negative war experiences and human rights violations, Somali women's capacity has changed. The conflict offered new opportunities, roles and responsibilities to Somali women. Despite male dominance and bone patriarchy, women have played immense role in peacemaking efforts of the country. However, based on the above argument, women have been both victims of war and at the same time victors and that crisis can be understood not just breakdown and devastation but also as an opportunity.

### **4. Acknowledgements**

This article is basically part of dissertation of the author called Halima Moalim Adam, Women's Rights: Somali Women's Past Experiences and Present Realities. Past experience here stands the effect of civil war on women; the human rights violation, peace efforts of women. While the present realities focuses specifically political participation of women and the challenges on the ground.

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## The Impact of the Religious Phenomenon on the Political Crisis in Yemen from 2011 to 2020: The Houthi Movement as a Case

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### Abstract

The religious phenomenon represented a factor that has contributed to complicating the political crisis in Yemen, since the outbreak of the youth revolution in February 2011, within the Arab Spring Uprisings that swept a number of Arab countries, and demanded the departure of President Saleh's regime and handover of power. The Houthi movement (Ansar Allah) has emerged as a clear example of the effect of the religious phenomenon on the paths of the political crisis in Yemen. The Houthi movement, although it has political goals represented in controlling power and wealth, has relied on a religious ideology, adopted religious slogans and presented a religious discourse through which it was able to collect huge funds and recruits thousands for its favor and benefits from them in its battles, prolonging the crisis, and consequently improving the conditions of negotiation with the parties fighting it. This article aims to understand the extent of the influence of the Houthi movement, as a model for the religious phenomenon, on the course of the crisis in Yemen, starting with the youth uprising in 2011 and then the coup against the legitimate government and control of the state institutions until today.

**Keywords:** Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Houthis, Yemeni Crisis, Arab Spring.

### 1. Introduction

The Houthi movement led an armed coup on September 21, 2014, taking advantage of the military support provided by the former President Saleh, and also exploiting the weakness of state institutions in Yemen, and was able to control state institutions, and its activities were based on religious ideologies, including their religious theory that states that power is a divine right limited to the children and grandchildren of Ali bin Abi Talib, according to religious texts that granted them this right. Moreover, the Houthis relied on religious slogans to pass their political goals, including the slogan (The Scream), which is their famous slogan which says ("God is great, death to the US, death to Israel, curse the Jews, and victory for Islam"), in an attempt to convince their followers that the war against them is a war on Islam. In addition, the group was able to collect funds and recruit young men in its battles, under religious pretexts called (Jihad), defending Islamic sanctities, and fighting Allah's enemies (America And Israel) and their allies in Yemen, means the other parties fighting the Houthi group.

This religious discourse had a clear effect on complicating and prolonging the Yemeni crisis, and therefore the article is an attempt to understand the extent of the influence of the Houthi movement, as a model for the religious phenomenon, on the course of the crisis in Yemen, starting

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with the youth uprising in 2011 and then the coup against the legitimate government and control of the state institutions until today.

## 2. Methodology

The article relies on the historical approach to recognize the beginning of the emergence of the Houthi movement and the activities it practiced before its coup against the legitimate government, and the extent of these activities' impact on the political situation today, as well as the descriptive and analytical approach as a main tool to describe the Houthi phenomenon as it is in reality, then analyze its activities and find out the extent of its impact on the political crisis in Yemen.

## 3. Results and discussion

### Religious Sects in Yemen

Religion strongly affects the nature of political action, as it is a set of values on which institutions are based, and although the religion of each particular individual indicates his non-political behavior, such as his work style, his life, his ambition, and his judgment on things, yet the different religious groups have different political identities as well. There is no doubt that religious backgrounds contribute to policymaking, through the religious political party, as is the case with the Christian democracies. Whatever the case, many European countries are still largely affected by religion despite the absence of religious parties in them, as is the case in some Arab countries that is still influenced by religion (Mousa, 2019).

In Yemen, religious sects and schools have played a clear role in the political movement at the official and popular levels, and have been present in the Yemeni political scene since the outbreak of the revolutionary movement in Yemen in 2011, so it is important to understand the sectarian religious map in Yemen. In fact, there are two main schools in Yemen, namely the Shafi'i school, which is one of the four Sunni schools, and it spreads in the regions in the center of Yemen down to the south, and the other is the Zaidi school, which is close in its literature to the Shiite thought (Twelver), and it spreads in Central Yemen and up to the north, in addition to religious minorities of the Ismaili sect distributed in several regions.

There is no accurate study on the percentage that these schools represent in Yemen, but the prevalence of the Shafi'i school is estimated about 60 % to 65 %, while the percentage of Zaydis is estimated about 35 % to 40 %, while the sectarian minorities, led by the Ismailis and the Sufi Ash'aris, represent less than 1 % (Al-Moghalis, 2013).

### The Zaidi Sect

Zaydism was the first sect of the Houthi movement, before it adopted the Shiite theories, nevertheless, some consider Zaidism a branch of Shiism, while others consider it an independent school close to the Shiite sect. Zaydism is attributed to its first founder, Imam Zaid bin Ali, grandson of Hussein bin Ali bin Abi Talib, and the sect is based on a basic idea of departing from the oppressive ruler and rejecting the political system. Zaydism is divided into several groups, the most important of which is Al-Jarudiyya after Abu Al-Jaroud Al-Kharfi, which is the group that existed and ruled parts of Yemen. This group agrees with the Imami Shiites (Twelver Shiites) in the need for the ruler to be a descendant of Ali and Fatima, it is called the "theory of Albatinin|", this theory makes ruling as an exclusive right of the offspring of Hassan and Hussein, the sons of Ali bin Abi Talib (Alasha'ari, 1990).

Imam Yahya Al-Rassi, known as Al-Hadi, was the first to introduce the Zaidi doctrine to Yemen, at the end of the ninth century AD, and he was a descendant of Hussein bin Ali bin Abi Talib, and he came from Jabal Al-Rass in Medina, and Al-Hadi was able to establish a state in Saada, north of Yemen and governed it. He was the first founder of the Zaydi state in Yemen, which was ruled after that by his children and grandchildren, and it continued intermittently in parts of the Yemeni regions, until 1962, that is, until the Yemeni revolution and the establishment of the Republic of Yemen (Al-Saqaf, 2019). Currently, Zaydism spreads in the areas that were subject to the Zaidi state from the era of the Hadi state, until the era of Mutawakkiliya in 1962, from the Dhamar governorate in central Yemen, to the governor of Saada in the far north (Al-Moghalis, 2013).

Zaydism differs from the Shiite (Twelver Shiite), which Iran considers its current stronghold in that Zaydism does not believe in the idea of the Hidden Imam whom the Twelver Shiites believe in, and on which the theory of "Wilayat al-Faqih " or (guardian Islamic jurist) was based, which

makes the jurist as a ruler on behalf of the Hidden Imam who will come at the end of time. However, it agrees with it that the ruler must be a descendant of Ali and Fatimah, the daughter of the Prophet Muhammad, and one of the sons of Hassan and Hussein, and they call it the theory of "Albatnain", which is similar, in its content, to the theory of divine right that appeared in medieval Europe (Moghnia, 1979).

### **The Emergence of the Houthi Movement**

The Houthi group is an armed religious political movement, which embraces the Zaidi sect, and later converted to the Twelver Shiite sect. It took the city of (Saada) in northern Yemen, on the border with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, as a main center for it. The Yemenis called them "the Houthis" , The name came from the surname of the early leader of the movement" Badr Aldeen Al-Houthis, while they call themselves "Ansar Allah." (Benfoua, Alzabidi, 2017). It is a religious description similar to the name of the Lebanese Hezbollah, which is consistent with the Houthi group in being a Shiite group and has a good relationship with Iran.

The movement began its educational and cultural activities in 1986, about 7 years after the outbreak of the Iranian Islamic Revolution, as part of a union that was called the "Youth Union" to teach the youth of the Zaydi sect by one of the sheikhs of the Zaidi sect called Salah Ahmad Fellitah. The Youth Forum turned into a political party, called " Party of Truth", but the group established another forum called" the Believing Youth, and it was the core of the Houthi movement, and the Forum "Believing Youth" organized cultural and educational activities that teach the Zaidi sect. It was founded in 1992, By Muhammad Badr Al-Din Al-Houthi, the group's religious theoretician, and in 1997, the doctrine was transformed into a political movement named (Organization of the Believing Youth), and splits occurred in it, as Salah Felitah and Majd Al-Din Al-Mu'aydi left, accusing it of violating the Zaidi sect (Aljazeera Encyclopedia, 2014).

In 2002, the group began to carry out its activities and make it public, and launched the slogan " "God is great, death to the US, death to Israel, curse the Jews, and victory for Islam" " and repeated it after each prayer, which is the same slogan that the Shiites repeated in Iran, and in 2004 armed confrontations began between The government and the organization, accused of turning the organization into an armed movement, threatening the republican system of the state. The state launched six rounds of wars against the Houthi movement, from 2004 until 2009 (Encyclopedia, 2014). The leader of the movement, Hussein Al-Houthi, was killed in the first round of the war, in 2004, and his father Badr Al-Din Al-Houthi, one of the references of the Zaidi sect, assumed the leadership of the movement until his death in 2010, after which his son AbdulMalik Al-Houthi assumed leadership until now.

### **The Houthis and the Youth Uprising**

The Houthi movement had classified former President Ali Abdullah Saleh as one of its foes, because he launched six rounds of wars against it, so the movement participated in the youth uprising that broke out on February 12, 2011, but its presence was weak during that period, and the presence was proportional to its size, where It had not reached a great size of power, and yet it tried to benefit from the uprising in an attempt to present itself as a movement that believes in change. It staged a sit-in in its own camps in Change Square in the center of the capital, Sana'a, and carried out awareness-raising activities by distributing its publications in Change Square. But it quickly left a few months after the outbreak of the uprising, in late August 2011, a time when Saleh regime's intention to storm the Change Square was repeated from all directions, and some attributed the withdrawal of the Houthi movement to its realization of the impossibility of controlling the square, and in all cases the existence Al-Houthi was weak during the uprising, and thus this presence did not produce significant results (Al-Daghshi, 2013).

### **The Houthis and the Gulf Initiative**

After the political situation complicated , following the outbreak of the uprising, Saudi Arabia submitted a draft initiative to solve the crisis in Yemen, on April 3, 2011, in order to arrange a democratic transition through the transfer of power in Yemen and the formation of a national unity government, and this was called the Gulf initiative, and international and regional pressures were applied in order to reach a political settlement in Yemen, in addition to international pressure, there was local pressure to persuade President Saleh to accept the handover of power to his deputy, Abd Rabbo Mansour Hadi (Aljabarat, 2018).

Meanwhile, Saudi Arabia submitted on April 3, 2011, less than a month after the outbreak of the uprising, with a political settlement called the Gulf Initiative, and it was signed in Riyadh, the capital of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia on November 23, 2011, between the ruling party and the opposition parties. The Gulf Initiative, that was amended several times, included several items, the most important of which is Saleh's handing over of power to his deputy, Hadi, granting Saleh and the pillars of his regime immunity from any legal prosecution, and ratifying it by the Parliament. The Houthis participated in the National Dialogue Conference alongside the political forces and parties, although they did not agree to the Gulf initiative presented by Saudi Arabia, (Aljabarat, 2018), they were represented by 35 of the total 565 seats in the National Dialogue Conference (Al-Shargabi, 2014), and the conference almost ended with outputs that would about to solve the existing political problems and crises, but it was thwarted after the Houthi movement led an armed coup against state's institutions, backed by a number of military brigades that were loyal to former President Ali Abdullah Saleh, and they occupied the Capital Sana'a, with the support of the Republican Guard and President Saleh's Special Guard in September 21, 2014, and the democratic transformation that Yemen was witnessing during that period was thwarted (Aljabarat, 2018).

### **An armed coup**

The coup of the armed Houthi group against the political system and its control of state's institutions is the most important event in this decade since the outbreak of the youth uprising in Yemen, and it represented the most important turning point in the political path and the democratic transition in Yemen. It can be said that the Houthi movement passed through its formation through four main stages, the stage of building and establishment, then the stage of expansion and spread, then the stage of armed confrontation, which is the stage of the actual transformation of the movement, and it fought six wars from 2004 until 2010 with the Yemeni political system during the era of former President Ali Abdullah Saleh, then the state of the coup and their capture of power in 2014 (Al-Nouri, 2016).

The Houthis were not able to carry out the coup, or to control Sana'a if they had not received armed support from several sides, including Iran and former President Saleh. According to Yemeni official sources, the Houthis received armed support from Iran. The Yemeni government accused Tehran of interfering in Yemeni affairs. The head of the National Security Agency, Ali Al-Ansi, stated, in December 2009, on the sidelines of the Manama Dialogue Forum that "Iran has a role in Yemen, and they know this, and their role is based on material, political and media support for a rebel group, and if they do not have a role and do not interfere, As they claim, they should condemn the acts of this terrorist rebel group as the whole world condemned it. After the uprising, Major General Ali Al-Ahmadi, head of the National Security Agency, confirmed, in a press conference in Sana'a, held on January 8, 2013, that Iran was financially and morally involved in supporting the Houthi (Al-Daghshi, 2013).

It is worth noting that Iranian support for the Houthi movement had preceded its coup by years, that is, while the Houthi movement was fighting battles with the Yemeni forces, ships were coming loaded with weapons to the coasts of the city of Midi in western Yemen, which is the closest port to the city of Saada, the stronghold of the Houthis, and the Yemeni authorities were able to arrest two Iranian ships carrying weapons, Jihan 1, which was captured on January 23, 2013, loaded with weapons on its way to the port of Midi, which was controlled by the Houthis at the time, and the ship was carrying 48 tons of weapons, missiles and explosives, according to a statement by the Yemeni Interior Ministry (Aljazeera Net, 2013). While the Iranian ship Jihan 2 was captured on March 7, 2013, near Bab Al-Mandab, while it was carrying weapons on its way to the Houthis (Al-Thawra NP, 2013).

