

AFRO EURASIAN STUDIES

ISSUE 3

2020

09



AFRO
EURASIAN
STUDIES

AFRO EURASIAN STUDIES

[AFES]

Volume:9, Issue: 3- 2020

ISSN: 2147-110X E-ISSN: 2667-5315

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Abstracting And Indexing Services

It is indexed by Afro Eurasian Studies, Index Islamicus (Brill), Assos, Scilit. **For detailed information, please click here:**
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Publication Year

[2022]

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Editor

Academic circles and popular media alike have been discussing the changes in the global economic and political balance of power. Whatever the future may bring; the region of Africa, Europe and Asia, i.e. the Old World, which was the cradle of world civilizations for millennia, is destined to play a significant role in shaping the world again.

The Afro Eurasian Studies has been established in summer 2011 to offer a respected peer-reviewed outlet for the scholarly research in social and administrative sciences, which would shed light on the history and the current state of economic, political and social dynamics of Africa, Europe and Asia. The journal welcomes original manuscripts in English on a range of subject matters including economics, finance, management, political science, public policy and international relations with particular focus on the Afro Eurasian region.

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The Afro Eurasian Studies is published by MÜSİAD (Independent Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association); a non-governmental and non-profit business association headquartered in Istanbul, Turkey. Established in 1990, MÜSİAD assists their members in their endeavors in business, investments and international trade with over 100 local branches worldwide.

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Kindly

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Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mustafa YİÇİTOĞLU

OPINIONS OF CHILD DEVELOPMENT STUDENTS ON SPECIAL EDUCATION TEACHING AND FACTORS AFFECTING ATTITUDES

AFRO EURASIAN STUDIES -VOLUME: 9 / ISSUE: 3 pp.135-148

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Received: 15.02.2022

Accepted:15.04.2022

Cite as: Şirin Kaya, Ş., Özyürek, A. (2022). Opinions of Child Development Students on Special Education Teaching and Factors Affecting Attitudes. Afro Eurasian Studies, 9 (3),135-148. DOI: 10.33722/afes.1093269

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Çocuk Gelişimi Öğrencilerinin Özel Eğitim Öğretmenliğine Yönelik Görüşleri ve Tutumlarını Etkileyen Faktörler

ÖZ

Çocuk gelişimi alan mezunu öğrencilerin, mezuniyet sonrası çalışabilecekleri alanlardan biri özel eğitim alanıdır. Bu çalışmada, çocuk gelişimi öğrencilerinin özel eğitim öğretmenliğine yönelik görüşleri ve tutumlarını etkileyen faktörlerin belirlenmesi amaçlanmıştır. Betimsel tarama modelindeki çalışmada, çalışma grubunu çevrimiçi olarak kendilerine ulaşılabilen Çocuk Gelişimi 106 lisans ve 77 önlisans öğrencisi olmak üzere toplam 177 öğrenci oluşturmuştur. Verilerin toplanmasında bir anket formu ve Özel Eğitim Öğretmenlik Mesleğine Yönelik Tutum Ölçeği kullanılmıştır. Verilerin analizinde frekans ve yüzde dağılımları ile sınıflama analizlerinden, t testi ve tek yönlü varyans analizi ile CHAID analizi kullanılmıştır. Sonuç olarak, öğrencilerin çoğunluğunun özel eğitim alanında çalışmak istemediği belirlenmiştir. Öğrenciler, özel eğitim alanında çalışma zorunda kalmaları durumunda hangi engel türüyle çalışacakları konusunda kararsız kalmış, ilk üç sırada öğrenme güçlüğü/zihinsel gerilik, otizm ve tüm engel gruplarıyla çalışabileceklerini belirtmişlerdir. Çalışmada, çocuk gelişimi öğrencilerinin özel eğitim öğretmenlik mesleğine yönelik tutumlarını etkileyen en önemli faktörün onların özel eğitim alanında staj yapma durumları olduğu, özel eğitim alan stajı yapan öğrencilerin özel eğitim öğretmenliğine yönelik tutumlarının daha olumlu olduğu saptanmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çocuk Gelişimci, Çocuk Gelişimi Bölümü, Özel Eğitim, Öğretmenlik Mesleği, Mesleki Tutum.

Opinions of Child Development Students on Special Education Teaching and Factors Affecting Attitudes

ABSTRACT

Students who are graduate from child development, One of the scopes where they can work after graduation is the scope of special education. In the present study, it is aimed to determine the factors affecting the opinions and attitudes of child development students towards special education teaching. In the study in the descriptive survey model, the study group consisted of a total of 177 Child Development students, 106 undergraduate and 77 associate degree students, who could be reached online. A questionnaire form and the Attitude Scale towards Special Education Teaching Profession were used to collect the data. In the analysis of the data, frequency and percentage distributions and classification analysis, t test and one-way analysis of variance and CHAID analysis were used. As a result, it was determined that the majority of the students did not want to work in the scope of special education. Students were undecided about which type of disability they would work with if they had to work in the scope of special education, and stated that they could work with learning disability/mental retardation, autism and all disability groups in the first three alignments. In the study, the most important factor affecting the attitudes of child development students towards the special education teaching profession is their internship status in the scope of special education, It has been determined that the attitudes of the students who do internship in special education towards special education teaching are more positive.

Keywords: Child Development Expert, Child Development Department, Special Education, Teaching Profession, Professional Attitude.

Introduction

Child development experts, from the birth of the child until the end of adolescence, in the areas of cognitive, language, motor, self-care, sociable and sentimental development, taking a role in child health follow-up by evaluating the child from a developmental point of view, providing services to the child, family, other experts working in the scope and the society with supportive and developmental programs, they are graduates working in the scopes of health and education. Associate degree child development graduates, who show normal development between the ages of 0-18 or They are the interface personnel trained in centers such as pre-school education institutions and special education schools that provide services to the child, family and society in this scope with education programs that support the development of children with special needs. Another area where child development undergraduate and associate degree graduates can work is the scope of special education and private education institutions. Special education schools; They are educational institutions opened by the state or private individuals for children who cannot benefit from educational opportunities due to their physical, mental and societal disabilities or characteristics (Citil and Atbasi, 2020). According to the regulation on Special Education Services of the Ministry of National Education (2001) in our country, special education teacher graduates as well as child development graduates can work with children who show different development.

The duties of the child development expert in the scope of special education are “to cooperate with the BEP development unit in the preparation of the individualized education program (BEP), To make practices and evaluations related to the field in BEP, Taking into account the educational performance and kind of inadequacy of the disabled individuals, to prepare the necessary materials related to the scope to be used during their education” is included in the regulation. In the researches which made, it has been found that pre-service teachers who have experience of courses, courses or internships related to special education students during their university education have more favorable attitudes towards special education teaching than those who have no course, course or internship experience (Gozun ve Yikmis, 2004; Gürsel, 2006; Orel vd., 2004).

Nowadays, in order to train teachers for the education of children with special needs, departments of teaching for the mentally handicapped, teaching for the hearing and visually impaired keep it up to accept students (OSYM, 2021). At the same time, it is known that special education lectures and internship practices are included in the undergraduate and associate degree programs of child development in the Faculties of Health Sciences and colleges of universities. From this point of view, the students of the child development department can be considered as teacher candidates who will work in special education institutions. The teacher is perhaps the most important factor of the education system (Gurkan, 1993). For this reason, pre-service teachers need to feel ready socially and emotionally as well as their knowledge, skills and practical experience when beginning the profession (Karagozoglu, 1996).

Teacher candidates approaches to the teaching profession consist of the education they received at the university and the students they encountered when they first began the profession (Jordan vd., 2009). However, the prevalence of negative attitudes of teachers working in the scope of special education due to the difficulty of their profession and working conditions shows that teacher candidates do not graduate with the skills and equipment to teach effectively (Gao and Mager, 2011). In a study conducted by Karasu and Mutlu (2014), it was concluded that pre-service teachers who

graduated from special education departments begin their profession without having sufficient knowledge, practice and desire, causing problems for both teachers and students. Due to the scope they serve, special education teachers are faced with negative situations such as professional burnout and emotional depersonalization, which is a known and feared situation among teachers and teacher applicants (Girgin ve Baysal 2006, Arslan ve Aslan, 2014). According to the study of Afat and Çiçek (2019), the majority of special education teaching department students choose the department with tangible external motivations such as money or abstract motivations such as praise.

This situation causes teachers to experience professional burnout and depersonalization in a short time towards their profession, this may cause them to fail (Bayrakdar, 2016, Terzi ve Tezci, 2007). When we look at the literature, it is seen that people who choose teaching with intrinsic motivation rather than extrinsic motivation are more successful in their profession (Eggen ve Kauchak 1997'den akt., Yazıcı, 2009). The success of future generations is related to teachers who educate, develop and support them. In order to be teacher is a profession that plays a role in the personality development of the individual and transfers science and art to the individual with feelings and thoughts (Celikten vd., 2005). As in all professions, in the scope of special education, teachers should be able to leave positive traces in the lives of their students when they begin their profession, Students have expectations such as establishing positive relationships with their families and co-workers, and reaching professional satisfaction through the support provided to them in their teaching life (Cokluk, 2001). However, the teaching profession, which is considered among the most stressful professions, becomes even more stressful when it comes to the education of children with special needs, and teachers' perspectives on the profession may change over time. It is stated that due to the intensity of direct contact with students, special education teachers are more likely to experience professional burnout compared to other teachers (Weiskopf, 1980). It can be said that special education teaching differs from other teaching scopes in many aspects since the student period.

The purpose of the special education course taken by the teachers who will work with individuals with special needs during their student years; "Using the basic theories in special education appropriately, evaluating the development of students with special needs, preparing individual education programs and applying the inclusion process correctly, knowing the characteristics of their students' inadequacies and raising individuals who recognize the educational approaches of students with disabilities and can make arrangements for these students in their classrooms (YOK, 2019). Due to the differences of individuals with special needs, they spend more time with their students and patiently respond to the expectations and needs of families in this process, The special education teacher (Aydın & Tekneci, 2013) who prepares an individualized education program for each student plays a major role in helping the individual gain an independent life (Erguven, 2019). Looking at the literature, there are various studies examining the professional self-efficacy levels of special education teachers (Akmese ve Kayhan, 2017; Kaner, 2007; Karahan ve Uyanik-Balat, 2011). In these studies, teachers who work with children with atypical development require more professional knowledge, skills, experience and patience than teachers working with children with typical development; It has been emphasized that professional burnout is higher in special education teachers than in other field teachers. Low self-efficacy and motivation of teachers and high level of burnout is a situation that negatively affects the teaching profession, especially in the field of special education.

This situation confirms that teachers with low self-efficacy perception and motivation, which emerged in Bandura's (1981) study, experience burnout in a short time in the education of students

with special needs when faced with difficulties in the educational environment. Therefore, it is extremely important for teachers, who are responsible for the effective execution of special education practices, to develop positive thoughts about special education and gain experiences such as internship and practice before beginning their working life.

Because applicants with working status in special education, Their first perceptions about special education are formed from the moment they start taking this course and they are reinforced with internships and practices (Vuran, 2013). Child Development students also when take courses in the scope of special education during their studies and they graduate after doing internships, They are among those who will work with children with special needs in special education institutions. According to the Special Education Services Regulation, child development graduated people in private education institutions; They are involved in tasks such as preparing an individualized education program for children with special needs, making applications and evaluations in the program, evaluating disabled individuals in terms of physical, mental and social development, supporting their age-appropriate development, and guiding families (RG, 07.07.2018/30471). Associate degree child development graduates, on the other hand, have the opportunity to work as a assistant education personnel in special education centers, but they cannot attend classes by proxy and cannot sign (Sadan ve Çıkılı, 2021). For this reason, in this study, it is aimed to comparatively examine the views of Child Development undergraduate and associate degree students about working in the scope of special education. In this context, it has been tried to reveal the factors affecting the students' opinions. Answers were sought to the following questions:

- What are the views of child development undergraduate and associate degree students about working in the scope of special education?
- Do students attitudes towards the special education teaching profession differ according to the schedule, class, opinions about the profession and the status of doing special education field internship?
- What are the factors affecting the views of child development undergraduate and associate degree students about special education teaching?

METHOD

Type

The study is in the descriptive survey model and an existing situation has been tried to be revealed as it exists. In descriptive scanning, the data obtained are summarized according to predetermined themes and interpreted in a way that the reader can understand (Yıldırım ve Şimşek, 2011).

Working group

The study group of the research consists of a total of 177 students, 106 undergraduate and 77 associate degree students, who can be reached online with easily accessible sampling method. Some personal informations about the study group is presented in Table 1.

Chart 1. Some personal information of the working group

gender	f	%	Programme	f	%
Female	168	94,9	Associate degree	71	40,1
Male	9	5,1	Bachelor	106	59,9
Grade	Reason of selecting the department				

Grade 1	35	19,8	Result of exam system	38	21,5
Grade 2	67	37,9	Same field as high school	63	35,6
Grade 3	14	7,9	Ease of finding a job	22	12,4
Grade 4	61	34,5	Own interest/will	54	30,5
Obtaining information about the profession			Opinion about the profession		
Yes/got it	116	65,5	Positive/I can find a job	91	51,4
Partially	48	27,1	Partly positive	66	37,3
No/ I didn't receive information	13	7,3	Negative/I can't find a job	20	11,3
The area want to work			Doing Special education internship		
	80	45,2	Yes/ did	72	40,7
Child development			No/ didn't	105	59,3
Pre-school education	53	29,9			
Special education	39	22,0			
A different field	5	2,8			

As seen in Table 1, 94.9% of the participants are women, 59.9% are going on their undergraduate program, 27.9% are 2nd year and 34.5% are 4th year students. 35.6% of the students preferred the department of child development because it was the same field as high school education and 30.5% of them in line with their own interest and desire. 65.5% of the students stated that they had previously learned about their profession, and 51.4% of them stated that they had a positive opinion about their profession. 80% of the students stated that they wanted to work in child development, 29% in pre-school education, 22% in special education and 2.8% in a different field; While 40.7% of them did internship in the scope of special education, 59.3% did not.

Data Collection Tools

In this study, in collecting data, The questionnaire form created for the purposes of the study and the "Attitude Scale Towards Special Education Teaching Profession" were used to determine their attitudes towards the disabled. In the first part of the questionnaire, it includes students' age, gender, the program which they studied, There are questions about the class they are currently in, the reasons for choosing the child development department, their thoughts about the department, the scope they want to work in after graduation, and the ideal profession concepts. Attitude Scale towards Special Education Teaching Profession, developed by Küçüközyiğit (2017), it consists of 5-point Likert type, 3 factors and 19 items. Of the scale items scored between Completely Agree (5)- In no way Disagree (1), 15 are positive, 4 are negative, and negative items are scored as a reverse. Obtaining The high score states that the attitude towards to special education teachers are positive. The Cronbach Alpha coefficient of the scale was found .88, and the test-retest reliability coefficient was found. 89. In this study which made, the Cronbach Alpha reliability coefficient of the scale was determined as 0.864.

Data Collection and Analysis

Before the data were collected, ethical permission was obtained with the decision of the Social and Humane Sciences Research Ethics Committee of Karabuk University, dated 10/11/2021 and numbered 2021/10-3. Data collection tools and consent form were delivered to the participants via Google forms. Participants were asked to answer the questions after they confirmed the study participation consent form. The obtained data were transferred to the computer statistics program. The frequencies and percentages of the questionnaire questions in which the opinions of the participants about the special education teachers were questioned were given. The normality

divisionis of the data was examined with the Kolmogorow Smirnov Test and it was seen that the significance value was above 0.5, and the kurtosis and skewness values were in the range of ± 2 .

According to this, independent sample t-test from parametric tests and one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) were used to look into the difference between variables and scale scores. CHAID analysis, one of the classification analyzes, was used to determine the personal variables that affect the scores of the Attitudes towards the Special Education Teaching Profession Scale.

RESULTS

In this section, first of all, the frequencies and percentages of students' opinions about special education teachers are given in Table 2. The attitudes of the students according to the program they attend are given in Table 3, their attitudes according to the class level are given in Table 4, their attitudes according to their opinions about the profession are given in Table 5, and their attitudes according to their special education internship are given in Table 6. And then, the tree structure showing the result of CHAID analysis is presented in Figure 1. Regarding the students' views on working in the scope of special education, it was asked whether they wanted to work in the field of special education and what type of disability they could work with, and the findings are given in Table 2.

Table 2. Students' Opinions about Working in the scope of Special Education

Willing to work in the field of special education	f	%
Yes /I work	61	34,5
No /I don't work	100	56,5
Type of disability to work		
Learning disability/ mental retardation	41	23,2
Autism	24	13,6
Hearing impaired	14	7,9
Motor speech disorders	9	5,1
Physically handicapped	6	3,4
Visually disabled	6	3,4
Attention deficit disorder	3	1,7
Can be all	22	12,4
Neutral	52	29,4

As seen in Table 2, 34.5% of the students remarked that they could work in the scope of special education also 56.5% of them remarked that they do not want to work. According the type of disability they can work with, 23.2% of the students have learning disability/mental retardation, 13.6% autism, 7.9% hearing impaired, 5.1% language and speech disorder, 3.4% of them are physically disabled, 3.4% of them are visually impaired, 1.7% of them have attention deficit and hyperactivity disorder (DHEB), 12.4% of them stated that they could be all disability groups, while 29.4% of them remarked that they are undecided.

Table 3. Attitude Scale Scores towards Special Education Teaching Profession According to Program t-Test Results

Programme	n	average	S	t	p
Associate degree	71	75,39	8,69	-0,870	0,385
Bachelor	106	76,55	8,71		

As seen in Table 3, the difference between the scores of the Attitude Scale towards Special Education Teaching Profession according to the program the students attend is not meaningful ($p>0.05$).

Table 4. ANOVA Results of Attitude Scale Scores Towards Special Education Teaching Profession by Class Level

Grade	n	Average	S	F	p
Grade 1	35	77,65	8,32	0,625	0,600
Grade 2	67	75,19	8,41		
Grade 3	14	76,57	10,64		
Grade 4	61	76,06	8,83		

As seen in Table 4, the difference between the scores of the Attitude Scale towards Special Education Teaching Profession according to the class level of the students is not meaningful ($p>0.05$).

Table 5. ANOVA Results of Attitude Scale Scores Towards Special Education Teaching Profession According to Opinions About Profession

Opinion of the profession	n	Average	S	F	p
Positive/I can find a work	91	76,25	8,88	0,161	0,852
Partly positive	66	76,18	8,64		
Negative/ I can't find a work	20	75,09	8,41		

As seen in Table 5, the difference between the scores of the Attitude Scale towards Special Education Teaching Profession is not meaningful according to the students' opinions about the profession ($p>0.05$).

Table 6. t-Test Results of Attitude Scale Scores Towards Special Education Teaching Profession According to Special Education Internship Status

	n	Average	S	t	p
Special education field internship					
Did	72	77,90	9,45	2,323	0,021*
Didn't do	105	74,84	7,95		

In Table 6, the difference between the scores of the Attitude Scale towards Special Education Teaching Profession according to the special education internship status of the students is meaningful ($t=2.323$; $p=0.021$). The scale score (Av.: 77.90) of the students who do internship who receive special education is higher than the score of those who do not do internship (Av.: 74.84). As a result of the CHAID analyzes carried out to determine the factors affecting students' attitudes towards the special education profession, the maximum tree depth was 3, the minimum value at the top node was 100, and the minimum value at the bottom node was 50. In the CHAID analysis, the scale total score as a dependent variable; participants' gender, department which study, class, reason for choosing the department, whether they have professional knowledge, their opinions about the profession, the scope they want to work in, the profession they think is ideal for them, and whether or not to have a special education internship was assigned as an independent variable. As a result, a tree structure consisting of two degrees and three nodes has showed up.

This structure is shown in Figure 1.