Regarding the support received by the movement from the former President Saleh, it was through supplying it with arms and soldiers who belonged to the Republican Guard and the Special Forces, the two camps that were loyal to Saleh and were subject to the leadership of Saleh's sons and nephews for a long time. Saleh provided support to the Houthi group in order to get rid of the revolutionary forces that caused his step down, headed by the Islah Party, which is a common traditional enemy for both Saleh and the Houthi movement, and Saleh's party announced its alliance with the Houthi group later after Saudi Arabia launched a military operation in Yemen under the pretext of supporting legitimacy and ending the Houthi Coup (Al-Nouri, 2016).

### **Operation "Decisive Storm"**

After the Houthi movement's coup against the political system in Yemen, it expanded and the road remained open in front of them, and cities were falling in their hands one by one, until they were able to control 20 % of the Yemeni geography, from northern Yemen in Saada, and even Taiz in the south, but About 80 % of Yemen's population lives in this geography ([Sputnik News, 2019](#)) and the Houthis did not find resistance until they decided to go to Aden in March 2015, and there the coalition decided to launch a military operation called Decisive Storm on March 26, 2015, more than 6 months after the Houthi coup. The military operation was led by Saudi Arabia, the Emirates and nine other countries: Qatar, Bahrain, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, Pakistan and Sudan, ([Shabana, 2015](#)) and that process marked the beginning of the internationalization of the Yemeni crisis, as it became a regional crisis in which several parties participated after it was a local crisis between the conflicting Yemeni parties. Although Iran used to support the Houthis before the start of "Decisive Storm" and conducted an air bridge via Iranian Mahan Airlines, with two flights per day, its support was not declared, and therefore its description remained as a local crisis, not a proxy war ([Knights, 2018](#)).

Saudi Arabia announced that the aim of launching the military operation was to eliminate the Houthi coup and help the Yemenis to restore the legitimate authority, and it moved under the umbrella of Yemeni legitimacy, which earned it legal force and gave it the legal basis that kept it going until today ([Shabana, 2015](#)). The Islah Party, which is the most important component of legitimacy and the most prominent enemy of the Houthi movement, had backed the military operation launched by the Arab coalition led by Saudi Arabia, and issued a statement as one of the components of the legitimacy ([Al-Daghashi, 2017](#)), calling on the coalition to help end the Houthi coup and restore legitimacy, this pushed the Houthis to double their campaign against members of the Islah Party, the party that represents a common enemy for both the Houthis and Saleh, so the party and its headquarters, leaderships and members were the first target of the Houthi group after they control Sana'a ([Al-Daghashi, 2017](#)), and the Houthis did not find any resistance during the coup from the official state institutions, and the Al-Houthi group imposed house arrest on President Hadi, and when Hadi managed to flee to Aden and resume political work, the Houthi decided to follow him to Aden, so Hadi fled to Oman and then to Saudi Arabia, and there the coalition intervened with a military operation launched on March 26, 2015 and the southern resistance, with the support of the coalition, was able to expel the Houthis from Aden ([Baron, 2013](#)).

### **Houthi Resistance**

The Houthis were able to resist the military operation launched by Saudi Arabia, despite the tremendous losses they faced, and they were able to fight the legitimacy and the Islah party in particular in a number of provinces, and they relied on religious discourse in considering their battles are with America and Israel and their tools that are Saudi Arabia and the legitimacy, which is evident in the Houthi slogan which is: ("God is great, death to the US, death to Israel, curse the Jews, and victory for Islam"). The Houthi movement used that discourse to mobilize and recruit tribes to fight legitimacy and Islah under the pretext that what is happening is aggression and that legitimacy supports aggression, and they have established educational courses for fighters for psychological mobilization ([Knights, 2018](#)).

Indeed, the Houthis were able, with their military power that they obtained as a result of Iranian support, the support of the Lebanese Hezbollah, and as a result of their alliance with former President Saleh, to recruit many tribes in their favor and benefit from the huge human reserve, and from the material support provided by the tribal sheikhs, especially the so-called the tribes of the Sana'a Ring, which are the armed tribes that surround the city of Sana'a. They benefited from those tribes in making them at the forefront of the battles and controlling through them the Yemeni cities. Through their alliance with former President Saleh, they were able to recruit tribes, whether those that were loyal to them or Those that joined them later after they took control of Sana'a to fight other tribes hostile to the Houthis, such as Hashid tribes, Arhab tribes and Hamadan surrounding Sana'a ([AL-Mandab Press, 2016](#)).

### **Killing of Saleh**

The Houthi movement strength had increased, benefiting from Iranian support with weapons, and also benefiting from the coalition of former President Saleh, who has a great influence over the military institution and he has a strong relations and loyalties networks with the

military leaders, but the Houthis viewed after that that they no longer needed Saleh, meaning that Saleh was a card for Houthis, but he became useless, especially after the Houthi's controlled area increased in conjunction with the decline of Saleh's power, so the Houthis worked to exclude Saleh and the members of the Congress Party, which ultimately led to tensions between the two parties, and mutual accusations, as Saleh accused the Houthis of leading a coup, while Saleh was accused by the Houthis as a traitor for them, by concluding secret agreements with the coalition, which ultimately led to military confrontations in the vicinity of Saleh's house in the center of Sana'a, during which Saleh called on his supporters to fight the Houthis, but no one came and those confrontations led to his death on the hands of the Houthis on December 4, 2017, (Jarallah, 2020) ending the page of Saleh, who ruled Yemen for more than 33 years, and the members of the Congress Party are divided into several wings, a wing that is under the control of the Houthis and works under the command of the Houthis, and a wing leaves for Cairo and owes allegiance to the Emirates and a third wing leaves for Saudi Arabia and joins President Hadi and owes allegiance to Saudi Arabia.

The time was in favor of Houthis, as their power doubled, and they were able to impose his power on society with their weapons, and the killing of ex-President Saleh was reflected in their favor, as they were able to spread fear and terror in society, and sent a clear message to eliminate their opponents. Houthis benefited from the contradictions in the legitimacy camp in their favor, as the legitimacy includes left and right wings, and other wings from parties that were once politically competing, and that the legitimacy remaining in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia for more than five years, has been reflected in the Houthi's favor, and they had become a de facto authority. Reality, who does not find a competitor in ruling the provinces under his control.

#### 4. Conclusion

The Houthis were not able to launch the coup d'etat and seize state's institutions, as they were weak compared to the capabilities of the state, but the Houthis benefited from several things, including that the military institution was not neutral, as a large part of it was loyal to ex-president Saleh, even after he was handed over the power, and therefore the military institution was not a guarantor of the democratic transformation that Yemen should have witnessed after the revolution, meaning that the military institution did not play its role in protecting the democratic process and protecting state institutions, but rather stood with the Houthi movement. Regional parties have given the Houthi movement a space to move, ignoring its danger.

Islah party, which is an affiliated to the Muslim Brotherhood, was a priority for Saudi Arabia and the Emirates, which enrolled them on the list of terrorism, so they thought that they would benefit from the Houthi movement in eliminating and striking this party, but the Houthi had Political goals that go beyond the idea of striking Islah Party. Moreover, the United States had thought that it would employ the Houthi group in its war against terrorist organizations (Al-Qaeda and ISIS) in Yemen, and the United States had stated that the Houthis were its allies in the war on terror. All of these factors gave Houthis reasons of strength, and provided them with support until they transformed from an armed coup group into a de-facto authority that controls the northern part of Yemen and tightens their grip on it, leading to the biggest political crisis Yemen has witnessed in recent years.

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## Development of Social Media in Modern Political Marketing

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### Abstract

The advent of social media is changing the view of marketing and thus of political marketing as a part of it. This review paper provides information on the real impact of social media on political marketing today in 2020, analyzing the impact of social media on political marketing through an analysis of 47 articles published in six renowned journals, between 2010 and 2020. The article provides answers for which parts of the world were the first to talk about it, through which social media tools, which institutions and finally which authors made the most impact. The most researched topics and subcategories are analyzed, and which keywords are the most common repetition. Trends in the growth of social media's influence on modern political marketing have been measured through the number of articles published in the years starting from 2010 to the present. When authors compare the number of articles written in the initial research interval in 2010 and today in 2020, it is noticeable how the number of articles has increased and given increasing importance to social media in modern political marketing management. This directly demonstrates a shift in awareness in modern political marketing towards social media. The biggest findings are thought to be the emergence and expansion of this topic on US soil, with the emergence of political figures such as President Obama and continued through the work and activities of President Trump. The most used tools for this work are Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube. These tools were mostly used for advertising campaigns during elections time. After these events, the spread of influence in Europe is noticeable, and it is very important to emphasize that more and more articles are appearing year by year, which provides space for new researchers to continue their work in this field.

**Keywords:** social media, elections, political marketing, Twitter, Facebook, new media, political advertising.

### 1. Introduction

Social media has become an indispensable tool in modern political campaigns. It has not always been that way. The beginnings of research into this phenomenon are in 2010. Back in 2010 authors Wu, H. D., & Dahmen, N. S research about political campaigning on social media (Wu, Dahmen, 2010). They explore the effect of a campaign through sponsored content on websites. Research presented in 2010 set the grounds for the authors to begin exploring the impact of social media on political marketing. From 2010 to 2020, the trend and the way social media is emerging as a tool in the hands of politicians monitored. How is this phenomenon explored through articles

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written in 10 years from 2010 to 2020? Findings in this review study show that there is a big connection between political campaigning and social media. Talking about this link social media – modern political marketing management through this paper shows how this link has been developing over the last 10 years. Guided by the need to fill the gap, but also to better explain the social media phenomenon and its relationship with political marketing, the authors analyze 47 articles from 6 high-ranking journals between 2010 and 2020. The mere fact that only 47 articles have been found in 10 years reveals that there is room to write and work on the topic. The first step was to select a journal from which to use the analysis articles. The criteria for selecting a journal were: relevance to the topic, index, scientific rating, reliability, objectivity. The primary goal is to get acquainted with the terminology, tools, methodology used today in modern political marketing and the use of social media for this purpose. Paper reveals findings of social media like Twitter, Facebook, YouTube etc. and about their use as a tool in political marketing. The article is about the currently fastest growing tools in modern political marketing. That is why this article is relevant and timely. Survey about the impact of social media on political marketing is through the analysis of 47 articles from six relevant journals, in the time frame between 2010 and 2020. Authors demonstrate a shift in awareness in modern political marketing towards social media, especially during this time. When compared the number of articles written in the initial research interval in 2010 and today in 2020, it is visible how the number of articles has increased and given increasing importance to social media in modern political marketing management. Topics were selected as key terms to indicate that social media has had an impact on modern political management. Topics are social media, political marketing, marketing, media, political advertising, image, ideology, and scandals. Paper authors Cogburn and Espinoza-Vasquez from 2011 (Cogburn, Espinoza-Vasquez, 2011) investigate the impact of websites on the Barack Obama campaign for president of the USA. These are the first analyzed beginnings of the use of social media for political purposes. In this article, authors find the first information about the advent of social media following the 2008 presidential campaign of candidate Barack Obama. As the 2016 article by Author L. Bode, K.E. Dalrymple portrays the interaction of social media with political marketing, more specifically Twitter in a political campaign. Research conducted by Bode and Dalrymple (2016) emerges as a need to show the connection between social media and political marketing, to adequately reflect the trend of social media use by politicians in their campaigns, especially President of the USA Donald Trump (Bode, Dalrymple, 2016). During that time, campaigns for the President of the United States began to follow, and it became clear that social media would play an increasing role. During this, elections are being analyzed and a parallel is being drawn on the European soil. Specifically, authors Vesnic-Alujevic & Bauwel in 2014 analyzing the European Parliamentary elections and the influence of YouTube as one of the most powerful social media (Vesnic-Alujevic, Bauwel, 2014).

This review paper fills in the gap created by the emergence of social media and their insufficient interpretation in scientific research. In general, the number of articles analyzed suggests that insufficient attention is still paid to social media and their impact on political marketing. By choosing this time frame, more than 100 articles are expected to talk about the topic. Research is an incentive for new researchers to continue researching the issue because there is room for new researchers.

Firstly, the paper presents beginnings of the impact of social media on political marketing, through findings the emergence and expansion of this topic on US soil, with the emergence of political figures such as President Obama and continued through the work and activities of President Trump (Cornfield, 2017).

Secondly, the most used tools for this impact are Twitter, Facebook and YouTube and the time when these tools were most used were political campaigns.

Thirdly, it is possible to track the development of social media within shallow marketing management from year to year. There is a significant increase in written articles from year to year, which opens the door for some new researchers to explore further. That is the base for this survey.

Fourthly, this review article gives you in-depth information on which journals are most represented, which authors are most fruitful, which social media is most used. Information in which parts of the world was most sought after, in which countries was there room for exploration. In the analyzed 47 articles, from six journals in the last 10 years, at 72 institutions, 89 authors wrote about the topic of social media influence on modern political marketing management.

The survey method is mostly used as a method in articles, the topic "social media" is the most researched topic, that most of the research was done in the USA.