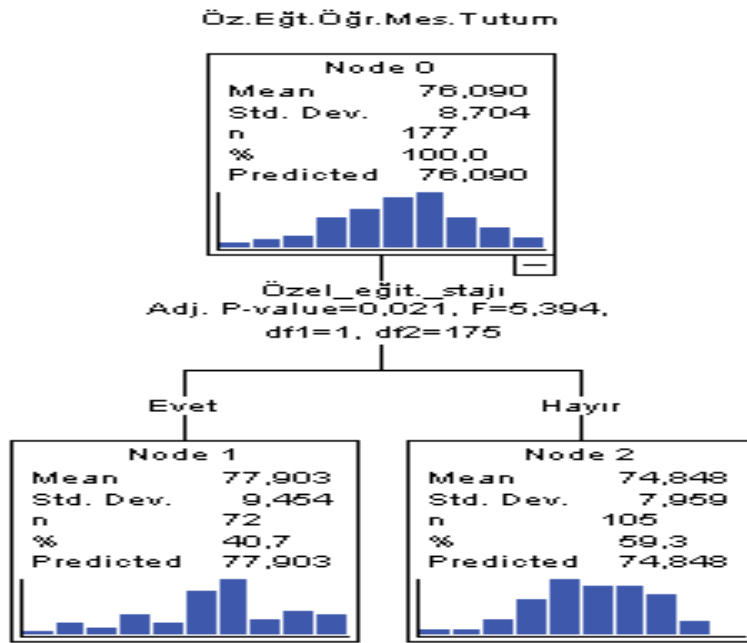


Figure 1. Decision Tree Structure Regarding the Variables Affecting Students' Attitudes Towards Special Education Teaching Profession

As can be seen in Figure 1, the most important variable affecting students' attitudes towards the special education teaching profession is whether they do special education internships or not. As a result of the analysis, the meaningful difference between the scores of attitudes towards the special education teaching profession according to the special education scope internship status in Table 5 overlaps with the findings.

As a result of the CHAID analysis, students' attitudes towards special education teaching differ significantly according to their internship status in special education ($F=5.394$; $p=0.021$). In the CHAID analysis, students were divided into two groups as those who had special education internships (40.7%) and those who did not (59.3%). The scale score of those who do special education internship is 77,903 and the score of those who do not do special education internship is 74,848. As a result, the most important factor affecting the attitudes of child development students attending an associate or undergraduate program towards the special education teaching profession is their internship status in the scope of special education and the attitudes of the students who do internship in special education scope towards special education teaching are more positive.

DISCUSSION, RESULT AND SUGGESTIONS

In the study conducted to determine the attitudes of child development students towards the special education teaching profession, 34.5% of the child development students remarked that they could work in the scope of special education and 56.5% did not want to work. When we look at the special education perspective studies with classroom teachers and pre-school teacher candidates, it is seen that both classroom teachers and preschool teachers have a negative attitude towards working in

special education (Temel, 2000; Üstün ve Yılan, 2003; Varlier ve Vuran, 2006). Working with children with special educational needs have many difficulties due to their special circumstances. Especially for personal reasons such as lack of knowledge about the subject or emotional sensitivity, the students may have remarked that they do not want to work with children with special needs after graduation. One of the reasons for this situation may be the absence of a special education area in their planning for after graduate study areas. However, after graduation, the situation may happen in different directions, and for economic or other reasons, child development graduates may have to work in the scope of special education. In a survey study conducted with child development graduate students, it was seen that the majority of graduates work in private education institutions (<https://sbf.karabuk.edu.tr/icerikGoster.aspx?K=S&id=2083&BA=cocuk-gelisimi>, 2021).

In the study, while 23.2% of the students remarked that they could work with learning disability/mental retardation, 13.6% autism and 12.4% all disability groups, the rate of working with other disability types remained low. Again, 29.4% of the students remarked that they were undecided about which type of disability they could work with. In the study conducted by Ergül, Baydık, and Demir (2013), it was seen that the teaching of academic skills, classroom management, acquisition of language and speaking skills, and autism are the subjects that teachers find themselves inadequate and need education. In order to ensure both teachers' professional satisfaction and students' efficiency, teachers or prospective teachers should have interpersonal skills, academic knowledge and professional equipment according to the difficulty of the student they work with (Bataneh, Dababneh ve Baniabdelrahman, 2010). Because of that, it is extremely important for them to decide on the scope they can work in as a result of their internship and practical experience before they graduate. In the study, it was determined that there was no significant difference according to the attitudes of the child development students towards the special education teaching profession and their views on the program, grade level and profession. It has been determined that the most important factor affecting the attitudes of students towards special education teaching is their internship status in the scope of special education, and the attitudes of students who receive special education internships towards special education teaching are more positive. This situation is in parallel with the study conducted by Sari, Celikoz and Secer in 2009, in which they concluded that the lessons taken related to special education and the practices related to special education affect attitudes.

Teacher candidates both taking special education lessons theoretically and children with special needs, It is very important for them to participate in practices where they can observe different types of disabilities in special education classes and inclusive classes (Küçük-Doğaroğlu ve Bapoğlu-Dümenci, 2015). In the studies carried out, extending and disseminating the duration of teaching practices and making the lessons much more practical are among the most recommended ones by the teachers (Ergül, Baydık ve Demir, 2013). Students need environments where they can be together with children who need special education. Students who experience educational activities with different special needs children, follow and participate in educational approaches and care practices, and enjoy contributing to the practices will be more likely to develop a more positive attitude. Considering that people are generally afraid of what they do not know, scope internships, which offer the opportunity to see more closely the approaches of children with special needs, their families and educators, are expected being effective in gaining a positive perspective on the special education teaching profession of child development students. Furthermore, the possibility of developing a negative attitude should be considered in cases such as some negative situations experienced and the

internship practices not meeting the expectations. Child development students have the possibility to work in special education schools after graduation. The results of this study indicate that indecision and negativity are dominant in the attitudes of child development graduates towards the special education teaching profession. It is clear that the lack of special education internship has an effect on this situation. It can be said that it is important to equip child development students, who are likely to work with children with special needs, with sufficient knowledge and skills before graduation. With a qualified education, it may be possible to increase students' awareness about children with special education needs and the special education teaching profession. Child development graduates will encounter special needs children and their families, even if they work in hospitals or other institutions and organizations that provide public health services. At this stage, the fact that they have more experience during the student period will help them to perform their profession at a good level. This research is a conducted only on associate and undergraduate child development candidates. Metaphor studies on special education or similar topics related to this concept can be done with mothers, fathers, administrators, students and other branch teachers. Considering the possibility of prospective teachers in all branches to work with mainstreaming students; In order to learn the perspectives on special education, teaching courses in different fields such as applied special education in teacher education programs, program development in special education, inclusive education can be given.

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THE PROSPECT FOR TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY IN AFRICA UNDER AK PARTY GOVERNMENTS

AFRO EURASIAN STUDIES -VOLUME: 9 / ISSUE: 3 pp.149-164

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Received: 15.02.2022

Accepted: 15.04.2022

Cite as: İnaç, H. Hadji, A. Benmansour, Y. (2022). The Prospect for Turkish Foreign Policy in
Africa Under AK Party Governments. Afro Eurasian Studies, 9 (3),148-164. DOI:
10.33722/afes.1095725

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AK Parti Hükümetleri Döneminde Türk Dış Politikasının Afrika Yönelimi

ÖZ

İkibinli yılların başında iktidara gelen Akparti hükümetleri Türk dış politikasının ana yöneliminin önemli dönüşümlerin yaşanmasına neden olmuştur. Soğuk savaş dönemi ve hemen akabinde Batı ittifakına bağlı bir dış politika izleyen Türkiye, bu dönemde Osmanlı coğrafyasıyla yakında ilgilenmeye başladı. Bu dinamik ve iddialı politika, Batı literatüründe Neo-Osmanlılık olarak adlandırıldı. Türkiye'nin kültürel, tarihi ve dini bakımdan pek çok ortak noktaya sahip olduğu coğrafyalardan birisi de Afrika kıtasıydı. Bölge insanına diğer sömürgeci ülkelerin aksine eşitlik temelinde yaklaşan ve karşılıklı kazanmaya yönelik politikalar üreten Türkiye'nin Afrika'daki varlığı, statükoyu temelden sarstı. Bu bağlamda bu çalışma son yirmi yılda Türkiye-Afrika ilişkilerini sosyo-politik ve kültürel anlamda ele alarak değişen dış politika dinamiklerine odaklanmayı hedeflemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türk Dış Politikası, Akparti, Afrika, Neo-Osmanlılık, Batı Emperyalizmi .

The Prospect for Turkish Foreign Policy in Africa Under AK Party Governments

ABSTRACT

The AK party government coming to the power at the beginning of 2000s has drastically changed the main orientation of Turkish foreign policy. Immediately after the Cold War Turkey followed a foreign policy within the trajectory Western Alliance, but Turkey developed a private concern Ottoman-remnant territory excluding this traditional foreign policy. This assertive and ambitious policy has been called as Neo-Ottomanism by academic circle influenced from the Western literature. As a part of this territory Africa continent has commonly shared culture, history and religion with Turkey. From this perspective, Turkey's existence in Africa was perceived different form the colonialist and imperialist West in consequence of Turkish people establishing relations on the equal basis and mutual gain (win-win) principles. In this respect, this different stance of Turkey in Africa threaten the Western imperialism in continent. In this context, this study aims to concentrate on the changing foreign policy dynamics of Turkey together with the Turkey-Africa relations in recent two decades.

Keywords: Turkish Foreign Policy, Justice and Development Party (Akparty), Africa, Neo-Ottomanism, Western Imperialism.

Introduction

Turkey's relationship with Africa is problematic to a large extent, as it is almost schizophrenic, rejected and required at the same time. Rejected through the biography of the Republic and perhaps the Ottomans in its last era and it is required through many cultural and symbolic ties. Moreover, considering Turkey's lack of previous colonial involvement with African countries, But she often looked at him with Western eyes. But the situation has changed relatively in the last two decades of the twentieth century, as Turkey began to view the continent as an important area for its international and regional interactions. Since the end of the 1990s, its relations with the continent have been gradually improving, and they reached their peak after 2005, Especially after the (AKP) obtain power in 2002, when the Turkish government adopted what is known as cross-regional policies. (Bilgik & Nascimento, september 2014, p. 1)

The subject of Turkish policy towards Africa is of great importance for several considerations, including that this topic has not received sufficient studies, especially from an analytical point of view. In addition to knowing the political orientations of the Justice and Development Party towards Africans countries, similar to its adoption of a new policy, "Neo-Ottomanism", driven by many factors that will be addressed in the body of the research. The research also aims to clarify the political and intellectual changes in the new Turkish policy, which led to a complex pragmatic political behavior towards the African continent.