## 2. Method

This is a review paper on the topic: "The influence of social media on modern political marketing management." The research identified 47 articles from six journals dealing with the topic of political marketing for analysis. The analysis covered 10 years between 2010 and 2020. Publications that were considered relevant to this study were investigated and selected by title, content, abstract, keywords. This research has covered aspects of the impact of social media on political marketing, through primary influence in election campaigns. It was researched from which countries and from which institutions the articles that dealt with the topic came from, which authors were represented as the most frequent publishers. What are the recurring keywords, which topics and subcategories are researched the most? Topics as basic indicators of the influence of social media on modern political management have been identified as a basic recognition of influence. Basic topics are social media, political marketing, marketing, media, political advertising, image, ideology, scandals. Topics are those that determine more closely the impact that social media has on political marketing, and they are even more precisely defined. A comparison was made of the number of articles that used surveys, case studies, and experiment for methodology. How were the methodology chosen for the specific article and by which authors? Articles are classified and presented in tables, and as such analyzed and processed.

## 3. Results

The most relevant observations will be presented in a series of tables in the research results section. Authors choose journals to analyze and they were selected based on relevance, impact factor, recognition and above all relatedness to the topic. Basic information on the journals used for this paper is presented in [Table 1](#).

**Table 1.** Journals information

Journal	SSCI- Impact Factor	SSCI-2 Year Impact Factor	SCOPUS Cite Score	SCOPUS SCImago Journal Rank	Issues per year	Number of articles
Journal of Political Marketing	-	-	1.51	0.544	4	36
Journal of Marketing Management	2.329	-	2.69	0.989	18	6
Journal of Marketing	3.911	7.821	9.28	9.198	6	2
Journal of Services Marketing	2.421	3.194	3.65	1.021	7	3
Journal of Professional Services Marketing	-	-	-	SNIP 0.755	4	0
Social Marketing Quarterly	-	-	1.03	0.344	4	0
Total						47

[Table 1](#) shows the basic parameters of the journal that the researchers were interested in. In Journal of Professional Services and Marketing Social Marketing Quarterly, no article has been found that speaks to the research topic. Also shows that most articles are from the Journal of Political Marketing. It is an expected finding. Unsurprisingly, journals dealing with "basic" marketing do not write much about the topic of social media and their impact on politics, and therefore on political marketing. The emergence of social networks is not that far off, and in some ways, its study leaves room for new researchers. When analyzing party by journal, it was observed that the number of articles increased from 2010 to 2020. Sixteen articles appear before 2015,

which is representing 34 %, compared to 66 % coming in 2015–2020. Between 2018 and 2020, nineteen articles were written representing 40.42 % of all analyzed articles. All of the above data show the trend of increasing engagement with the scientific community on social media as a very powerful political marketing tool.

**Table 2.** Most Frequently Published Authors

<b>Author</b>	<b>Publications</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Publications</b>
David A. Dulio	2	Jing Ge	1
Janine Dermody	2	Joachim Scholz;	1
Nicole Koenig-Lewis	2	Joseph Ryoo	1
Stuart Hanmer-Lloyd	2	Justin B. Phillips	1
Terri L. Towner	2	Kajsa E. Darlymple	1
Dianne Bystorm	1	Karen Russell	1
Erika Franklin Fowler	1	Kate Kenski	1
Lifen Anita Zhao	1	Kevin Wallsten	1
Suzan Burton	1	Leticia Bode	1
Joseph Ben-Ur	1	Lifen Anita Zhao	1
Adrian Palmer	1	Lisa Harris	1
Aila Khan	1	Lucia Vesnic-Alujevic	1
Alena Soboleva	1	Lynda Lee Kaid	1
Alexandra K. Abney	1	Marco M. Cacciotto	1
Alisha B. Horky	1	Margaret E. Duffy	1
Anders Wien	1	Mark J. Pelletier	1
Andrew N. Smith	1	Martyn Rowling	1
Andrzej Falkowski	1	Mary Kalliny	1
Bethany A. Conway-Silva	1	Mary-Kate Lizotte;	1
Bob Stewardson	1	Michael Cornfield	1
Bruce I. Newman	1	Michael M. Franz	1
Cayce Myers;	1	Michael P. Cameron	1
Christine B. Williams	1	Michael Parsons	1
Christine R. Filer	1	Michael Parkin	1
Cristian Andrei	1	Monica C. Schneider	1
Daniel E. Bergan	1	Morris Kalliny	1
Daniela Dimitrova	1	Neil Bendle	1
Darrick L. Cogburn	1	Vamsi K. Kanuri	1
Wondwesen Tafesse	1	William J. Miller	1
Toni-Rochelle S. Ford	1	Nicole S. Dahmen	1
Edward Elder	1	Nigel Jackson	1
Fatima K. Espinoza-Vasquez	1	P.K. Kannan	1
Francesca Cabiddu	1	Paola Barbara Floredu;	1
Girijasankar (Girija) Mallik	1	Patrick Barrett	1
Greg Simons	1	Paul Harrigan	1
H. Denis Wu	1	Qunying Huo	1
Heather Meggers-Wright	1	Regina Barton	1
Hyoryung Nam	1	Samantha Pettey	1
Itai Himelboim	1	Scott J. Basinger	1
Travis N. Ridout	1	Selma Ghanem	1
Ulrike Gretzel	1	Shrihari (Hari) Sridhar	1
Janis Teruggi Page;	1	Sofie van Bauwel	1
Jared Perkins	1	Xia Liu	1
Jhieh-Syuan Lin	1	Yixing Chen	1
Wojciech Cwalina	1		

Table 2 shows those authors who have published on the topic of the article in the past 10 years (the analyzed framework). 89 authors have written on the subject. Of course, these are only analyzed journals and published by authors in the same ones. In the table that presents data on authors who have written on the topic of social media relations and political marketing management, most authors have had one publication in the analyzed journals in the last ten years. There are a couple of authors who have published twice and as such deserve mention. They are David A. Dulio, Janine Dermody, Nicole Koenig-Lewis, Stuart Hanmer-Lloyd and Terri L. Towner. In the last 10 years, these authors have published their articles in journals twice, on topics that have analyzed the impact of social media on political marketing management.

**Table 3.** Most Operative Institutions

<b>Institution</b>	<b>Publications</b>	<b>Institution</b>	<b>Publications</b>
Oakland University	2	Oberlin College	1
Swansea University	2	Bentley University	1
DePaul University	2	University of Milan	1
Western University	1	University of Houston	1
Flagler College	1	California State University	1
American University	1	University of Georgia	1
Bowdoin College	1	Social Sciences and Humanities	1
Bowdoin College	1	Uppsala University	1
California Polytechnic State University	1	University of Southampton	1
Elon University	1	Augusta University	1
ESC Rennes School of Business	1	National Chengchi University	1
George Washington University	1	University of Missouri	1
Michigan State University	1	University of Iowa	1
Oxford	1	Ghent University	1
Park University	1	Massachusetts College of Liberal Arts	1
Radford University	1	University of North Texas	1
Routledge – Taylor & Francis Group	1	University Rotterdam	1
Rowan University	1	Iowa State University	1
Suffolk University	1	University of Gloucestershire	1
Suffolk University	1	University of Notre Dame	1
Syracuse University	1	UiT–The Arctic University of Norway	1
The George Washington University	1	University of Maryland	1
University of Waikato	1	Cardiff University	1
Università degli Studi di Cagliari	1	Università degli Studi di Cagliari	1
The University of Alabama at Birmingham	1	Birmingham -Southern College	1
University of Arizona	1	University of Western Australia	1

University of Auckland	1	Texas A&M University	1
University of California	1	University of Houston	1
University of South Wales	1	California State University	1
University of Southern California	1	Eastern Washington University	1
University of Western Sydney	1	University of Florida	1
Virginia Tech	1	Oxford Brookes University	1
Washington State University	1	University of Plymouth	1
Washington State University	1	Louisiana State University	1
Wesleyan University	1	Boston University	1
Wesleyan University	1	Georgetown University	1

**Table 3** provides information on the institutions most frequently published by topics of social media influence on modern political marketing. There are 69 institutions with one publication about the influence of social media on modern political marketing. Specifically, the institutions where almost 100 % of the universities in which the authors work or collaborate with the authors are published. The article published directly under the Routledge – Taylor & Francis Group, stands out. Other articles were primarily signed by the Universities.

**Table 4.** Distribution of Published Articles Based on Location

Country	N	Continent
USA	15	North America
New Zealand	2	Australia
UK	2	Europe
Romania	1	Europe
Sweden	1	Europe
Poland	1	Europe
Canada	1	North America
Italy	1	Europe
Australia	1	Australia
France	1	Europe
Norway	1	Europe

**Table 4** reveals the locations of published articles and their national, geographical distribution. From the data presented in **Table 4**, most of the topic was written in the USA and European countries. We can say that through the analysis of the articles, this is where the first use of social media for political purposes emerges. Of particular note is the sharp rise in writing on the subject over the last 3 years on US soil. The Obama presidential campaign gives us the first use of social media for political purposes, for political marketing. US President Trump has been completing one complete communication with the world through social networks, especially Twitter ([Cornfield, 2017](#)). As social networks began to apply to political marketing, so did the number of articles published in journals analyzing that influence. The beginnings of research into this phenomenon are in 2010. Back in 2010 authors H.D. Wu, N.S. Dahmen research about political campaigning on social media ([Wu, Dahmen, 2010](#)). Given the rapid development of social media, based on the analyzed time frame and the number of articles, we can say that this part of the phenomenon is very little represented in scientific circles and that only in some future period we can expect real progress in this field.

Table 4 also shows the location where the article was published. That is, the location of the continent on which the institution where or for which the authors of the article work are located. There is a noticeable interest in the part of the US and European institutions in analyzing the emergence and impact of social media on political marketing, and we can consider them as such.

**Table 5.** Number of keywords in articles

Keywords	N
Social Media	18
Elections	6
Political Marketing	5
Twitter	5
Facebook	4
New Media	4
Political Advertising	4
Campaigns	4
YouTube	3
Advertising	2
US Presidential Elections	2
Voters	2
Political Participation	2
Web Sites	2
Youth Electoral Engagement	2

The analysis involved extracting the number of keywords used in the articles. Table 5 shows the number of keyword repetitions in articles. The keywords that are most often repeated in the article tell us how much importance is attached to social media and the other keywords listed in the order. The words "elections", "campaigns", "Twitter", "Facebook", "political advertising" and "advertising" dominate. Based on this, we can conclude that social media is used extensively in election campaigns through platforms like Twitter, Facebook, etc., through paid sponsored content on the same. The article named: "Understanding the Social Media Strategies of U.S. Primary Candidates" authors H. Jun, N. Bendle from 2017 article is one of the best examples to support the information given in Table 5. Keywords used in the article: Facebook, political campaigns, primaries, social media, topic modelling, Twitter. This is one example of an article talking about social media (Facebook, Twitter) used in a campaign in the USA.

**Table 6.** Most Frequently Used Methodology

Methodology	Number of articles
Survey	41
Case study	4
Experiment	2

Table 6 shows the information on commonly used methodology in articles in the articles. The survey method is most used, but the use of both case and experiment studies are noticeable. The surveys were mostly determined by the political campaign, are the effects of social media during the campaign. The survey was used as a method in 87.23 % of the analyzed articles. Of course, this leads to the conclusion that most of the post-event analysis is done and that predictions can be made on this basis. The survey conducted in the articles was designed to describe developments in political marketing, all related to social media marketing. Through surveys, it is also possible to track the development of the application of social media in political marketing, while the case studies point to the most significant developments covered by social media.



**Table 7.** Categorization of Topics in the Research

<b>Topic Classification</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Subcategories</b>	<b>N</b>
Social Media	35	Twitter	6
Political Marketing	5	Advertising	5
Marketing	2	Elections	3
Media	1	Political Marketing	3
Political Advertising	1	Social Media	3
Image	1	Websites	3
Ideology	1	Campaign	2
Scandals	1	Political Market	2
-	-	Blogs	1
-	-	Branding	1
-	-	Communication	1
-	-	Consulting	1
-	-	E-Mail	1
-	-	Facebook	1
-	-	Impact	1
-	-	Gender	1
-	-	Influence	1
-	-	Internet	1
-	-	Political Brand	1
-	-	Political Influence	1
-	-	Political Slogan	1
-	-	Social Tags	1
-	-	Strategy	1
-	-	Trust	1
-	-	YouTube	1

Table 7 shows which are the most researched topic and subcategories in the analyzed articles. The study identified the topic that best describes social media and political marketing, and their relationship. The topic "social media" is the most used, as expected because this topic includes all other subcategories that more closely define what is discussed and explored in the article. "Social media" topic is used in 74,46 % articles, "political marketing" in 10,63 %. Table 7 shows the most used subcategories. As mentioned earlier, the topic defines the context of an article more closely, and they usually tell which social media has influenced political marketing in that article in that scenario. Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube are used as subcategories in 17 % of all articles. Twitter is leading with 12,67 %, for one simple reason, which with the advent of US President Trump has become his tool for communicating with the world (Cornfield, 2017). Thus, dictating the pace to other politicians and analysts in the world to adapt and embrace this tool as the No. 1 social media tool in political times today.