The Turkish-African relations are of historical depth, as The Ottoman Empire played a crucial part in opposing the Portuguese and Spanish invasions in North Africa by supplying military help, as the Ottoman Empire had a presence inside the boundaries of the territories of North Africa., as some areas were considered directly or indirectly affiliated with it "Algeria/ Tunisia/Libya". (inaç H. , 2021, s. 44-47) The Ottomans also had a kind of presence in the sub-Saharan regions, including Nigeria, Chad and Somalia the Ottomans contacted the African continent through the Battle of Marj Dabiq (The Battle of Marj Dabiq: It is the battle that took place between the Ottoman Empire led by Sultan Selim I (1520-1512) and the Mamluk state led by Qanswa Al-Ghourî on August 1516. The battle ended with the victory of the Ottoman Empire over the Mamluks and the submission of the (al-Sham) under Ottoman control. This battle was named after the plain of Marj) in "1516" by Sultan "Selim I" 1520-1512. After that, the Ottoman Empire attempted to develop its policies towards East Africa through its control of Africa and the Red Sea , By giving Egypt an important role in managing the southern desert and marine areas, as Egypt had an important place in the administrative structure of the Ottoman states. (Hüssamettîn inaç, 2021, s. 77)

Ottoman relations with East Africa in general are based mostly on ideological foundations through which the Sultanate defended Islam and Muslims. (Saeed & Ahmad, 2015) In the period extending between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries, the African continent occupied an important place within the borders of the Ottoman Empire extending between three continents, and with the annexation of the Ottoman Empire to Egypt in 1517 AD, the Ottomans entered into a struggle for influence in the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea and the Mediterranean Sea, where the entry of Algeria and Western Tripoli under the control of the Ottoman Empire an end point for the Portuguese domination of the Red Sea and the coasts of Abyssinia and the islands of the western Indian Ocean In the sixteenth century, the Ottoman fleet led by Sidi Ali Rais defended the island of Zanzibar against the Western colonizers, and thus the Ottoman Empire ran almost a quarter of the area of Africa by controlling all of Algeria between The years 1516-1882 AD, Tunisia between 1574-1881 AD, Western Tripoli between 1551-1912 AD, Egypt between 1617-1882 AD and Abyssinia Between 1555-1916 AD, by appointing governors, she would send them from Istanbul. (Saeed & Ahmad, 2015)

We believe that the Ottoman presence in Africa is not, as is rumored, that the goal of the Ottomans was to spread Islam, but the Ottoman expansion was motivated by deeper motives. Including the economic, strategic, and political motives, as well as the competition between the colonial powers at the time, such as the Portuguese and the Safavids. It is a struggle for influence and domination, and the use of the religious factor in Ottoman politics may be for the African acceptance of the Ottomans in African lands.

In terms of the Turkish Republic (1923-1998), which spans the years from Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923 until 1998, this period witnessed a decline in Turkish-African relations not just because of the weakness of Turkey's political and economic capabilities during that period, but also due to the policies that emerged from the Cold War (1945-1991), as well as the fact that Turkish foreign policy adopted Western orientations. Turkey's accession to NATO in 1952 had a huge effect on Turkey's African and Asian foreign policy, as it led to a kind of confrontation between it and the African countries that participated in the Non-Aligned Movement (The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) is a group of 120 countries in the developing world that are not explicitly aligned with or against any major power bloc. It is the world's second-largest grouping of states after the United Nations. The movement began in the 1950s as an attempt by certain countries to avoid the polarized world of the Cold War, which placed pro-Soviet communist Warsaw Pact countries against pro-American capitalist NATO countries), as well as the Turkish failure to support in the United Nations General Assembly in 1956 the cause of Algeria's independence, Turkey voted against Algeria's independence, which left a negative aspect in Turkish-African relations (İnaç H. v., 2018, pp. 319-321)

In general, the Turkish political weight in Africa declined a lot during the republican era (1923-1998) for several reasons, including what we mentioned earlier, but the most important of them, I think, is Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's exaggeration in his orientation towards the West only, adopting all European aspects and severing the connection with the eastern roots of the state. Therefore, the relationship with Africa has become useless and does not serve Turkey, according to the belief of Turkish politicians at that period, because they have one goal and one destination, which is complete integration into the European system with all its political, economic and cultural aspects. Rather, Turkey's policy has become against African countries Perhaps Turkey's standing against Algeria's independence project in 1956 is a good example of this. (Al-Suwaidani & Ahmed, December 2019) In addition to another important factor at the time, as the Turkish policy was originally directed against the Soviet Union and to contain the infiltration of communist ideas into Turkey and the region with the help of the United States of America. As well as Turkey's preoccupation with many internal problems, such as the Kurdish problem, the economy and the partisan conflict that dragged the country into a state of instability and drained the Turkish economy. (Al-Suwaidani & Ahmed, December 2019)

1. Turkish-African Relations in the Justice and Development Party's Rule (AKP)

Those who follow the complex web of international relations during the Cold War and attempt to map that network will find that Turkey was a frontier state or (peripheral state), only as part of the Western bloc. But with the end of the Cold War in 1991, a new perception of Turkey emerged as a bridge state, and with the emergence of new problems, including the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990 and the crisis in the Balkans, Turkey's main goal became to protect its stability. (İnaç H. , 2003, s. 344-345)

Today, there is an urgent need to redefine Turkey's position in the new era that followed the events of September 11, 2001. Turkey's new position from the point of view of Turkey's Foreign Minister, Ahmed Davutoğlu (2009-2014) who is a member of the Justice and Development Party. has two foundations, an ideological basis, and a geographical basis. Geographical, we find that Turkey occupies a unique position as a sprawling country in the middle of a vast land between Africa and

Eurasia. It is a vital country with various identities that cannot be reduced to a single personality. (İnaç H. , 2004, s. 36)

Several analyzes issued by some Turkish officials indicated that these changes are mainly related to the AKP government's possession of a new vision that directs the new Turkish policy in general and in the Middle east in specific. Names were given to describe this vision along the lines of the strategic depth theory. (İnaç H. , February- April 2007,, s. 27-28)

Thus, we see that Turkish politicians have focused their foreign policy on heading towards Africa since the Justice and Development Party gain power in 2002 in order to regain the regional and international position which lost since the Ottoman Empire's downfall. After the fall of that Empire and the establishment of the modern Turkish Republic, there was no significant Turkish role in Africa except the opening of the Ankara embassy in Addis Ababa in 1926. But after the European Union refused to join Turkey in 1998, Turkey began to move towards a policy of openness towards Africa, and this openness escalated with the arrival of the Justice Party And the development of power due to the ideology that the party follows, as it seeks to restore the Ottoman heritage under the name of neo-Ottomanism, and then worked to restore Turkey's regional and international role and to make it one of the world's most powerful economies, and then the Turkish foreign policy is based on a central and active state It is an international country and it is a multi-continental basin, which gives it a strategic depth in the African continent.

Some observers and specialists in Turkish affairs believe that the interest of Turkish decision-makers in Africa came late, and that it was not the result of the few years, Since 2002, when the Justice and Development Party took power, but the truth is that this interest is not new; the new is that the high involvement in African issues began with the "AKP"'s election to power and deepened with Ahmet Davutoglu's appointment as Turkish Foreign Minister. (Ünal, June 2013, s. 227) As a result, before the "AKP" adopted its policy toward Africa in 2002, In 1998, Turkey published a statement describing its future intentions in Africa, entitled (The Africa action plan), which signifies the strengthening of diplomatic, economic, political, and cultural ties with African countries as a strategic depth for the pivotal (central) Turkey. (Birol Akgün, 2010, s. 542-543).

Following the formal announcement of the "Opening to Africa Action Plan," which intended to improve Turkey's economic, and political development, and cultural links with African nations. their goal was Reach a large number of Turkish diplomatic missions in Africa and high-level diplomatic exchanges with the continent and increase humanitarian and development aid (including Turkey's potential membership in the Africa Exim Bank), encourage business trips, and become a donor to the African Development Bank were among the goals too. All of these objectives were mostly met in the years following, as seen by the inauguration of additional embassies in various African nations (2009 in Tanzania and Côte d'Ivoire; in 2010 in Cameroon, Mali, Uganda, Angola and Madagascar; in 2011 in Zambia, Mauritania, Mozambique and Zimbabwe; in 2012 in Somalia; and in 2013 in Ghana). Consequently, This African strategy has shown itself in a variety of ways, With Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan's announcement that his government has selected 2005 as Africa's Year, to advance cooperation between Turkey and Africa and enhance Ankara's openness to Africa, And definitely Erdogan's travel to the Republic of South Africa and Ethiopia was one of the manifestations of this openness during the month of March same year 2005, then visited Tunisia at the end of the same month. (Republic of turkey's ministry of foreign affairs official website , 2022).