#### 4. Discussion

In the analyzed 47 articles, from six journals in the last 10 years, at 72 institutions, most universities, 89 authors wrote about the topic of social media influence on modern political marketing management. The survey method is mostly used as a method in articles, the topic "social media" is the most researched topic, that most of the topic was written in the USA and Europe. The oldest article analyzed in this paper is the one from 2010 from the authors' H.D. Wu, N.S. Dahmen which discusses the impact of sponsored web content on a political campaign. After that, campaigns for the President of the United States began to follow, and it became clear that social media would play an increasing role. During this, elections are being analyzed in parallel on European soil. Specifically, in the article, the authors Vesnic-Alujevic & Bauwel of 2014 analyze the European Parliamentary elections and the impact of YouTube as one of the most powerful social

media (Vesnic-Alujevic, Bauwel, 2014). The emergence of Barack Obama's presidential campaigns also brings the emergence of the use of social media to political campaigns (Cogburn, Espinoza-Vasquez, 2011). Following this debut, comes the age of Twitter and US President Trump, who gives everything an extra dimension (Williams, 2017). One more observation that is a matter for social media marketing is building a picture of a certain politician. Authors noticed in the example of Russian President Vladimir Putin, which is the very carefully created image of him. When you read a paper named: "Putin's International Political Image" author G. Simons from 2019, you can see a real political image created in a political marketing way. This review paper may reveal many facts about the development of social media and their treatment in the scientific circles from year to year, it can be said that the interest of the scientific community to investigate the phenomenon of social media influence on modern political marketing, and thus the impact which social media has more. One can speak of the increasing use of social media as a tool in the hands of politicians in their campaigns, but increasingly as a relevant tool for communicating with voters and citizens daily. After analysis and data obtained on the beginnings of the impact of social media on political marketing. After the presentation, the result of research determined by the US epicentre and their leaders over the past decade, we can safely say that Western politicians were the first to embrace the social media and start using them as a tool in their campaigns and their daily communication with their voters.

## 5. Conclusion

After analyzing 47 articles, from six journals in the last 10 years, discussing them, it is important to translate the findings into a useful conclusion. It is also important to point out that there is an increasing influence of social media on political marketing. The turning point is the emergence of social media in Obama's (Barack Obama) presidential campaign and the way US President Trump uses social media to communicate with the rest of the world. It can be concluded that the increasing impact of social media is happening in the USA and Europe, and this domino effect on the rest of the world is noticeable. The most used keyword is social media. The most used social media tools are Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and websites. Most articles were published in the USA and Western Europe. The time when social media marketing was most used was political campaigns at election time. Research authors have most often used surveys to prove claims about how social media influences modern political management. The authors cope with the lack of articles discussing the topic, which gives enough space for other researchers to write on the topic, and to analyze the written. And if in 10 years, there are too few 47 articles in six journals talking about social media and their impact on modern political marketing management, there is a noticeable increase in the number written after 2017, and it is possible to expect a further increase after the publication of this article, following the forthcoming technological trends and the direction the world is headed. Taking statistical clues about the dispersion and emergence of articles in this review is a significant increase in the coming years, which certainly opens the door for some new researchers to work on this field.

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## World History and Societal Evolution. Historical Epochs and Psychological Stages

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### Abstract

Historical research is combined to developmental psychology and Piagetian Cross-Cultural Psychology. It will be shown that the empirical data that evidence greater psychological differences between premodern and modern peoples can be applied to the study of history generally. The differences regarding mind, language, worldview, religion, literature, and sciences between nature peoples, archaic kingdoms, ancient civilizations, and the modern industrial society can be connected to certain and evidencable psychological stage differences. Data are presented that reveal continuous psychological stage development through the four historical epochs. Ancient Egypt lies in the middle between nature peoples and post-axial civilizations, in terms of developmental stages. The post-axial civilizations again are more developed than the archaic kingdoms but less than the modern, industrial civilization. This psychological view on development can in a certain way foster that impression researchers can have when comparing these cultures even without developmental psychology. Notwithstanding, the developmental approach revolutionizes the study of history.

**Keywords:** developmental stages, nature peoples, archaic kingdoms, ancient civilizations, modern, industrial civilization.

### 1. Introduction

Since the age of Enlightenment, authors of several disciplines have maintained or described that the human race have been attaining higher psychological stages during history. More, it was written that these psychological advancements have caused cultural stages and breakthroughs. This discussion, opened by authors such as Lessing, Condillac, and Condorcet, later on followed by Comte and Feuerbach, reached a new level as child and developmental psychologists entered the scene and started to contribute, namely in the time after 1880. Romanes, Schultze, Werner, Lombroso, and especially Piaget paralleled historical periods and psychological stages, the latter one observable in ontogeny. In more recent times, Oesterdiekhoff, Ibarra, Habermas, Ziegler, Gablik, LePan and some more contributed to that research field.

The article shows that psychological stage development has actually occurred from nature peoples over pre-axial archaic kingdoms (such as Egypt or Mesopotamia) and post-axial civilizations (such as the Roman or Chinese Empire) to modern, industrial civilization. Of course, history can be divided in more historical periods than only in these four. However, it can be evidenced that psychological stage developments have been progressively taken place through these

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four historical periods. Especially, the history of language, mind, mythology, worldview, literature, science, and religion will be scrutinized.

## 2. Developmental and historical psychology

Some historians, especially during the 19th and early 20th century, emphasized that history can only be understood in the light of a true theory of the human being. Likewise numerous authors, representing a wide range of other disciplines, maintained that the changing structures of the human being in history have caused or influenced the entire course of history. A great many of them described that the premodern or archaic human being shared central patterns of mind and behavior with children, while the stepwise psychological maturation manifesting in those sequential generations of humans living in modernizing and industrializing nations be a source or a causer to the rise of the modern world (Elias, 1982; Frazer, 1927; Schneider, 1909; Schultze, 1900).

Further, almost every (!) founder or early representative of child or developmental psychology described similarities between children and premodern or archaic adults, among them W. Stern, G.S. Hall, M. Lombroso, A.F. Chamberlain, H. Wallon, J. Piaget, and H. Werner. Especially Werner (1948) and Schultze (1900) described these similarities regarding a wide range of psychological life and world understanding, coming near to the conclusion that premodern humans might stay on the same psychological stage as children do. Jean Piaget, the most distinguished child psychologist in history, did the most in the dissemination of this research, describing the similarities in most of his books. He discovered these correspondences regarding logic, physics, worldview, religion, social affairs, morals, law, and politics. However, he dedicated a central monograph regarding these parallels only to the history of sciences (Piaget, Garcia, 1989).

According to Piaget, human development unfolds in four psychological stages. The sensorymotor stage of the suckling is followed by the preoperational stage of the child. During this second stage, running from 18 months to six or eight years roughly, the child acquires language, reason, anticipation, and memory. The child this stage lives in a fairy tale world, in a world of magic, monsters, witches, mysteries, myths, and physical impossibilities. Piaget himself already recognized that this stage characterizes the psychological life of the greatest part of the premodern humankind. The third stage, that of the concrete operations, unfolds in the child between six and 12 years of age. It dwarfs the magical-animistic patterns in the child in favor for more rationality. According to Piaget, the Ionian philosophers were the first to establish this stage in history. The fourth stage, that of the formal operations, is established by the adolescent stepwise during the whole second decade of life. This stage gives birth to reasoning capacities leading to science and humanity, to logic and rationality, and to higher forms of morals and political understanding. This stage destroys the mental world of the child and establishes that of the civilized adult. Piaget repeatedly remarked that the fourth stage came into being first among the scientists of the 17th century, spreading from there to the whole population living in modern societies (Piaget, Garcia, 1989; Piaget, Inhelder, 1969).

For roughly 80 years now, Piagetian Cross-Cultural Psychology has been conducting empirical research among peoples living in different cultures and regions right across the globe. It was found that peoples living as hunters and gatherers, in traditional peasant societies, and in developmental regions within the developing nations, do not establish the adolescent stage of formal operations. They either stay on the preoperational stage only, or on stages mixed by the preoperational and concrete operational stage. The more traditional or archaic the style of life is the more such peoples strictly stay on the preoperational stage. Conversely, only peoples living in modern, industrialized nations are characterized by the formal operational stage (Dasen, Berry, 1974; Dasen, 1977; Luria, 1982; Piaget, 1974; Oesterdiekhoff, 2009a; Oesterdiekhoff, 2011; Oesterdiekhoff, 2013; Oesterdiekhoff, 2016b; Oesterdiekhoff, 2016c).

These results have been gained concerning every race, nation, culture, and continent. Therefore, the causes to the divergences cannot be biological factors but must be cultural ones. Some kind of dialectics between cultural factors on the one hand and developmental stages on the other hand must be the cause both to stagnations within premodern societies and higher developments in modern societies.

The fact of the similarities cannot be surprising to all those researchers knowing well especially ethnographic literature. Everything that ethnography has been detailing regarding mind and worldview of archaic peoples perfectly matches to the traits of the preoperational stage (Evans-

Pritchard, 1976; Fortune, 1963; Frazer, 1994; Griaule, 1975; Lévy-Bruhl, 1923; Lévy-Bruhl, 1971; Lévy-Bruhl, 1983; Lévy-Bruhl, 1985; Oesterdiekhoff, 2016c; Oesterdiekhoff, 2009a; Oesterdiekhoff, 2011; Radcliffe-Brown, 1964; Schultze, 1900).

Piagetian research found the similarities likewise regarding the whole range of mind and world understanding such as logic, physics, worldview, religion, philosophy, sciences, law, morals, politics, and social affairs. Every trait or pattern describing the preoperational stage is also the main trait of the premodern adult. Intellectuals or advanced persons of the agrarian civilizations may manifest patterns to find in intermediary stages but they rarely establish formal operations. Therefore, the conclusion is that children and premodern adults share the same psychological stage structures but differ only in life experience and amount of knowledge (that knowledge that does not depend from stage structures). Therefore, premodern and modern adults diverge by 5, 10, and even more developmental years (Oesterdiekhoff, 2016c; Oesterdiekhoff, 2018a; Werner, 1948; Schultze, 1900). This is the greatest discovery ever made in the history of the human and social sciences.

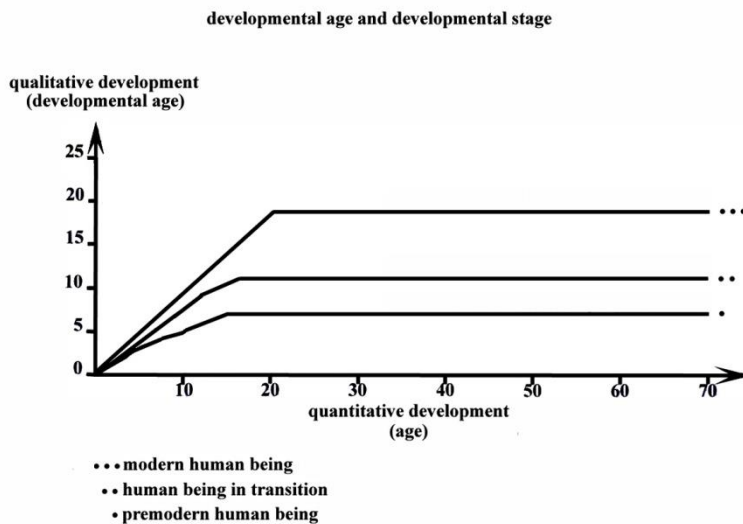
Some critics objected a child (and an adult staying on this stage) could not lead a life as hunter and gatherer, or as nomadic or peasant. They said that despite some true correspondences between the two groups there must be space left for premodern human being to attain adult stages, namely higher stages regarding abilities he needs for his daily life. However, there is no empirical research that supports such a view. Therefore, to know fishing, hunting, farming, warfare, etc. in their premodern forms does not require the acquisition of the fourth stage. Consequently, the sometimes tremendous abilities of the premodern human being originate in the fact that he stays for many years on the stage of the child. His many shortcomings, however, root in his childlike psychological stage. Staying on the children's stages for many years – that defines commonalities and differences between the child and the premodern human being (Oesterdiekhoff, 2016c; Oesterdiekhoff, 2016b; Oesterdiekhoff, 2011; Schultze, 1900; Werner, 1948).

For example, young children and nature peoples share the same language patterns as will be described below. Both groups share the same arithmetic, being able to add by using their fingers only, usually up to 5 or 10. They usually can only add or subtract, but not multiply or compute any numbers. Children and the greatest part of premodern humankind share the same traits of logical thinking, e.g., the lack of syllogistic conclusions. They have the same forms of physical understanding regarding space, time, mass, volume, length, and all other physical phenomena. They have the same understanding of wind, water, shadow, etc. Both groups regard any forms of matter and things as alive. They share the same underdeveloped concepts of causality and chance. They have the same mystical and magical-animistic view of nature.

Both groups have the same ideas regarding law. They both believe in the divine status of law, in the necessity of severe punishments, in extended and collective forms of judicial responsibility, and in the ability of natural elements to decide judicial cases. They have the same ideas regarding social affairs and politics. The modern child attributes magical and divine status to his parents by his sixth year (to adults generally). Likewise premodern humans attribute magical power and divine nature to their dead parents and ancestors. Thus, ancestor worship solely roots in the psychology of the child. Both groups disregard liberty rights and tolerance with deviating opinions, thus misunderstanding the depth and scope of democracy.

Both groups live in the same fairy tale world with mystical influences, magical powers, ghosts, monsters, witches, and sorcerers. Both groups believe in metamorphoses, from animals to humans, from humans to rocks, or whatever. Both groups understand dreams as real-life participations of the dreamer in the incidents dreamt, or as perceptions of incidents. Both groups do not understand the merely subjective and illusionary trait of dreams. On the whole, the parallels concern every single aspect and do not spare anything (Oesterdiekhoff, 2009a; Oesterdiekhoff, 2011; Oesterdiekhoff, 2013; Oesterdiekhoff, 2016b; Oesterdiekhoff, 2016c; Oesterdiekhoff, 2018a; Werner, 1948; Ibarra, 2007; Schultze, 1900).





**Fig. 1.** Developmental age and developmental stage

Therefore, the conclusions are quite obvious. Premodern human beings stood either on the psychological stage of the child, or on intermediary stages, but not on the stages that shape the psychology of the modern human being.