2. Motives For Turkey Return To Africa Interest.

2.1. Political Motive:

Turkey is a unique country seeing as it's a huge country in the midst of the Afro-Eurasia region, an unified country with many regional identities irreducible to one identity or state, as Davutoglu describes it , and with this multiple regional configuration Turkey will be able to maneuver and move

in more directions From a region simultaneously, which increases the scope of its influence, and this ideal geographical advantage results in confirming Turkey's position as a central country. (Yaman, 2015, p. 19) The geopolitical and historical characteristics of Turkey provide it with the elements of a state with strategic depth, and in order to activate Turkey's position as a world player and employ it for this profundity, Turkey must develop an active, non-isolationist (different and dynamic) foreign policy that is not restricted to the Western sphere., and that Its interests go beyond its direct borders in order to influence the surrounding environment in a way that benefits Turkey. (Yaman, 2015, p. 21)

Perhaps the traditional motivation to any country for moving toward other nations is mostly political, and it is linked to the development of diplomacy., intensifying official and civil visits, and opening embassies and consulates to promote the state's higher interests and objectives. In terms of Turkey, the process of reconsidering Africa in Turkish foreign policy starting in the late 1990s., Turkey's immediate instinct after setting its eyes on improving its connection with Africa - particularly after the Turkish-African summit in 2008 - was to broaden the scope of diplomatic relations, and the multiplication From the visits of senior Turkish officials to the Africa. (Biol Akgün, 2010, p. 534)

In an interview with the Turkish newspaper (Daily Sabah), Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan referred to Turkey's political motive towards African countries, saying: "...The history of Turkish-African relations goes back to the ninth century AD, when the Turks viewed Africans as their brothers and built bridges of communication with them on the basis of respect and appreciation. In contrast to the colonial powers, Turkey has an honorable history in Africa that does not have black chapters. We may speak different languages and come from diverse ethnic origins and our appearance is different, but the African people have always been our partner and ally...". (İnaç H. , Türkiye'nin Kimlik Problemleri, 2016, p. 143)

In fact, the two years following the summit (Turkish-African 2008) 2009-2010, 15 new Turkish embassies were opened in Africa, bringing the total number of Turkish embassies to 27, up from 12 before the summit This was done as part of Turkey's expansion strategy in the diplomatic, political, and economic realms. (Biol Akgün, 2010, p. 526) The African Union's approval of Turkey's accession as an observer member in 2003, as well as the recognition of Turkey as a strategic partner in 2008, the same year as the Turkish-African Summit , Nearly 50 African countries attended the event, indicating that Turkey is adopting a new approach toward the continent , aimed at strengthening relations in a variety of fields. (Wheeler., 2011, pp. 43-51)

Many researchers believe that translating Ankara's political ties with Africa in general is part of an effort to establish new interactions with organizations other than the European Union, and that its return can be seen in the prominent role played by African voices during the UN Security Council vote for the seat of the non-permanent member in October 2008, where 51 countries voted in favor of Turkey, out of 53 African countries , which signifies Turkey has tried and will continue to strive to benefit from Africa's veto power in the United Nations General Assembly in order to further Turkish interests. African nations, from the other side, did not vote in support of Turkey attaining seat in the UN Security Council by coincidence either via conventional means. Instead, Turkey's authorities, through its previous minister of foreign affairs, Ali Baba Jan, requested African nations to aid it in this matter by voting in favor of Turkey against Austria and Iceland, its European competitors. In exchange, Turkey guaranteed African countries that it would be a great proponent of African matters before the UN Security Council if it obtains a non-permanent seat on the Security Council. (Ali Babacan"s speech to the group of African countries, New York,, 2008)

2.2. Investment and Economic Motives:

The economic incentive is at the head of the most fundamental and crucial reasons for Turkey's transition toward Africa, which has extremely diverse resources, favorable offerings, and limitless investment possibilities, so that emerging Asian economies such as China, India, Japan, South Korea,

and Iran, as well as European and American powers, are competing fiercely. (Wheeler., 2011, pp. 43-51)

At the beginning of its presence in Africa, Turkey focused on North African countries due to its geographical, cultural, historical, and religious proximity. Turkish exports with North African countries increased to \$13 billion in 2015. Then it headed to Sub-Saharan countries, where the volume of Turkish exports reached \$4 billion in 2015 after it was \$750 million in 2004. Turkey is currently aiming to raise up the volume of trade exchange with sub-Saharan countries has reached 50 billion dollars. As for East African countries, Turkey is trying to focus on it because of its economic and political importance, as it is an international competition arena, and a major trade corridor, where it suffers from terrorism and conflicts. For example, President Erdogan was the first to draw international attention to the humanitarian tragedy in Somalia in 2011, at a time when the world was preoccupied with the Arab Spring revolutions, so Turkey established an embassy in Mogadishu and provided many humanitarian aids. And since Turkey's continuous economic growth, which is at least 6% annually, needs markets to dispose of various commodities and find multiple outlets beyond the Asian, European and Arab scope, For Turkey's exports, Africa represented a prospective and fresh market. and after the total trade exchange between Turkey and the African continent in 2003 was about 4.5 billion dollars, Turkish exports rose to 13 billion dollars in 2009. (Republic of turkey's ministry of foreign affairs official website , 2022) (Look at picture No 1 Turkish exports and imports from all African countries). (Al-Suwaidani & Ahmed, December 2019, p. 158)

The Turkish-African relations have increased on the economic side in 2016, when the first African-Turkish Business Forum, attended by 3,000 individuals, was held in Ankara, including 2,000 representing the African economic community for 45 African countries, and many agreements were signed with South Africa and Nigeria and Kenya, Ghana, Zambia, Tanzania, and others. This came after the attempted coup against Erdogan, and this indicates to us that Africa is at the top of Turkish policy priorities. The multifaceted interest in the governmental and non-governmental sectors prompted academic interest, which culminated in mounting scientific work in Africa. In the same year 2016, three Turkish universities offered master's degree programs in economic studies, including Gazy University, Ankara University, Istanbul University, as well as research centers Which works inside and outside universities, and all these efforts aim to increase the level of awareness and knowledge of African affairs. Similarly, there are seven universities that contain research centers in African studies, as well as there is the Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, which works on behalf of the International Strategic Research Organization (USAK) as well as the Center for International Relations and Analytics "TURK SAK" Strategy The aim of such centers is to contribute to the development of knowledge in Africa by carrying out political and economic scientific research specialized in African affairs. (Tepecikliogu, 2017, p. 07)

Picture number 1

Country Group	Imports	% Share
North Africa	3.006.952	1.5
Sub-Saharan Africa	2.092386	1.0
Country Group	Export	% Share
North Africa	8.528.402	5.9
Sub-Saharan Africa	3.922.011	2.7

* Source: Data abstracted from Turkish Statistical Institute/ <http://www.turkstat.gov.tr>

The Turkish involvement in government sectors and humanitarian economic aid, as Turkey aspires to be a key player in global politics made it adopt humanitarian diplomacy and for this it has increased the level of its involvement in various regions, including Africa, through government agencies and civil society organizations, for example in the year In 2013, Turkey distributed \$6.1 billion in humanitarian aid, making it the third largest donor after the United States and Britain. In 2014, Turkey provided \$383 million in development aid to sub-Saharan African countries, which amounted to a third of the total Turkish development aid. (İnaç H. , Faşizmin ve Sosyalizmin Sosyo-politik Kökenleri, 2017, pp. 111-113)

And between the years 2000-2010, Turkey was involved with other countries in 239 infrastructure projects in Africa, of which Turkey had 9.5%, in addition to being one of the twenty most important trading partners of Africa, and since the last decade 2010 has shown a steady increase in Turkish-African relations. (Al-Suwaidani & Ahmed, December 2019, p. 159)

The Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TKA) is the principal avenue through which government aid is transferred to Africa in terms of development. While official development aid (ODA) declined in 16 OECD Development Assistance Committee (OECD-DAC) countries in 2011, Turkey's net ODA surged by nearly 38 percent. Turkey has launched various development initiatives in recent years, such as hosting the United Nations Istanbul Somalia Conference on May 21st-23rd, 2010, to promote the Djibouti Peace Process. The Istanbul Declaration, which was approved during the summit, is viewed as a road map for resolving the Somali issue. Turkey has surpassed the OECD-DAC nations as the top donor to Somalia. (Bilgik & Nascimento, september 2014) Turkey also co-chaired the International Donors' Conference for Darfur Reconstruction and Development in Cairo in 2010. During the summit, Turkey pledged \$65-70 million in humanitarian aid, mostly in the areas of health, agriculture, and education. Furthermore, during the last few years, Turkish foreign aid and development initiatives in Africa have progressively risen thanks to TiKA organization. (the Guardian. , 2013)

2.3. Military and Security Motive:

After that “AKP” gained power in Turkey in 2002 and felt that Turkey had reached the stage of economic prosperity and political stability and a sense of relative military strength at the internal level, it realized that it urgently needed all the information about what was going on around it in the external environment, and among this ocean is Africa, especially that Turkey found itself Unable to arrest the Kurdish leader Abdullah Ocalan, who sought refuge in Kenya after his exit from Syria in 1999, and then carried out the operation on behalf of Turkey, Kenya's intelligence arrested Ocalan and handed him over to Turkey. Erdogan realized the importance of information and the need to use it for the benefit of Turkish national security, hence the interest in Africa It appeared on the surface when Erdogan stressed that the main task of the Turkish intelligence service is to collect information outside the country. (İnaç, 2018, p. 318)

In the military field as well, Sudan and Turkey agreed to establish a wider political security committee headed by both presidents of the two countries. The committee meets annually in Khartoum and Ankara, respectively. Where the military cooperation between Sudan and Turkey began in March 2013 during the reign of former Turkish President Abdullah Gul, through a framework agreement with Sudan on military training and technical and scientific cooperation for the military forces. Then joint exercises of the Turkish and Sudanese naval forces were held in 2014. In addition to the signing of a number of cooperation agreements in the fields of military training and defense industries in 2017. This cooperation expanded by agreeing to establish a Turkish military base in Suakin after Erdogan's recent visit to Sudan in 2017. The Turkish president praised Sudan's opposition to Turkey's unsuccessful military coup. on July 15, 2016, and Sudan's closure of religious schools, which was managed by the Fethullah Gulen Organization and to help the arrest of Turkish individuals accused of being involved in the failed coup attempt. Erdogan addressed the Sudanese parliament, where he

announced his full cooperation with Sudan in all security, military, intelligence, and other field. (Ahmad, Turkey-Sudan Strategic Relations and its Implications in Horn of Africa. Conference, 2018)

Military base in Suakin

It was agreed to allocate the Suakin Peninsula, located in the north-east of Sudan on the Red Sea coast, to Turkey for its administration and for the rehabilitation of Ottoman monuments there. With this deal, Turkey wants to enhance its presence in the Red Sea due to its importance as a major passage for trade between East Asian countries with Europe and for being a vital passage for the transit of about 3.3 million barrels of oil per day. The Suakin port is also one of the closest ports to the Saudi city of Jeddah, which we believe will affect Saudi national security. As well as on the Sudanese relations with Saudi Arabia, Sudan's rapprochement with Turkey negatively affects its relationship with the axis of Saudi Arabia, the Emirates and Egypt.