### 3. History and psychological stages

Therefore, world history must be rewritten in terms of developmental psychology. Developmental psychology is the general theory of the human being, of the changing structures of the human being during history. Developmental psychology delivers the fundamental key to understand the history of language, population, economy, society, culture, politics, law, sciences, philosophy, religion, morals, arts, literature, etc. Only this way is it possible to understand the long way of the human history from the Stone Ages over peasant societies to the modern, industrial society. More, the rise of the fourth stage of formal operations is the key to understanding the rise of modern society with its core features such as sciences, industrial economy, enlightenment, democracy, and the modern way of life altogether (Oesterdiekhoff, 2014a; Oesterdiekhoff, 2014b).

Smaller or greater parts of this project – to discover and to describe developmental stages in history – have been already accomplished. Such descriptions already exist regarding the historical development of language (Oesterdiekhoff, 2018b; Oesterdiekhoff, 2018c; Schultze, 1900; Brunner-Traut, 1974), population, economy, society, and culture (Oesterdiekhoff, 2009a; Oesterdiekhoff, 2011; Oesterdiekhoff, 2013; Radding, 1985; Ibarra, 2007), law (Oesterdiekhoff, 2009; Oesterdiekhoff, 2013; Oesterdiekhoff, 2014c; Oesterdiekhoff, 2009c), sciences (Piaget, Garcia, 1989; Oesterdiekhoff, 2013; Oesterdiekhoff, 2011; Oesterdiekhoff, 2017), religion, worldview, and philosophy (Piaget, 1959; Piaget, 1969; Oesterdiekhoff, 2009a; Oesterdiekhoff, 2011; Oesterdiekhoff, 2007; Oesterdiekhoff, 2013; Oesterdiekhoff, 2018d; Oesterdiekhoff, 2016d; Ibarra, 2007), morals (Piaget, 1932; Oesterdiekhoff, 2011, 2013, 2016b), politics (Oesterdiekhoff, 2011; Oesterdiekhoff, 2013; Oesterdiekhoff, 2015a; Oesterdiekhoff, 2018a; Radding, 1985), violence (Oesterdiekhoff, 2011; Oesterdiekhoff, 2013; Oesterdiekhoff, 2009b), and arts and literature (Gablik, 1976; Le Pan, 1989; Brunner-Traut, 1996; Oesterdiekhoff, 2013).

The historical development of these domains mainly bases on the development of psychological stages. Conversely formulated, psychological stage development has caused the development of the phenomena mentioned. A deep and scientific understanding of these historical developments is only given by the consideration of these psychological stages respectively foundations. Prior historical descriptions could only touch the surface of the developments but could not reach their true foundations. Readers are requested to take a longer break for trying to understand the full meaning of the last sentence.

The role of psychological stages in shaping fundamentally social evolution from ancient to modern societies has been already outlined (Oesterdiekhoff, 2011; Oesterdiekhoff, 2013; Oesterdiekhoff, 2014d; Oesterdiekhoff, 2014e). Prerunners of this idea were Schultze (1900), Elias

(1982), Frazer (1927), Habermas (1989), Ziégler (1968), and Radding (1985). Authors such as Auguste Comte, Edward Tylor, John Lubbock, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, Karl Lamprecht, and Jean Gebser outlined such project ideas or corresponding theoretical considerations, too.

The first fact that has to be considered is that the whole premodern humankind did not establish the fourth stage of formal operations. Modern, industrialized nations harbor people staying on the fourth stage defining adolescents, premodern peoples stay on the stages of children. Therefore, it is necessary to discriminate premodern from modern nations, cultures, peoples. This division both follows and supports traditional divisions formulated by classical authors and theories. Both nature peoples and agrarian civilizations during millennia and all around the globe manifest similar or the same patterns coming from the lower psychological stages. They all have the same magical-animistic and mystical worldview, including the belief that all things and objects are alive, having mystical and magical powers. They all believe in witches, sorcerers, ghosts, spectres, etc. They all believe in the power of the dead, in nature gods, and in Olympic gods. They all share similar forms of religion, superstition, law, philosophy, morals, and politics, etc., that unify them as belonging to that we call traditional or premodern society (Frazer, 1994; Lévy-Bruhl, 1923; Lévy-Bruhl, 1985; Oesterdiekhoff, 2009a; Oesterdiekhoff, 2011; Oesterdiekhoff, 2013).

Conversely, the modern, industrial society has stepwise surmounted or abolished these customs, beliefs, practices, and patterns in the past 250 years. Modern, industrial society does not know anymore practices or the belief in divine ancestors, nature gods, magical treatments, judicial ordeals, judicial trials against animals, slavery, punishments in form of body harming or torture, duels and blood revenge, cannibalism, human sacrifices to the gods, and entertainments such as the Roman Arena games. The establishment of the fourth stage of human development accounts for the disappearance of these phenomena. This psychological progress caused both the decline of the archaic patterns mentioned and the rise of new cultural structures. Relatedly, modern, industrial society has stepwise developed elements and phenomena unknown in premodern society. To these new phenomena belong constitutional state, democracy, liberty rights, political tolerance, humanism, animal protection, women's liberation and emancipation, violence prohibition regarding civilians, especially children, humane punishment law, secularization, disenchantment, decline of religion and magic, growth of the sciences, unheard technological revolutions, and unparalleled economic growth (Oesterdiekhoff, 2014a; Oesterdiekhoff, 2014b).

However, it is quite clear that there are more psychological stages (and cultural stages) than the two mentioned. Development is a continuous process, starting in Stone Ages, running over peasant societies, and leading to modern, industrial societies. Development did not take place only once in history. Nature peoples occupied psychological stages lower than those of educated people in ancient Rome or Alexandria, medieval Paris or Lisboa during the 16th century. Of course, there is evidence that the illiterate peasant or carpenter, sailor or soldier living in the 13th century in Europe or in the ancient Roman or Chinese Empire did not discriminate much from the hunter and gatherer in Australia or Indonesia. The lack of differences very great is that what ethnography or history really reveals. Even the intellectuals, philosophers, authors, and politicians of the great agrarian civilizations manifest not the fourth stage but more the second or third stage of psychological development. Their beliefs and practices match more to the lower stages, manifesting a sharp gulf to those of modern people, both of modern common and modern highly educated people. Accordingly, ancient and medieval philosophy originate in lower stages than modern philosophy does (Oesterdiekhoff, 2011, Oesterdiekhoff, 2013; Oesterdiekhoff, 2017).

However, even small differences are differences. Probably there were some small differences regarding stage developments between nature peoples and the common people living in agrarian civilizations. Probably the common European people of the 16th century established higher stages than the common people in ancient Egypt or Mesopotamia, however small this difference might have been. Likewise, educated people in 16th century China, India, or Europe might differ somewhat from educated people in ancient Egypt, China, Mesopotamia, or Persia.

The assumption regarding these small differences is by no means a matter of speculation. It consequently follows both from historical data and from the knowledge developmental psychology provides. The latter one describes the steady growth of mind and personality during 20 years or so from birth to adulthood. This continuous growth can be divided in four stages, as Piaget had done, but it can be divided also in 20 stages, assuming that each year is or can manifest a certain stage. Piaget himself subdivided certain stages in smaller ones respectively in substages,

thus knowing much more than only four stages. Likewise is it obvious that whole peoples in history did not only establish either the preoperational, or the concrete operational, or the formal operational stage. Sometimes they may have discriminated from each other by only one or two developmental years at the average. It makes a cultural difference if some people stays at the end of the preoperational stage or in the beginning of the concrete operational stage, a difference amounting only a few developmental years. Research shows that all psychological stages beyond the sensorymotor stage, including all mixtures possible and intermediary stages, have been historically realized anywhere and anytime.

It will be shown below that the differences between nature peoples on the one hand and archaic kingdoms such as those of ancient Egypt or Mesopotamia on the other hand manifest psychological stage differences. The same is true regarding the differences between the famous archaic kingdoms on the one hand and the great ancient civilizations of Rome, Greece, and China on the other hand, coming into existence later than Egypt, Mesopotamia, or the first Indus civilization.

It will be shown here the psychological stage differences between nature peoples, pre-axial archaic kingdoms, post-axial ancient civilizations, and modern, industrial societies. It is quite clear that also this classification is superficial for there are many more cultural stages than only these four. Even nature peoples discriminate from each other regarding psychological development and cultural advancement. Rome and Greece in their archaic times discriminate from their classic times, and these again from the Hellenistic era. However, there is a steady growth of culture and civilization from the Stone Ages over the pre-axial archaic kingdoms and the post-axial agrarian civilizations to modern society, including several breakdowns during the Bronze Age and during the Middle Ages. This continuous growth in terms of culture, society, and technology, is deeply connected and caused by the continuous psychological stage development.

#### **4. Stages of culture and civilization**

##### **4.1. Nature peoples**

Nature peoples were all peoples from the beginning of the human race up to 10.000 B. C. It is said that half of the Earth's surface was occupied by nature peoples 2.000 years ago, and still a quarter 500 years ago. Only a hundred years ago, there were still a lot of nature peoples surviving remote from civilization. Now there are only few areas around the globe still harboring surviving nature peoples, often protected against damaging influences by national governments.

Economically they live a life as hunter and gatherer, by hunting, fishing, and gathering the eatable their environments provide. Often they live a nomadic life in search for new hunting grounds because they need great areas to find sufficient supply. Therefore, they live in small groups, often hostile to alien groups because of competition for food. They make their weapons and tools by Stone-Age technologies, and also their clothes if they have any.

Nonetheless, they were able to people even the hardest regions such as the Polar region in the North, Siberia, jungles, and deserts in Australia and elsewhere. Though they know how to survive where unskilled modern people would perish they manifest sometimes incredible shortcomings hardly understandable. For example, the Australian aborigines and some tribes in South Patagonia never invented or dressed some protective clothes. Nights in the desert or in Fireland are very cold but the people slept outside naked. While the aborigines warmed their naked bodies with nocturnal fires, some tribes in Fireland tried to keep warm only by sleeping close to their family members.

Most people that are described as nature or Stone Age people during the 19th and 20th century were not any more strict nature or Stone Age people because they used imported metallurgy and they planted gardens. However, often they held most of the archaic patterns despite of their neolithic advancements. Ethnography is full of good descriptions of these peoples (relative to certain tribes: [Fortune, 1963](#); [Grubb, 1914](#); [Radcliffe-Brown, 1964](#); [Everett, 2008](#); [Spencer, Gillen, 1904](#); [Evans-Pritchard, 1976](#); generally: [Lévy-Bruhl, 1923](#); [Lévy-Bruhl, 1971](#); [Lévy-Bruhl, 1983](#); [Lévy-Bruhl, 1985](#)). In this list only the Spencer and Gillen book on the Australians really describes people without any forms of farming and housing.

Piagetian research among nature peoples found out that they strictly stay on the preoperational stage, as Piaget himself had repeatedly determined ([Piaget, 1974](#); [Ponzo, 1966](#); [Dasen, 1974](#), [Dasen, 1977](#)). The whole ethnographic literature relative to nature peoples completely matches to the preoperational stage described by developmental psychology. They use languages typical for children very young, they count numbers like kindergartners if at all, they have the same

mystical and magical-animistic view, they believe like children in ghosts and witches, etc. However, because they stay on the child's stage for many years they acquire during their boyhood a knowledge, accumulated during hundreds of generations, how to survive where not only children but also unskilled civilized adults would perish. They were universalists and not specialists like modern humans are.

#### 4.2. Archaic kingdoms

Especially the introduction of agriculture, cattle breeding and farming, increase of population and population density, and urban settlements belong to the preconditions of the rise of the archaic kingdoms. Hence agriculture is a precondition to the rise of population and to the origin of towns it is therefore also the general precondition to the rise of the state. A central government is necessary to organize the new way of life. Ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, and the Indus culture were the first cultures known to represent this stage of civilization. Ancient Egypt is said to be the first central state respectively the first archaic kingdom in history, while Mesopotamia was a conglomerate of city states initially. The Indus culture reached in the north up to Afghanistan, consisting of great a many of towns, with population sizes resembling to those of the ancient Egypt. Perhaps it makes sense to classify some other cultures to this stage of archaic kingdoms although they often appeared thousands of years later, e.g. Angkor Wat in Cambodia, the Pre-Columbian American cultures of the Maya, Aztec, and Inca, and the Chinese Shang dynasty (originated 1600 B. C.).

Ancient Egypt is said to be the first and most impressive central state respectively archaic kingdom. With Egypt world history began, as it is often maintained, and Egypt and Mesopotamia, being the fruit of the so-called Fertile Crescent, are the cradle either of civilization at all or of Western civilization at least. The first Pharaoh named Narmer (sometimes named Menes) unified 3100 B. C. the northern and southern part of Egypt, thus being the first great king in world history. Despite several changes in its history, ancient Egypt preserved main patterns of its culture constant and unchanged through several millennia. The culture with its religion and language survived even in its late period, being then subsequently under Persian, Greek, and Roman government, and collapsed only through Christianization during the 4th and Islamization during the 7th century.

Their achievements in architecture belong to the most outstanding features of the archaic kingdoms. Temples, pyramids, and palaces built in Egypt and Mesopotamia are unique and overwhelming even in comparison to contemporary architecture. The Cheops pyramid of Gizeh, consisting of 2,5 million blocks each weighing 2,5 tons, and some others weighing up to 50 tons, is the only ancient world miracle that has survived by today. Some current architects declare not to know how they could build the Cheops pyramid even by contemporary technologies, some others say it would need (e.g., eight) years to make a copy. The Sphinx of Gizeh is said to be the greatest sculpture ever created in history. The building of the pyramids, the control of the irrigation system and the storage of food were the elements upon the state was built. Further, building of pyramids was not only a characteristic of Mesopotamia and Egypt but also of China and Pre-Columbian America. It characterizes the beginning of great architecture – and civilization –, not any more of relevance to more advanced civilizations such as those of the Romans or Greeks in antiquity or the medieval India, China, or Europe for reasons possibly not fully explained by now (Mark Lehner tried to). Mesopotamia built more than 15 great step pyramids and influenced India and China culturally.