Concerning the security and military partnership with African countries, for example, Turkey provided air support for the NATO mission in Darfur in 2005 and signed a joint military and security memorandum of understanding with Sudan in 2006. Turkey also worked on the African continent to help modernize African airfields. The existence of this policy can be seen through Turkey's involvement in issues of conflict resolution around the world, in regions such as Somalia and Sudan. (Al-Suwaidani & Ahmed, December 2019, p. 160)

2.4. Cultural and Civilizational Motives:

The Turkish-African cultural dimension is highly essential to Turkish-African relations, as it worries both for Africa and Turkey, by working to establish a Turkish-African dialogue with the goal of narrowing the cultural gap and ensuring a unified stance on the so-called clash of civilizations through the founding of cultural centers on both sides and the expansion of Turkish language education programs in African countries. (Biltekin, September 2013, p. 145)

Country	School Name	# schools	# Student
Nigeria	Nigerian Turkish International College	15	3728
South Africa	Sema school,star school,Horizon school	10	1936
Morocco	Muhammed al Fatih College	10	1471
Cameron	Akma Friendsh	6	922
Senegal	Yavuz Selim school	5	1400
Mali	Horizon school	5	1248
Kenya	Light Academy	5	1400
Tanzania	Feza Schools	4	1443
Mauritania	Burç school	3	1026
Malawi	Bedir School	2	1001
Uganda	Turkish light Academy	2	688
Ethiopia	Nejashi Ethiopia-Turkish International School	2	613
Egypt	Salah International School	2	660
Madagascar	The Light School	2	190
Mozambique	Söğüt School	2	200
Niger	Bedir School	2	650
Angola	Umit International School	1	230
Benin	Ufuk college	1	245
Burkina Faso	College Horizon	1	313
Chad	Chad-Turkish High School	1	368
Equatorial Guinea	Equatorial Guinea Turkish School	1	150
Ivory Coast	Şafak Groupe Scolaire	1	138
Gambia	Yavuz Selim High School	1	20
Ghana	Galaxy International School	1	465
Guinea	Kale School	1	840
The Central Africa	The Central Africa-Turkish School	1	600
Sudan	Sudan-Turk School	1	1250
Togo	Zodiac High School	1	180
Zambia	Horizon School	1	200

160

Kongo Dem. Rep.	Şafak International School	1	532
		91	24107

* Omar Ahmad Saeed, The Educational Relation Between Turkey and Africa.

Parallel to these dual tracks, Turkey has embarked on a new collective road in which it is attempting to shape its connections with several African nations while also activating the civil society approach. The Turkish government has established a forum for joint action between African civil society institutions, as Turkey considers it an essential partner in deepening bilateral cultural ties for Africa's growth in all spheres, as it was decided, during the work of this convention, to organize partnerships on matters such as humanitarian and development aid, poverty reduction, infrastructure, education, culture, youth, women, human rights, health, environment, food safety, water, family activities, science and technology, good governance, peace and security. All documents confirm the early and long-term contribution of Turkey to the development of religious education in Africa, specifically Sudan, and the development of its relations with Al-Azhar Mosque in Egypt and other sources of books and scholars. (Dodo, 2016, pp. 612-615)

We can see the perceptible results of the Turkish-African relations that began in the nineties of the last century and continued in the third millennium through the exchange of high-level visits between the two parties, the opening of new diplomatic representations, and also through the activities and events of TIKA. In Africa, TIKA is the institution responsible for organizing and coordinating Turkish foreign aid and is affiliated with the Turkish Prime Ministry. It plays a major function in cooperating with African states in the economic, social, and cultural fields. Through the expansion of its activities and projects outside Turkey, TIKA aims to increase the volume of its urgent humanitarian aid in times of crisis, in addition to long-term development aid in the economic and cultural fields. It also aims to play an effective role in solving the problems faced by some countries. In this regard, TIKA started since 2003 to expand its activities in Africa, establishing 50 coordination offices worldwide, and working on various development projects through about 20 coordination offices in Senegal, Algeria, Somalia, and Namibia. The value of the aid has reached the official Turkish development project that it provided to Africa through the TIKA Foundation is \$730 million.

It is clear from the foregoing that the Turkish trends in this regard are to consolidate control and reach the greatest goal in defense and restore Turkish domination in the region. by Establishing cultural centers and institutions in African countries to strengthen cultural, social, and scientific collaboration between Turkey and African states. It seems that the Turkish government, led by the Justice and Development Party, is trying to impose its cultural and spiritual authority in African countries through soft diplomacy and to attract African peoples towards Turkey and then to penetrate culturally, politically, militarily and economically in the region and this is what is happening now, Turkey has succeeded in imposing a policy of neo-Ottomanism And the creation of an international Islamic axis (as a civilized entry point) headed and led by Turkey, in addition to its role in spreading the Turkish culture and language in this country.

3. Turkish Penetration Tools In Africa

3.1. Involvement in Regional And International Organization:

In the context of Turkey's endeavor to regain its former influence in its regional surroundings and in the world; Turkey is using tools for this, includes the Organization of the Islamic Conference, in which Turkey aims to maximize its function and serve as a coordinating body for collective action among the 57 Islamic countries. , including several African states , Uganda, Senegal, Benin, Togo, Chad, Djibouti, Somalia, Burkina faso, Gabon, Guinea and Guinea Bissau, Comoros, Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Niger, Nigeria. Turkey has ensured that the organization's leader is Turkish, which has been "Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu" since 2004. (The OIC And Turkey, 2006)

Turkey is likewise attempting to increase its clout in regional organizations. In addition to the other institutions mentioned, it has been able to obtain the position of "strategic partner" with the Organization of African Unity. Thus, Turkey is trying to link several important arteries between it and Africa, to increase its soft power and its commercial interchange with the black continent, which would rediscover that Turkey is Muslim country to Africa again after Muslims had ignored it since

the collapse of the Ottoman Caliphate since World War I, and would also restore some of the Muslims' strength in Confronting Christianization projects and the West's monopolization of the continent's wealth, in which the proportion of Muslims is 47%, with a total of 462 million Muslims. (Atalay, 2013, pp. 533-536)

It is worth mentioning that Turkey was granted observer status in the African Union "AU". on 12 April 2005, and its embassy in Addis Ababa was assigned on 5 May 2005 to be the Turkish embassy accredited to the African Union. The "AU" proclaimed Turkey as a strategic partner on December 10, 2008, and a Cooperation Summit was held Between Turkey and Africa in the same year in Istanbul, 49 African countries were represented, as well as representatives from 11 regional and international organizations, including the AU. The summit witnessed the unanimous adoption of several documents, including: "The Istanbul Declaration on Turkish-African Cooperation" and "The Cooperation Framework for the Turkish-African Partnership." In addition, Turkey, It become a member of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development's International Partners Forum (IGAD) in June 2008, approved its embassy In DaresSalaam to the East African Community (EAC) During the donors' meeting held on 14-15 May 2008, Turkey's application submitted in February 2008 for membership in the African Development Bank (ADB) and the African Development Fund (ADF) was approved, and thus Turkey became a member The 25 in the African Development Bank from outside Africa. (Dodo, 2016, p. 617)

3.2. The Attractiveness of The Political And Economic Model:

Turkey's popular and elitist appeal stems in large part from the model it presents in terms of openness to the West, peaceful power transitions between political parties, and economic progress under the leadership of the (AKP), which has risen to become the world's 18th biggest economy. In terms of the size of the gross domestic product, with greater chances for expansion in the next decades, all are considerations and factors that Turkey would not have had without a profound connection with the West. (Özkan, 2012, pp. 113-114)

The following marks represent the aspects and policies that control Turkey's strategic engagement with Africa, which have been missing in Foreigner-African ties:

1. Working with the principle of linking interests strategically to an important entrance to achieve and secure these interests.
2. Supporting mutual trust and political and cultural communication.
3. Strike a balance between Turkey's and Africa's strategic interests.
4. Adoption of the mutual benefit method.
5. Assisting efforts to develop excellent governance and disseminate the state's philosophy, culture, and behavior.
6. In light of the openness that governs Turkish business in Africa, supporting political growth and the acceptance of transactions that respect state sovereignty and interests.
7. Providing aid free of any political conditions to Africa, especially in the field of infrastructure.
8. Adopting guiding values, principles, and foundations for the Turkish strategy in Africa based on respect for culture African. (Dodo, 2016, pp. 632-634).
 - Respecting the security of the African human being and striving to achieve it.
 - Preserving the environment in Africa.
 - Adherence to the concept of non-interference in the affairs of others.
9. Adopting a policy of achieving added value for the benefit of Africa, including the transfer of advanced technologies.
10. Work to create central systems in order to kick-start Turkish-African collaboration.
11. Deepening the presence in African markets through partnership, development, and development of mutual benefits. (the Guardian. , 2013)
12. The launch of Turkish industries from Africa, where there are abundant resources, under appropriate economic policies and securing modern technology as experience, and in light of

- the proposed philosophy, which means high quality production and competitive cost, which paves the way for entering the global market with satisfaction, as well as securing an internal base in Africa of satisfaction that establishes sustainable success. (Delanty, 2013, pp. 57-61)
13. the food industry, and the agricultural sector, as well as energy, minerals, and services, are all must be areas of interest.
 14. Supporting African efforts to develop development methods that suit their national peculiarities.
 15. Interest in building African information systems, including the production of mineral maps.
 16. Supporting scientific research, especially about the development of Africa, and the ideal utilization and development of its resources.
 17. Paying attention to African market studies to accurately identify its needs. (Berting, Kimlik Siyaseti, 2018, pp. 77-79)

3.3. Using The Healthy Diplomacy:

The health domain constitutes as another essential factor of Turkish humanitarian aid to African nations. Turkey has signed agreements with 17 African nations on health cooperation. Between 2007 and 2010, about 500 Turkish doctors and over 100 health workers functioned in Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Niger, Benin, Ghana, Chad, Togo, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Mali, Uganda, Mauritania, Senegal, Tanzania and Cameroon, providing health services. In this context, the Turkish doctors handled over than 280,000 African citizens and performed surgeries on more than 53,000 people. As an example, within the framework of the "African Project to Combat Cataract Disease" implemented in 4 countries (Niger, Somalia, Ethiopia and Sudan), in cooperation with Turkish NGOs, a total of 21,600 patients were operated on during the year 2017 only. (IHH Humanitarian Relief Foundation, 2017)

3.4. Cultural Centers and Student Scholarship:

In our opinion perhaps the most important difference between the policy of Western countries and Turkey in Africa is the direct impact of the latter's policy on people's lives. Turkey does not neglect within the framework of its development projects in Somalia, for example, the establishment of social projects that would restructure the social structure of Somalis again. This shows the importance that Turkey attaches to education. And in the context of combating the drought that afflicted Somalia in 2011, the TIKA organization was able to deliver water to 126,000 people, through a project to lay pipes in cooperation with the Ministry of Water Resources, and TIKA opened the Somali Agricultural School, to draw the attention of Somalis to their agricultural wealth and the need to combat drought, during which a phase Establishment of a fishing school, but unfortunately the civil war did not allow Somalia, which has the most beautiful and longest coastline in africa, to benefit from its resources over the past 25 years. With the arrival of Turkish aid, TIKA has taken care of teaching the residents of the coastal strip fishing methods, which will provide vacant jobs awaiting laborers, and will contribute to reviving the country's economy in the coming years.