Comparably high population densities, agricultural food supply, and central state functions created complex societies with a high amount of labor division, economic productivity, and new products and services. These cultures learned considerable skills in architecture, metallurgy, crafts, pottery, trades, transportation, and arts. They created finest sculptures, furniture, gold masks, jewellery, and wall paintings. Glass was available in Egypt and Mesopotamia 1600 B. C. Both nations invented the first early forms of writing in history. Mesopotamia created the first epos in world history, the Gilgamesh epos, 2300-2400 B. C. Many skills and amenities sometimes reckoned to later times they had already invented 1000 or 3000 B. C. Indeed, these ancient civilizations created the economical, cultural, and technological foundation to that we call "civilization" (Fischer, 1981; Harris, 1997; Roaf, 1998; Assmann, 1996; Morowchick, 2002; Cornevin, 1980).

According to the Egyptologist Emma Brunner-Traut (1974, 1996), the ancient Egyptians still stood on the preoperational stage and did not establish the concrete operational stage. A great many of other Egyptologists and historians found remarkable similarities between the mind of the child and that of the ancient Egypt, Mesopotamian, Maya and Aztec (Schneider, 1909; Frankfort et

al., 1981; Ibarra, 2007; Frazer, 1994). The ancient people strongly manifested patterns of mind and behavior that are known as preoperational and characterizing the mind of the child. They adhered to the magical-animistic worldview of the nature peoples, believed in ghosts, witches, and fairies, practised oracles, adored animals and natural objects as gods, etc. At first glance it seems that they created their cultural advancements more within the preoperational stage – that is by quantitative accumulation of knowledge not requiring higher stages – than by psychological stage advancements.

### 4.3 Ancient civilizations

Some ancient civilizations developed some breakthroughs roughly from 500 B. C. onwards. New forms of mind, philosophy, politics, and technology came into being. According to Jaspers and Eisenstadt, we call these cultures as post-axial. Ancient Greece and Rome, India, and China define this group. The Roman and the Chinese Empire, coming into existence nearly at the same time, in the third or second century B. C., were the most famous and most successful agrarian civilizations. Among this group of ancient civilizations, the Greek culture appears as the most sophisticated culture in the entire ancient world. Especially in its Hellenistic era, from 300 to 50 B. C., with Alexandria as its centre, it developed the physical sciences to a level that was only reached again in Europe during the 17th century. Archimedes had no counterpart in the pre-axial cultures or in post-axial ancient Rome or Asia. The Greeks were the only premodern culture that introduced forms of democracy, and they did it on a highly sophisticated level, according to some criteria (not to every). The Greeks had the greatest philosophers in the ancient world. They modeled plastics as no other ancient culture could to, and they developed forms of literature unknown before, including tragedy and novel. The Roman conquest of Eastern Mediterranean annihilated this breakthrough and prevented the whole ancient Western world from preserving and regaining the Hellenistic revolution. The Romans did not succeed to elevate science, politics, and culture to Hellenistic stages during the whole time of their empire (Russo, 2005).

Although the Egyptians and the Mesopotamians tried to expand, the Greeks with Alexander the Great were the first to build an empire. Possibly influenced by Alexander's project, the Indians under Ashoka 268 B. C. and the Chinese under Gaozu, the first king of the Han dynasty, 202 B.C. unified their countrys, being the first emperors of their countries.

Especially the ancient Roman and the Chinese Empire, but also the subsequent medieval Europe, China, Persia, Arabian world, Japan, Ottoman Empire, and India, developed culture and civilization to some higher stages than the pre-axial cultures had done. These cultures had greater population sizes, greater cities (especially China), more international contacts, higher developed forms of division of labor, more and new technologies, somewhat higher developed sciences, elaborated forms of philosophy, and higher developed forms of arts. Even at the first glance, the post-axial civilizations manifest more rational and less archaic structures as the pre-axial civilizations had done. The Pharaoh cult, the pyramids, the strictly mythological way of thinking, the extreme conservatism and the endless repetitions of rituals during millennia – that all appears much more archaic than debates in the senate, visits in the Caracalla thermes, the rhetoric of Perikles, the Greek tragedies, the philosophy of Aristotle, the Chinese invention of paper and book printing, etc.

Japan, China, and Europe during the 16th century surmounted their ancient developmental stages according to many aspects. China sailed to Africa in the 15th century, and Europe around the globe in the 16th century, being the first civilization in world history to discover every single continent and world region. With Charles the Fifth the Habsburgian dynasty dominated greater parts of Europe, North-, Middle-, and South America, outperforming the ancient Roman dimensions, and the Chinese and Japanese elevated their cultures regarding many elements. India built its Taj Mahal, and the Chinese improved their great wall (Johnson, 1995; Friedländer, 1913; Murowchick, 2002; Russo, 2005).

However, both the post-axial agrarian civilizations of the antiquity and those of the medieval times continue many of the cognitive and cultural traits both of nature peoples and of the pre-axial civilizations. The magical-animistic worldview may have weakened in comparison to former stages of culture but it remained intact predominantly. Likewise the belief in ghosts, witches, sorcerers, oracles, etc. continued during the whole existence of this type of civilization. Ancestor worship, adoration of natural entities and Olympic gods, and seasonal cults originating in the Stone Ages

continued (Dodds, 1966; Thorndike, 2003; de Sahagún, 1989; Rose, 1926; Frazer, 1927, Frazer, 1994; Fustel de Coulanges, 1956). Likewise the moral conditions, though advanced in comparison to the cannibalism of the nature peoples, and to the human sacrifices of the pre-axial cultures, are backward. Slavery, arena games with crucifixion, tortures, and chases, etc., appear as primitive forms of civilization, as already Charles Darwin recognized and formulated.

According to Radding (1985) and Le Pan (1989), medieval Europe predominantly adhered to the preoperational stage, as did the cultures of the Mayas and Aztecs (Ibarra, 2007). The greatest part of post-axial ancient populations may have stayed on the preoperational stage. Some people may have established the concrete operational stage, as Piaget himself remarked relative to Ionian philosophers. The Aristotelian philosophy is at the transition concrete operational stage/formal operational stage, as some reconstructions could convincingly demonstrate (Piaget, Garcia, 1989; Fetz, 1982; Oesterdiekhoff, 2011; Oesterdiekhoff, 2013; Oesterdiekhoff, 2016a; Oesterdiekhoff, 2017). Intermediary stages between the third and the fourth stage may have characterized those ancient and medieval people that were far beyond their time (Archimedes, Philo of Byzantium, Demokrit, Lukrez, Cicero, Abelard, Francis Bacon, Avicenna, Ibn Chaldun, Thomas Aquinas, etc.). Consequently, neither antiquity nor the Middle Ages knew scientists like Darwin, Feuerbach, Lévy-Bruhl, Maxwell, Planck and Einstein, writers like Shakespeare or Goethe, and musicians like Bach, Beethoven or Mozart. Developmental psychology explains the causes to that (Oesterdiekhoff, 2013).

#### 4.4 Modern, industrial civilization

The modern, industrial civilization developed in Europe and North America after 1750. It has conquered or penetrated now all five continents and most nations of the world. Classic sociologists recognized very early that this type of civilization is new and unique and that there is a sharp gulf between the agrarian and the industrial civilization (Comte, Weber, Durkheim, Lubbock, Tylor, etc.) (Frazer, 1927). Industrial civilization did not originate in certain property rights differences, class conflicts, exploitation of colonies or peripheries, or advantageous trade routes as materialistic authors such as Marx, Senghaas, North, Thomas, Frank or Wallerstein had suggested. It mainly originated in psychological stage advancements as some authors described (implicitly: Piaget, Garcia, 1989; Ziegler, 1968; Habermas, 1989; Elias, 1982; Schultze, 1900; Frazer, 1927; explicitly and thoroughly: Oesterdiekhoff, 2014a; Oesterdiekhoff, 2014b; Oesterdiekhoff, 2014d; Oesterdiekhoff, 2014e; Oesterdiekhoff, 2011; Oesterdiekhoff, 2013).

The rise of the physical sciences during the 17th century is the main cause to the rise of industrial society because it provided the new industrial technologies, but the establishment of the formal operational stage gave birth to the rise of the physical sciences (Piaget, Garcia, 1989; Oesterdiekhoff, 2017; Oesterdiekhoff, 2013). Further, the psychological maturation of modern people relative to the rise of industrial society has not only manifested in the rise of advanced sciences and technologies but also in the rise of the achievement society (David McClelland, Alex Inkeles, H. Heckhausen), in the advancement of skills and abilities such as discipline, diligence, peacefulness, planning capacity, flexibility, and readiness to learn, abilities that make industrial society via human capital enrichment possible and grow (Oesterdiekhoff, 2014a; Oesterdiekhoff, 2014b; Oesterdiekhoff, 2011; Oesterdiekhoff, 2013; Oesterdiekhoff, forthcoming c).

Modern society started with the era of Enlightenment, too. It criticized for the first time in history fundamentally and radically lack of freedom. It demanded the abolishment of slavery and feudalism, brutal punishment law and torture, and the maltreatment of lower classes, women, and animals. Further, except of the Greek prerunner, modern society was the first to formulate principles of constitutional state and democracy. The Western world needed several generations to elevate both to acceptable stages, other parts of the world have been following with greater and smaller success, respectively. Developmental psychology has shown that the lower psychological stages are in favor for authoritarian principles and the higher psychological stages account for the coming into existence of liberty rights, tolerance, democracy, and humanism. The formal operational stage is the source to the development of modern humanism and democracy (Piaget, 1932; Oesterdiekhoff, 2013; Oesterdiekhoff, 2014c; Oesterdiekhoff, 2015a; Oesterdiekhoff, forthcoming c). On the whole, the adolescent stage of formal operations causes the foundations to the emergence and to the entire character of the modern industrial world and modern way of life.

### 5. The development of language through the four historical epochs

The child learns the basic patterns and the grammar of his or her's mother language in the years 1;0 to 5;0. Language acquisition is divided into certain stages. Johansson ([Johansson, 2005: 235](#)) discriminates five stages every child has to go through:

- a) One-word stage;
- b) Two-word stage;
- c) Hierarchical structure, but without embedding and recursivity, and without subordinate clauses;
- d) Syntax with recursivity and embedding;
- e) Full grammar language.

Stage a) starts with 1;0 and stage e) is reached with roughly 5;0 years. A child aged five usually knows complex syntax, passive, plural, tenses, even future II or conditional II. The child aged five still has problems in application but it knows the full amount of syntax and grammar. The typical language of children lies therefore in the years before five. Young children of the lower stages of language acquisition do not master sentences with subordinate clauses but only main sentences. Children under three years have no word order in sentences. Initially they can only use one noun in the sentence and cannot attribute more than one adjective to the noun. They know only active words and not passive ones. Children under three years don't know any tenses, not even past or future I. As they apply only present tense it is difficult to define their present tense as representing the true present tense. More precisely, they have only one category of tense. Likewise they have no plural and no comparative. More, the early children's language is full of onomatopoeic words such as puffpuff for trains or kikeriki for chickens, and of reduplications such as wauwau or puffpuff.

The languages of nature peoples have just the same characteristics. Everett (2008) described exactly the same phenomena regarding the language of the Pirahã in the Brazilian jungle. They have a so-called non-recursive language without subordinate clauses, phrases without word order, and a language without tenses, plural, passive, and comparative. Their language and grammar strongly resembles to stage c) of the Johansson's description, spoken by children aged three ([Oesterdiekhoff, 2018b](#); [Oesterdiekhoff, 2018c](#)).

It was found that most third-world-languages, and far distant in the past, all languages did not have full grammar stage and were close to the Pirahã grammar. For example, Riau Indonesian has no syntax, no word order, no subordinate clause, no plural, and no tenses. It is at the bottom of language evolution, that is, a so-called IMA-language, an isolating-monocategorical-associational language. Morphology, grammar and syntax are to the lowest minimum reduced. IMA-languages are close to the language of the early child and of archaic man ([Gil, 2012: 20](#)). Riau Indonesian resembles to the other Indonesian languages and to Vietnamese, Chinese, and Thai ([Gil, 1994: 180](#)). Languages spoken by people of Papua-New Guinea, Black Australia, and Indian America (e.g., Quechua) likewise lack subordinate clauses and share the Pirahã style ([Sampson, 2012: 16](#); [Simpson, 2002: 287-308](#); [Progovac, 2012](#); [Enfield, 2002](#); [Levinson, 2005: 637](#)). Of course, third-world languages changed during the past century or so due to adaptation to European languages, modernization and globalization, psychological stage development and modern school education.