Between the years 1991-2014, Turkey allocated scholarships to more than 4,380 African students. In the 2015-2016 academic year, scholarships were allocated to 1239 students in degree magazines Undergraduate and postgraduate studies, research and languages. There are currently in Turkish universities about 5,437 students in higher education and 116 university professors and researchers from African countries. Since 1992, over 200 African diplomats have participated in the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey's "International Educational Program for Young Diplomats." (Berting, Siyasi Kriz Çağında Yaşamak, 2014, pp. 71-72)

4. The Future of Turkish-African Relations:

Turkey's adoption of a strategic direction that enhances the chances of achieving just African interests would allow Turkey to have the opportunity to play a pivotal role in the economic field, as linking according to strategic foundations with Africa allows Turkey to distinguish the geostrategic

advantages of Africa and to own one of the keys to the strategic conflict represented in the production of strategic minerals. Through the premise of connecting interests, its cooperation with Africa has strategic agreements with other nations, and the geopolitical situation of Turkey in Europe may allow the completion of arrangements with some European countries, especially since the European Union countries did not hide their desire to end China's control over the rare elements that are used in the manufacture of high-tech products. And its drive for new options, as well as the potential for future control over the extraction of crucial minerals. (Inaç, 2018, p. 327)

Turkey's openness to Africa is an integral part of the new redefinition of Turkey's foreign policy, and on a broader perspective, the global economic crisis that occurred in 2009 stressed the the necessity of variation Turkish markets, and proved that building a relations with Africa mediated by the Arabs which was a good step, and that it benefited Turkey so Much, because African markets are far from the vibrations of major global financial markets, investment in Africa was safer than other countries around the world, so it is expected that the Turkish-African partnership will rise in the coming years in order to achieve Turkish political and economic interests, and the goals of its new foreign policy. (Rudincová, 2014, pp. 204-206) Despite the successes that Turkey has achieved in developing its relations with African countries, its presence compared to the rest of the Western countries, China and Iran is still weak, which makes these African-Turkish relations go through challenges, the most important of which is the global competition on the African continent, especially between France, China, the United States, Iran, Japan, Russia and Italy and Israel, who succeeded greatly in dominating the sources of natural resources in Africa, which strengthened their presence strategically according to the base of whoever owns the economy controls the geostrategic map. (Rudincová, 2014, pp. 204-206)

The strength of any country in this century - as the interrelationships between states are increasing - will be measured on the basis of its specific gravity in the international arenas of influence; Therefore, the true value of the state will be shown not only in its actual power within its surroundings, but also in its economic, cultural and diplomatic influence in various regions as well. If Turkey does not want to remain behind in this difficult competition, it must develop its view on the regions that it neglected so much in the last century, especially Africa. Just as the countries of East Asia (China, Japan and India in particular) have worked to achieve success in obtaining an important share in the African markets, through their economic influence, despite not having direct contact with Africa, in our view, Turkey, which shows an interest in strengthening its international influence, must To work with double effort in view of the international economic and political competition on the continent of Africa; The spirit of foreign policy must also be renewed and focus more on the cultural and economic fields in its early stages, given that Turkey has the advantage of participating in history, culture and religion with more than 45% of the population of this continent, who are distributed over half the area of the African continent. This important precedence should be seriously exploited. In our opinion, this begins with moving forward with a policy of reducing the problems that we have begun to see since 2020 by re-examining some of Turkey's alliances with some of the political spectrum that is rejected in North African countries, for example. Then turn to pay more attention to exploiting the vacuum that will be left by France, which has started to lose its influence in the West African countries.

Perhaps the second and most important challenge is the internal wars on the continent, that threatens the security and stability of Africa, especially the Libyan issue, which makes it imperative for Turkey to work seriously to contribute and put forward a real initiative to end the conflict and civil war in Libya, which is the first country that owns very large oil wealth, as well as copper and gold and uranium, in addition to a coastline of 2000 km on the Mediterranean, opposite Turkey.

The decision-makers in Turkey are aware of the seriousness of this challenge, in order to succeed in entering the African arena to compete with the rest of the major powers that dominate this rich continent. Turkey prefers to deal with the African peoples with a humanitarian approach with pragmatic dimensions completely different from the colonial approaches that accumulated the

highest cultural value for its benefit from the brown continent. For example, the volume of relief activities that Turkey offers now in several African countries, led by the Turkish Humanitarian Relief Organization (IHH), far exceeds the volume of relief work undertaken by all these competing Western countries, and this in fact creates a good reputation among the leaders of the brown continent and its peoples and facilitates Turkey entry strongly in the African arena at all levels and fields.” (Davutoğlu, 2018)

The third biggest challenge is the migration process that the African continent is witnessing from its sons towards the northern side, and this may weaken the continent in terms of its most important wealth, which is human energy, especially the youth, who is considered the most important “factor in the process of stability and development of the continent.” (İnaç H. , What Does Turkey Promise For The Middle East And North Africa?, 2021, pp. 11-12) Here, it requires Turkey to strive with the rest of the African countries To reduce the phenomenon of migration and work together to create economic and development projects that help achieve social and security stability and qualify African youth to engage in building and defending their continent. (İnaç H. , Identity Problems of Turkey during the European Union Integration Process, 2004, p. 57)

Conclusion

After reviewing the research of the Turkish policy at this important stage of its contemporary history towards African countries, we found that it is part of the Turkish multi-dimensional policy based on the Turkish strategic depth policy advocated by the leaders of the Justice and Development Party and tried to apply it in accordance with its political, economic, military and cultural motives.

We also note that the Turkish presence in Africa is organized and tidy, as it seeks specific goals, which were predominantly economic, due to its need for energy sources and to expand its economy through investment in African countries. It is also clear that it initiated the humanitarian aspect through the humanitarian aid it provides to the countries of the continent. But from a political point of view, Turkey is trying to play an effective regional role in the continent, especially in light of the decline in the role of the former major colonial powers and the emergence of the roles of regional powers trying to place themselves on the circle of global influence.

Therefore, the Turkish approach to the African continent, although it aims to achieve Turkish interests, is in compliance with the logic that manages international relations so that the interest is the main motive for the orientations of countries, but it realizes that these objectives cannot be maintained without taking into account the interests of The other partner interacting with it, since the (AKP) arrive to power in Turkey, it presented a picture of the nature of its orientations in the region. During the era of the Justice and Development Party, Turkey tried to send a message of reassurance to the countries of the continent that its approach differs from the approach of others who seek to seize opportunities and exploit peoples, And to benefit from the resources and wealth of their country without benefiting them, similar to what was prevalent in the old colonial era, from which the countries of the continent suffered. Whereas Turkish orientations in the brown continent are largely based on development and humanitarian aid, as is the case in Somalia, in addition to great interest in revitalizing trade relations that benefit all parties. Turkey's increasing use of diplomatic strategies is leading to a great desire to link Turkey's economy and Africa more closely. From the above, the content of Turkey's diplomacy includes professional and cultural exchange, agriculture and humanitarian aid. Turkey's openness to Africa has become increasingly important, particularly in terms of expanding new markets and reducing its reliance on old European and Russian trading partners.

Turkey's strategy towards East Africa is one of its most successful foreign policy files over the past years because of the diplomatic and economic development in a record period, and because of Turkey's positive impression on African peoples. The recent visits of the Turkish leadership reveal that, despite the existence of security and political problems in East Africa, Turkey continues to

strengthen its relations with the Africa, specifically with the East of the continent, for political, security and economic reasons.

The focus on the economic dimension is evident in a gradual Turkish plan parallel to the diplomatic work that has been implemented in a clear and practical manner since 2008, specifically in the east of the continent. Turkey focuses on its relations with Africa on soft power tools such as humanitarian aid, education, building hospitals and supporting women, and benefiting from religious relations in Countries such as Somalia and Djibouti.

Turkey adopts a policy that combines short and long-term goals, and its success factors seem to be greater than the obstacles it challenges. If greater efforts are made, the achievement of Turkey's goals seems the closest, but a major obstacle, which is the possibility of chaos resulting from the deterioration of the security situation or from acts of terrorism and violence, would frustrate Turkish hopes, and this is what makes stability an important element for Turkey's success, and it seems that this It has been a major obstacle in recent years to Turkish foreign policy in all areas it deals with.

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POLITICAL PARTIES AND WOMEN CANDIDACY: GENDER ANALYSIS OF THE 2019 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA

AFRO EURASIAN STUDIES -VOLUME: 9 / ISSUE: 3 pp.165-181

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Received: 15.02.2022

Accepted: 15.04.2022

Cite as: Scholastica, C. U. Anthony O. C. (2022). Political Parties And Women Candidacy: Gender Analysis of The 2019 General Elections in Nigeria. Afro Eurasian Studies, 9 (3),165-181. DOI: 10.33722/afes.1100803

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Afro Eurasian Studies Journal

Siyasi Partiler ve Kadın Adaylığı: Nijerya'da 2019 Genel Seçimlerinin Cinsiyet Analizi

ÖZ

Bu makale, siyasi partilerin seçim adaylarını seçme ve desteklemedeki rolüne ve kadınların siyasi kazanımları üzerindeki etkilerine odaklanmıştır. Erkek egemen siyasi parti yapısı ve gücü, kadınların adaylık seçiminde ve sandalye kazanmalarında ezici bir etkiye sahiptir. Nijerya'da seçimler için adayların seçilmesine yönelik siyasi partilerin tutumu demokratik değildir ve bu durum kadınların yönetimde zayıf temsilinin başlıca nedenidir. Makale, cinsiyetten bağımsız olarak herkesin eşit olmasını, daha iyi bir mevzuatı, iyi yönetim ve ulusal kalkınmayı olduğunu savunuyor. Çalışmaya ilişkin veriler ikincil kaynaklardan elde edilmiş ve verilerin analizi, siyasi partilerin adaylık seçimi ve desteğinin her düzeydeki siyasi yarışmalarda erkeklerin lehine orantısız olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Belge, daha fazla kadının siyasete girmesini ve iyi yönetim ve ulusal kalkınmayı sağlamaya yönelik parti adaylık listesini artıracak politika stratejileri önermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Siyasi Parti, Kadın Adaylığı, Siyasi Temsil, Politika Mevzuatı, İyi Yönetişim, Ulusal Kalkınma.