**Table 1.** Languages of nature peoples and children in comparison

Strict word order in phrases is missing	Children below three years	Nature peoples e.g., Pirahã and Riau Indonesian
Telegram style of sentences	Children below three years	Pirahã and Riau Indonesian
Main sentences only, without recursion and embedding	Children below three years	Pirahã and Riau Indonesian
No subordinate clauses of any kind	Children below three years	Pirahã and Riau Indonesian
Disjunctions and conjunctions such as “or” or “and” missing	Children below three years	Pirahã and Riau Indonesian
Phrases such as “Heinz and Peter go to bathroom” are not possible (two agents in a phrase are too many)	Children below three years	Pirahã and Riau Indonesian
Not more than one adjective added to a noun	Children below three years	Pirahã Riau Indonesian?
Not more than one verb in a phrase	Children below three years	Pirahã Riau Indonesian?
Passive missing	Children below five years	Pirahã and Riau Indonesian
Plural missing	Children below three years	Pirahã and Riau Indonesian
Comparative / superlative missing	Children below three years	Pirahã and Riau Indonesian
Most tenses are missing	Children below three years	Pirahã and Riau Indonesian
Many repetitions	Children below five years	Pirahã Riau Indonesian?
Inflexions	Children beyond two years	Pirahã
No Inflexions	Children below two years	Riau Indonesian
Preference of concrete to abstract words	Children	Pirahã Riau Indonesian?
Syllable duplication	Children below three years	Many archaic languages
Onomatopoesis	Children below three years	Many archaic languages

Source: [Oesterdiekhof, 2018b](#); [Oesterdiekhof, 2018c](#)

Languages in prehistory had no recursion and embedding at all. The Proto-Indo-European languages had only main sentences. SAE-languages such as German, Dutch, Old English, and Romance had no subordinate clauses during medieval times ([Karlsson, 2012: 196](#)). The first Akkadian texts likewise do not entail subordinate clauses. 500 years after the invention of literacy the Akkadian texts appeared with subordinate clauses for the first time in history ([Karlsson, 2012: 195](#); [Sampson, 2012: 6, 11, 17](#)). It was the invention of writing that caused the transformation from Johansson’s stage three to the stage five in history, that is, full grammar came into existence due to the invention of writing. Greek overtook full grammar from Mesopotamia. Latin syntax presumably attained full grammar status not before 100 B. C. due to Greek influences ([Karlsson, 2012: 198](#)). European languages needed roughly 1000 years to develop full grammar traits due to the adaptation of Latin grammar, used as the common written language during the past two millennia ([Karlsson, 2012: 202](#)).

Full grammar was born in Mesopotamia and went then to Greek and Latin, from there to the European languages, which again fostered to transform third-world languages during the past 150 years. Literacy is the main causer to that process but not the only one. This fact matches to the notion of Piagetian Cross-Cultural Psychology that school education is a main motor behind psychological stage development. Of course, the fact that pre-axial languages shared the main traits



of stage three (according to Johansson) shows that these peoples stood on the early stages of the preoperational stage. Among other factors, literacy promoted psychological stage development that originated full grammar (Oesterdiekhoff, 2018b; Oesterdiekhoff, 2018c).

Post-axial civilizations, at least in the West, attained full grammar standard. May be that there is no further difference relative to developmental stages between Latin grammar and the grammar of modern SAE-languages. Possibly here is a trace to illuminate why Asia did not develop the modern world and why the West did it.

Emma Brunner-Traut (Brunner-Traut, 1974: 79) described that the ancient Egyptians' language resembled to the language of the child because this people stood on the preoperational stage. Her description actually shows that their language was in the middle between the language of the Pirahã type and full grammar. Since the first dynasties Egyptian language was influenced by writing.

The child, especially in his preverbal phase, uses expressive interjections while cheering, crying, or demanding. The ancient Egypt has remarkably many more such expressives than more developed languages do (Brunner-Traut, 1974: 63). The texts during the time of the Old Empire predominantly entailed main sentences without strict word order. Sentences are connected to each other paratactically and not hypotactically. Egyptians in their texts combine sentences with "and then" similar to children. They did not introduce the concessive phrase. Like children of the third stage ancient Egyptians did never apply the conjunction "although", preferring simpler forms of conjunctions.

The child aged three when transforming from the second to the third stage of language acquisition tries to form full phrases by the following way. "Mommy house! – Mommy paint! – paint a house! – Mommy paint a house!" The reason to that is the difficulty to focus both on subject, object and verb. Therefore the child focus first on two aspects and only then he or she is able to combine all three aspects. It needs a time until he or she can formulate the complete sentence at once. Brunner-Traut (Brunner-Traut, 1974: 71) maintains that traces of this developmental phenomenon called "prolepsis" penetrates ancient Egyptian language. It is full of phrases like "Schu, he elevates it – My heart, it is not in my body."

Mesopotamia was the first civilization that invented writing, about 3300 B. C. or so. The first pictogram writing was replaced by a phonetic syllable system around 2800 B. C., enabling the reduction of 2000 signs to 600. Semites made the first alphabetic writing around 1900 B. C. Phoenicians created 29 signs assigned by a phonetic content with consonants only around 1500 B. C. The Greeks overtook the Phoenician alphabet and launched vocals into it, thus introducing the modern system (Fischer, 1981: 156-159, 225; Roaf, 1998: 70). Obviously grown abstract reasoning capacities caused this evolution of writing systems.

Writers in Mesopotamia and Egypt wrote from the right to the left side, and only the post-axial civilization from 500 B. C. onwards changed the sides. In Greece around 500 B. C. writers changed the sides. Young children can write from right to left and from left to right likewise. Modern children after their fifth year write then from left to right only, in consequence of the increasing left-brain dominance, corresponding to the evolution of the concrete operations. Several researchers described that archaic cultures did not have left-brain dominance, too, coming into existence historically only in post-axial civilizations (Brunner-Traut, 1996: 141-144). Therefore, the Phoenician-Greek alphabet probably was a main motor to the evolution of full grammar languages.

**Table 2.** Languages of nature peoples

Nature peoples	Language of the Pirahã type	Illiteracy	Johansson's stage three
Archaic kingdoms	Not full grammar language	Literacy Pictogram writings or alphabets in early stages	Johansson's stages three and four
Ancient civilization, at least in the West	(Transition to) full grammar language	Fully developed alphabet	Johansson's stage five
Modern, industrial civilization	Full grammar language	Fully developed alphabet	Johansson's stage five

## 6. The development of worldview, science and literature through the four historical epochs

The child up to six or eight years thinks about the world mythologically. His or her ideas about the functioning of the cosmos, stars, sun, moon, seasons, waters, wind, mountains, woods, animals, and humans are magical-animistic. The child is inclined to explain the world order and the incidents in terms of magical actions made by god, monsters, fairies, ghosts, and other mythical persons. There is only one type of story and of narration the child is interested in, the myth. The myths explain to the child everything by telling a story about mythical actions of some heroes or mythical beings. Among a lot of further traits, miracles and physical impossibilities characterize the myth, discriminating it from more elaborated narratives such as adventurer stories, novels, tragedies, and reportages. Child's mental abilities and constraints match to myths, while the other forms of narration surmount his capabilities and inclinations. The child aged nine or ten then does not anymore interest in myths, and starts with reading adventurer stories and novels, that is, with more demanding narratives more matching to the now grown intellectual abilities. The adolescent then is more liable to focus facts and not fictions in consequence of his grown rationality and empirical bias. The adolescent finally replaces the mythical by the empirical-rational view (Oesterdiekhoff, 2016d; Bühler, Bilz, 1977; Piaget, 1959; Werner, 1948).

Nature peoples have the same mind and worldview as the children during their preoperational stage. Thousands of ethnographic descriptions (e.g., Fortune, 1963; Griaule, 1975; Radcliffe-Brown, 1964) evidence that they share the same mind and worldview, full of mythological fantasies and narrations with mythical heroes and beings. Nature peoples explain the world by myths only, myths full of physical impossibilities, magic, and superpowers. Nature peoples are incapable to explain the cosmos by rational approaches and are inclined to mythical explanations. They do not discriminate myths from reportages but take reportages as myths, and myths as reportages. The only form of narration they are inclined to are myths. They are fascinated by myths, telling and hearing them again and again. Myths are their intellectual nutrition. Great a many of mythologists explained that there are no differences between children's myths and myths of the ancient peoples, in form, style, and content. That implies that as long as the humankind's mind stood on the mythical stage it shared the psychology of children entirely (Oesterdiekhoff, 2013; Oesterdiekhoff, 2015b; Oesterdiekhoff, 2016a; Oesterdiekhoff, 2016b; Oesterdiekhoff, 2018d; Luria, Wygotski, 1992; Frazer, 1927; Schultze, 1900; Werner, 1948).

The archaic kingdoms such as Mesopotamia or Egypt did not surmount that mythological stage much. Their ancient literature shows that empirical and rational considerations about the order of cosmos, nature and society were rare in comparison to their mythological fantasies. Their descriptions entail mostly religious, magical, and mythological ideas that do not differ much from those of nature peoples. The orientalist H. Frankfort et al. (Frankfort, 1981: 9) start their famous book with sentences, according to them the literature of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia does not entail any forms of rational mind, characterized by logic, coherence and discipline. There is no rational reasoning in the texts to find, they maintain. Their mind is inclined to imaginations and fantasies, and nothing more, they sincerely add. For example, the Mesopotamians seriously explain storm winds by the wings of a great bird, and the Egyptians explain the night saying the goddess Nut eats the sun every night, which wanders through Nut's body, and leaves it during dawn (Hornung, 1999: 96; Frankfort et al., 1981: 28, 33). Literature does not reveal other forms of descriptions as such. Schneider (1909) and Brunner-Traut (Brunner-Traut, 1996: 128, 148-151) described that the ancient Egyptians were inclined to myths as children are. According to Assmann (Assmann, 1995: 37), rational discourses on society and politics are not to find in ancient Egypt. Their literature is full of myths as its main form, accompanied by prayers, religious texts, letters, biographies, and songs. Their literature never developed epos, drama, and novel (Brunner-Traut, 1996: 145).

Accordingly, Egypt, although being a culture with tremendous historical tradition and unique permanence, hadn't any historiography. It hadn't any historians who wrote down the true history, they had no Herodot, not to speak from Thukydides, because they were not interested in facts but rather more in legends (Hornung, 1999: 153; Brunner-Traut, 1996: 156). However, the archaic kingdoms developed the first forms of sciences. Both Egypt and Mesopotamia had some experts in mathematics that mastered some tasks according to modern curricula for the classes five to ten. They knew already the mathematics of Euclid and the Phytagoras formula, and had the ability to

compute the volume of bodies with different sizes. Egyptian medicine knew different kinds of medical specialists, some treated only eyes, other specialised in brain surgery. It is said that their expertise regarding eye treatment was only reached in Europe by 1900 (Pichot, 1995). The Greeks themselves said to have learned all from these cultures.

However, the post-axial Greeks improved what they had inherited. The development from myths over philosophy to natural sciences is well described there. Homeric Greece did neither know philosophy nor sciences; it had even lost literacy by 1000 B. C. for some centuries. With the Ionian philosophy Greece surmounted the mental level of the archaic kingdoms, and with the development of the natural sciences Greece surpassed the whole ancient world, including the achievements of the Roman, Indian, and Chinese civilization during their premodern times. However, the Hellenistic sciences existed only for some 300 years, slowly vanishing during the first centuries of the Roman Empire (Russo, 2005; Oesterdiekhoff, 2017).

Greek literature started with the epos, the two works of Homer. The Greeks invented the tragedy and the comedy, and later on even the novel, although they wrote only some dozens of novels that presumably did not disseminate much (Snell, 1975). History became with Thucydides, Polybios, Livius, Tacitus, Cassius Dio, etc. a true science. Authors such as Cicero or Plutarch were unknown in pre-axial civilizations, and unsurmounted up to eve of the era of Enlightenment.

Of course, the overall majority of people in the great post-axial civilizations in West and East remained inclined to myths and did not attain the formal operational stage, thus being unable to understand scientific approaches. Therefore, differences between pre- and postaxial civilizations concern more the intellectual elites, and not the common people, who stood more or less on similar stages across the both agrarian epochs (Thorndike, 2003; Frazer, 1927; 1994; Rose, 1926).

Mind and worldview radically changed during the rise of modern, industrial society. Both Galilei and Shakespeare started their work in the 1590ies. The childlike inclination to myths vanished during the early modern times, likewise the magical-animistic worldview, with its belief into witches and sorcerers (Frazer 1927; Lévy-Bruhl, 1923, Lévy-Bruhl, 1985; Thorndike, 2003). The natural sciences resurrected during the 17th century, reaching unparalleled heights in whole history during the subsequent centuries. The intellectual elite attained the adolescent stage of formal operations for the first time in history, and the whole modern population did so during the 20th century. The 20th century saw for the first time in history whole populations having surmounted the psychology of the child and having established the formal operational stage (Piaget, Garcia, 1989; Oesterdiekhoff, 2009a; Oesterdiekhoff, 2011; Oesterdiekhoff, 2013; Oesterdiekhoff, 2017; Oesterdiekhoff, 2014d; Oesterdiekhoff, 2014e; Oesterdiekhoff, 2016c; Flynn, 2007; Schultze, 1900; Werner, 1948).

Not by chance, literature, music, and arts exploded during the modern era, all in consequence of the psychological stage development (Gablik, 1976; Le Pan, 1989; Oesterdiekhoff, 2013).

## **7. The development of magic and religion through the four historical epochs**

Both nature peoples and agrarian civilizations likewise know the adoration of the dead, godhead of heaven, Olympic or domain gods, and nature gods such as sun, wood, mountain, water, etc. However, nature peoples invest more time and energy in magic and religion than the agrarian civilizations did, and they again are much more religious than any kind of industrial civilization. Religion was very strong as long as humankind shared the psychology of the child, and considerably and stepwise declined with the rise of the formal operational stage during the age of Enlightenment and later on (Oesterdiekhoff, 2011; Oesterdiekhoff, 2013; Oesterdiekhoff, 2018d; Oesterdiekhoff, forthcoming b).

Developmental psychology evidenced that children initially, irrespective to any socialisation impact, believe that the world was created by humans and divinities. More, they believe that the existence and continuation of the world depends from magical actions of humans and divinities. With the decline of magic during the concrete operational stage, the child aged eight or ten years finally does not anymore believe that humans are creators, leaving the role to the godhead alone (Piaget, 1959).

The whole premodern humankind shared this preoperational belief of the child. Nature peoples invested weeks or months of the year to exhibit magical rites destined to preserve the mere existence of the world. They really believed as the children do that the continuation of the cosmos

originates in these rites they conducted on a regular basis. These rites were believed to reproduce the creation act of the cosmos.

For example, the Australian aborigines overtook in their annual rites the role of the first creators of the cosmos, believing to be the incarnation of the first humans on earth. They were both gods and humans, composite-figures consisting of elements of gods, plants, animals and humans alike, especially humans and animals. The aborigines believe that during their rites they – as composite-figures – transform into all elements the cosmos consist of. They believe as the children do that the cosmos consist of transformed human beings. The cosmos came into being by the transformation of humans into the cosmos. As the aborigines “die” during their rites they reproduce the death of the ancestors in making the cosmos thereby. The dead bodies make all elements the cosmos consist of, such as waters, woods, rocks, etc. These elements again are the makers of the next generation of humans because the souls of the elements reincarnate in the wombs of women. This core idea of totemism unifies all elements into one great world system, unifying nature and society. Totemism implies that different groups of humans are responsible for the magical preservation of different classes of elements the cosmos consist of. All totemic groups together preserve therefore the whole cosmos (Spencer, Gillen, 1904; Durkheim, 1965; Oesterdiekhoff, 2011; Oesterdiekhoff, 2013; Oesterdiekhoff, 2018d; Oesterdiekhoff, forthcoming b).

Further, the aborigines apply also another method of creation and continuation. During months of a year they reproduce ritually every single element such as clouds, winds, trees, flowers, birds, insects, etc., believing that the continuation of these species and elements depend from their magical rites (Spencer, Gillen, 1904; Durkheim, 1965; Oesterdiekhoff, 2011; Oesterdiekhoff, 2013; Oesterdiekhoff, 2018d; Oesterdiekhoff, forthcoming b).

Australian aborigines seem to invest more time and energy into these rites than most other nature peoples. However, these totemic ideas and creation rites penetrate the whole ancient world, especially nature peoples but also the agrarian civilizations. Annual magical rites to preserve the entire cosmos, the existence of sun, rain, fertility, animals, and harvests, are to find in every agrarian civilization across the five continents. As magical rites they continued during the whole antiquity and medieval times by the 19th century, and as mentally emptied folklore by today (Frazer, 1994; Frazer 1927; Oesterdiekhoff, 2007; Oesterdiekhoff, 2011; Oesterdiekhoff, 2013; Oesterdiekhoff, 2018d; Oesterdiekhoff, forthcoming b).

Further, even the great mysterious religions of antiquity such as the Greek mysteries of Eleusys, the Persian Mithra religion, the Mesopotamian cult of Attis, the Egyptian Osiris cult, or Christianity originate in the totemism of the Australians, or better: in the psychology of the child, in his artificialism according to Piaget (1959). Therefore, the idea of the dying god, that recreates the energy of the cosmos by his annual death, to find in every ancient religion, shares the corresponding totemic beliefs of the nature peoples. When god dies in the beginning of spring and resuscitate later as summer and life, sun and harvest, then there is a striking correspondence to the rites of the Australians. Correspondingly, the Christian god came into being with the rebirth of the sun, a typical totemic idea (the sun being a representation of god).

More, as long as the people celebrate the holy mess symbolizing death and rebirth of the god, as long it is in their own hands to preserve the cosmos. The holy mess originates in the totemic rites of the nature peoples, even in the Australian rites described, as already Durkheim (1965) had clearly recognized. The corresponding rites are to find in Hinduism, Buddhism, Shintoism, Greek, Chinese, and Egyptian religion. The holy mess originated in the psychology of magic and artificialism, where the people themselves believed to recreate the cosmos. Without their mess, they believed, the cosmos wouldn't survive (Frazer, 1927, Frazer, 1994; Griaule, 1975; de Sahagún, 1989; Oesterdiekhoff, 2007; Oesterdiekhoff, 2011; Oesterdiekhoff, 2013; Oesterdiekhoff, 2018d; Oesterdiekhoff, forthcoming b).

However, it is obvious that the nature peoples, e.g. the Australian aborigines, had a much clearer and deeper consciousness of their role in making the cosmos as the believers of the ancient religions during antiquity and Middle Ages. The visitors of the holy mess in antiquity and Middle Ages have preserved some of the archaic magic and the corresponding consciousness, but the holy mess losted its original meaning when people reached the developmental age of children aged nine and ten during the age of Enlightenment and later on. Post-axial ancient and medieval people lost more and more the initial belief in their own magical role in preserving the cosmos, and the

seasonal rites, destined to preserve the cosmos, transformed to being mere folklore only during the modern era.

This original magical-artificialistic belief was in the archaic kingdoms still much stronger. It was stronger there as in the post-axial religions but weaker as in Australian religion. The Pharaoh was seen as cosmocrator and as *sungod Rê* who rules society and nature, heaven and earth. The whole people believed that the Pharaoh himself caused the running of the cosmos, sun, waters, winds, harvests, and people. The Pharaoh himself preserved the mere existence of the cosmos. Without the holy rites in the temples the cosmos would perish and the sun would not reappear in the morning – that was the deep conviction of the people. The Pharaoh opens every morning the great door of the temple to allow or to order the sun to come warming and shining on the whole world. He breaks the seals of the door in a daily and holy ceremony (Fischer, 1981: 264; Frankfort et al., 1981: 220-221; Hornung, 1999: 35, 45, 48; Assmann, 1995: 218-223; Brunner-Traut, 1996: 99). Although the kings and emperors of the post-axial civilizations preserved some cosmocratic abilities they did not match to those ascribed to the Pharaoh (Frazer, 1927; Frazer, 1994; Oesterdiekhoff, 2007; Oesterdiekhoff, 2013).

According to the totemic beliefs of the nature peoples, the gods or humans that created the world, the first ancestors, were composite-figures consisting of elements such as humans and animals. Every element and being in the world is therefore divine. Especially animals were seen as divinities ruling the world and having magical power. Every totemic clan had therefore the duty to care for and to adore those animals that belong to their clan. Different species belonged to different totemic clans. The members of the crocodile clan believed to be crocodiles in nature and regarded the crocodile as the god, creator, and father of their clan, etc. Neonates are then reincarnations of the first crocodile, etc. Generally, nature peoples regard animals as creators of culture, having once taught humans how to live and having brought to them all the tools needed to live a life (Spencer, Gillen, 1904; Durkheim, 1965; Frazer, 1994).

Developmental psychology can explain the origins of these totemic beliefs. Children initially do not discriminate dead matter from living beings, assigning life and consciousness to all beings and elements. Waters, woods, mountains, plants, animals, and humans – they all are living and intelligent beings, they are all the same in nature, discriminating from each other only by the outer physical appearance. Children initially ascribe to animals the same amount of intelligence as to humans. Children by their fifth year believe that cats can transform into dogs within a second, even before their eyes, as experiments have shown, or humans to animals, etc. This belief in the possibility and reality of metamorphoses is part of the preoperational stage (Oesterdiekhoff, 2011; Oesterdiekhoff, 2013; Oesterdiekhoff, forthcoming a; Werner, 1948). Ethnology shows the prevalence of the belief into metamorphoses both outside and inside the totemic belief system (Lévy-Bruhl, 1971; Lévy-Bruhl, 1983).

The Egyptian religion has preserved greater parts of the totemic adoration of animals. Especially preserved the Egyptians the Australian idea that composite-figures must be gods, according to the formula: animals + humans = gods. A being consisting both of animal and human body parts must be a god, they assumed. In texts, paintings, and sculptures the divinities frequently appear as animals. Pharaoh appears as lion, bullock or hawk, later on as sphinx. Ptah embodies in the Apis bullock. Hathor comes as cow, Amun as ram, and Sobek as crocodile. Some divinities as for example Anubis or Horus appear sometimes only as animals (jackal-Anubis, hawk-Horus) or as composite-figures, as human body with the head of the animal. The goddess Meretseger has a human body with a snake head, or conversely a snake body with a human head. As the nature peoples the Egyptians believed that the first ancestors and creators of the world already had this composite-figure nature. Accordingly, the Egyptians did not only adore animals but they also cared for them after their death. Archaeologists found millions of mummies conserving cats, dogs, birds, etc., lying in their graveyards (Hornung, 1999: 168-179; Brunner-Traut, 1996: 117-118).

Nature peoples and Egyptians share regarding totemism more commonalities. Different villages in ancient Egypt adored different animals, as among nature peoples different clans have different animal divinities. Among nature peoples it is custom that clan members defend their holy animals against their maltreatments made by humans not belonging to this totemic clan. Bloody battles between different clans, or between women and men from the same village, start aroused by the killing or abuse of a certain animal being the divinity of a certain clan or gender (Durkheim,

1965). The same patterns are reported from ancient Egypt. The residents of Dendera fought against the people of Nubt because of such violations of animals. The residents of Ombus eat uncooked a resident of Tentyra because of such a crime (Roeder, 1998: 391-401).

The post-axial Greek-Roman or the Chinese civilization do not share this totemism to the extent of the nature peoples or the ancient Egyptians. However, they did not surmount it completely. Their divinities can still appear as animals, but in a much weaker form. Even in the Middle Ages the totemic beliefs continued according to them every human has an animal counterpart, coming to life and dying at the same time. More, by the 19th century it was believed in Europe that women get pregnant by certain landscapes, rocks, or the sun, thus sharing the same belief as the totemic nature peoples. The whole premodern world believed that animals have the reason and mind of humans. Therefore animals were accused before courtyard for certain crimes and were sentenced by torture or imprisonment, providing they had freedom of will and moral responsibility as humans have. As children see no mental differences between animals and humans, so did the whole premodern humankind, Europeans by the age of Enlightenment (Evans, 1906; Frazer, 1994; Oesterdiekhoff, 2009c; Oesterdiekhoff, 2011; Oesterdiekhoff, 2013).

On the whole, magic, religion, and totemism has been stepwise diluting right across the four historical periods, but the sharp gulf between the premodern and the modern world can be seen again here because only the modern world destroyed this belief system totally. Notwithstanding, the pre-axial civilizations such as the ancient Egypt reduced the totemic worldview only a little in comparison to that of the nature peoples, while the post-axial civilizations preserved only some rests of it. It would not have been anymore possible in medieval Europe to adore animals as gods, as it was custom in ancient Egypt or among nature peoples. Medieval Europeans took animals as humans but not as gods (trials against animals), as they did not see humans as gods, diverging in this sharply from nature peoples, pre- and postaxial ancient civilizations, and from medieval China and recent India. I estimate that adoration of divine animals played no great role in the Roman and the Chinese Empire. India is a special case here because it is by today the culture that seems to entail all stages simultaneously, it preserved pre-axial and post-axial stages during the past two millennia. Therefore, it adores by today animal gods such as Hanuman or Ganesh. Further, the pre-axial civilizations such as Egypt or the Pre-Columbian civilizations also maintained the original belief that their rites preserve the mere existence of the cosmos, close to the clear consciousness nature peoples have of that. More precisely, these pre-axial civilizations stood regarding that magical role of humans in the middle between nature peoples and post-axial civilizations.

## 8. Conclusion

The whole premodern humankind stood on the preoperational and/or concrete operational stage, while only modern peoples have been attaining the adolescent stage of formal operations stepwise in some past generations. Despite the prevalence of a sharp gulf between the premodern and the modern world it is possible to evidence some smaller developmental stages manifesting in earlier periods. The post-axial civilizations stay on higher psychological stages than the pre-axial stages, and they again have surmounted the stages typical for nature peoples.

Of course, not every progress in technology or culture must be automatically be combined with psychological stage developments. However, it is apparent that the technological and cultural superiority of the archaic kingdoms, in comparison to the abilities of nature peoples, is both caused and accompanied by psychological stage advancements. The same is true regarding the comparison between the pre-axial and post-axial ancient civilizations. Finally, the modern, industrial civilization has not only caused additional psychological stage developments. It is itself rather caused by them, according to a theoretical model that is known as Dialektik von Sein and Bewusstsein, society and mind (G.W.F. Hegel, K. Marx). Accordingly, my new theory rather confirms Hegel and not Marx, to some criteria. Dialectics of society and mind on the one hand and materialistic sociology on the other hand contradict to each other, what Marx did not really understand.

Therefore, certain psychological stage developments did not only follow the historical periods mentioned but also caused them regarding their progress. The Greek-Hellenistic culture and education could foster psychological stage development more than ancient Egypt could, and the modern, industrial civilization offers more educational and cultural stimuli to affect psychological stage developments than ancient Alexandria, Rome, Nanking, or Edo. Piagetian Cross-Cultural

Psychology, rightly interpreted and applied, can confirm that what history reveals already by itself to a certain degree.

The new theory programme, the structural-genetic theory programme, is obviously necessary to understand the history of the humankind. It has shown already by now that the history of population, economy, society, culture, politics, science, philosophy, law, morals, literature, arts, etc. can only be explained by application of developmental psychology. The discovery that human beings once shared the psychology of children, and attained higher psychological stages only very late, is the greatest discovery ever made in the social and human sciences (Oesterdiekhoff, 2011; Oesterdiekhoff, 2013; Oesterdiekhoff, 2016b; Oesterdiekhoff, 2016c; Oesterdiekhoff, 2018a). It will need a long time for social and human scientists to attain the cognitive stages in order to be able to understand the foundations and implications of this breakthrough properly.

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