Political Parties and Women Candidacy: Gender Analysis of The 2019 General Elections in Nigeria

ABSTRACT

This paper accessed the role of political parties in recruiting, selecting and championing candidates for elections and the implications on women's political attainment. The male-dominated political party structure and power has an overwhelming influence on women's candidacy selection and winning of political seats. The attitude of political parties towards selection of candidates for elections in Nigeria is undemocratic and a major reason for women's poor representation in governance. The paper argues that equality of all irrespective of sex is crucial for achieving political equity, better legislation, good governance and national development. Data for the study were obtained through secondary sources and analysis of data revealed that political parties' candidacy selection and support have been lopsided in favour of men at all levels of political contests. The paper recommends policy strategies that would enhance more women entering into politics and party candidacy list geared towards attaining good governance and national development.

Keywords: Political Party, Women Candidacy, Political Representation, Policy Legislation, Good Governance, National Development.

Introduction

Globally women are grossly underrepresented in parliament and governance. The global average for women's representation in parliaments is put at 24 per cent with countries such as Rwanda, Bolivia, and Cuba being the top three countries with 50 per cent or above in their national parliament (UN Women 2019). Women constitute about forty per cent of political party members worldwide, yet they are largely underrepresented in political party structure. This is in spite of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action adopted in 1995 in the Fourth World Conference on Women and a 30 per cent affirmative action recommended for women in decision-making positions. The aim of which was to enhance equal representation of men and women at all levels of governance including within political parties (European Union, 2019). The demand for Women's equal participation in decision-making do not only bother on justice or democracy but also essential for undertaking women's interests. Excluding women in active participation in governance and undermining their views in decision making, would jeopardize attainment of the goals of equality, peace and development (United Nations, 1996).

Literature reveals that in spite of the 35 per cent affirmative action for women enshrined in the Nigeria's National Gender Policy, women are grossly underrepresented in party nomination list for elections. Report shows that A Women Participation Bill that demands a one-third quota of female candidates in political party nominations for elections have had no positive outcome since its submission at the National Assembly (EU, 2019). Nigerian women political representation is below global and African average and one of the lowest in the world. Their representation in national parliament has continued to dwindle in recent times and falls below global standard. Women's representation in national parliament fell from 6.5 per cent in 2015 to 4.17 per cent in 2019 (Onyeji, 2019). This is in spite that women make up 47 per cent of registered voters (Ayomo, 2019). While many countries across the globe are making conscious efforts to bridge inequalities between men and women in the political space, Nigeria has kept falling short even when women constitute almost half of the voting population. The 2015 voters' registration exercise reveals more women turn out than men. The total number of registered voters was put at 68,833,476, out of which men were 22,944,984 and women were 45,888,984 (Pham, 2015). Thus, women accounted for 67 per cent of the total registration while men made up the remaining 33 per cent. Despite women's numeric strength, result from previous elections showed a decimal number of women in political positions compared to men. For instance, in 1999 there were only three women out of the 109 members representing 2.8 per cent of the members of the Senate and 12 out of 360 members which was about 3.3 per cent. In 2003, four (4) (3.7%) and twenty-one (21) (5.8%) women were elected in the Senate and House of Representatives. In 2007 the number increased to eight (7.3 per cent) and twenty-six (26) (7.2%) in House of Representatives. However, there was a decrease from eight women in senate in 2007 to seven in 2011 which is 6.4 per cent and from 26 to twenty-five (25) (6.9%) in House of Representatives. In 2015, eight (7.3 per cent) senators and 19 (5.3 per cent) secured seat in the House of Representatives (Oloyede n.d; Okorokwo-Chukwu, 2013).

The outcome of the election shows that Nigerian women are only active in voters' registration, election rallies and campaigns, voting and contesting hence their activities have not translated into actual governance. This collaborate Megan, Terry and Lauren (2014) argument that notwithstanding that few women vie for elections, they take active part in other activities in political parties such as organizing party rallies, but their activities do not reflect in their vying for and attaining leadership positions. In spite of these efforts by women, they are still underrepresented in governance (Onyeji,

2019). It is on this note that Sadie (2005) blamed the poor representation of women in governance on the inability of the political parties to enlist them on party list and political party structure. Sadie (2005) went further to contend that despite that political parties incorporated gender equality in their constitutions, it has not manifested in their party structure. Currently there are no legal requirements to support women for political advancement in Nigeria, neither are there legal provisions for independent candidacy. These inadequacies compel women to depend on political parties for nomination (European Union, 2019). Since political party is the only legal platform for electoral contest in Nigeria, its processes should engender equality so as to accommodate both sexes in its structure and candidature nomination.

Literature is rich on studies on women's participation and representation in politics. See Agbalajobi (2010); Ngara and Ayabam (2013); Awofeso and Odeyemi (2014); Eme, Onyishi and Nwaoha (2014); Okafor and Akokuwebe (2015); Eme (2015). However, most of these studies focused more on the barriers to women's participation in politics which they identified as low economic status, cultural barriers, low educational status and some merely mentioned political party influence but did not have a detailed analysis of how political party's' candidacy selection impacts negatively on women's active engagement in governance in Nigeria. Thus, a lacuna exists in the literature in this regard. It is on this note that this paper aims to exhaustively analyse the extent to which political parties' engendered equality in candidates' selection in the 2019 general election in Nigeria to ascertain the level of women candidacy and seats won and the implications on democratic governance and national development. The paper would further proffer policy strategies to be employed by political parties to improve the status quo of women in politics and governance for better policy legislation and attainment of national development.

Political Party and Women Inclusion in Politcs

Political party is an integral element of any electoral process in both developed and developing countries. It is an association of individuals that engage in electoral struggle for the control of administration of government (Kwaghga, 2012). Essentially, political parties are platform for competitiveness among groups seeking political positions and give opportunities for masses to participate in political process (Johnston, 2005). Ballington, Davis, Reith, Mitchell, Njoki ,....and Powley (2012) suggest that giving women opportunity to participate in the political process provides an enabling atmosphere for their empowerment. Political parties, therefore, are essentially the platform that promote women's development and contribute toward achieving their political empowerment.

However, women have continued to be underrepresented in all political positions irrespective of efforts made to overcome such challenges. Castillejo (2009) observed that political parties mainly use women whom they place as women leaders to mobilize their fellow women for political activities. The consequences are usually disadvantageous, ultimately render women powerless and tend to exclude them from mainstream party politics. In its limited sense, women play minimal roles in parties, party chairperson or secretary general are the exclusive position of men. Men and women are not proportionately represented by political parties for electoral contests especially in Nigeria. Data from four major political parties during the 2011 general election shows a low representation of women in party list. The All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA) presented the highest number of women candidates for election. Women represented 12 per cent of the total candidates which stood at 640. This was followed by the Labour party which presented 91 women candidates representing 11.7 per

cent out of 775 candidates. All Nigerians Peoples' Party (ANPP) had 77 of 1293 representing 6 per cent, while Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) had the lowest percentage of women candidates among the four major parties with 84 women out of 1510 candidates representing 5.6 per cent (Oladoye, 2011). A total of 3306 candidates participated in the 2011 general elections across the nations. Of this number, 3004 candidates representing 90.9 per cent were males and 302 candidates representing 9.1 per cent were females (Irabor, 2011). Specifically, out of the 20 presidential candidates in contest for the seat, there was only one female and out of 353 vice-presidential candidates, there were only three candidates and none of these females won. At the national assembly, out of the 890 candidates that contested for senatorial seats, 90 were women and only seven emerged victorious out of the 109 available seats while 2, 408 contested the House of Representative seats with 220 female candidates and 26 females won out of available 360 seats (International Republican Institute (IRI) & National Democratic Institute (NDI), 2019). More so, there were only 10 states with female governorship candidates of which 13 females out of a total of 384 candidates participated in the election yet none of them emerged victorious (Eme, 2014). Political parties that presented women for the governorship contest include African Democratic Congress (ADC), All Progressives Grand Congress (APGA), People's Redemption Party (PRP), African Liberation Party (ALP), Action Party of Nigeria (APN), Better Nigeria Progressive Party (BNPP), Fresh Democratic Party (FRESH), Allied Congress Party of Nigeria (ACPN), Mega Peoples Progressive Party (MPPP) and Labour Party (Irabor, 2011). Among these political parties, only two of them presented more than one candidate across the 10 states, the ADC with 3 candidates and APN with 2 candidates. All others had only one candidate. It is worthy to note that none of these 10 political parties were among the top three most popular political parties during this period. One may argue that these political parties due to their presumed low popularity may have envisaged the party's incapability to win seat and hence decided to present women as their party's flag bearers. This goes a long way to show case how political parties undermine women in their candidacy selection for electoral contest in Nigeria. Political parties with high popularity hardly field women candidates especially for high profile offices such as president, vice-president and governorship seats. This is because they have high tendency of emerging victorious since party popularity takes precedence over individual popularity in elections in Nigeria.

In 2015 general election, out of the 26 registered political parties, 14 political parties presented presidential candidates of which there was only one female candidate by name Remi Sonaiya of Kowa party (MacBain, 2015). While four political parties nominated females as vice presidential candidates (National Democratic Institute for International Affairs [NDI], 2015). However, these political parties only appeared on the ballot paper as only two political parties namely, the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and All Progressive Congress (APC) actually contested the presidential poll (Sanni, 2019). At the national assembly, 746 candidates contested for senatorial seats, out of which 128 were females and only 8 out of the available 109 seats were secured by women. These women include Stella Oduah (Anambra North), Rose Oko (Cross River North), Abiodun Olujimi (Ekiti South) and Fatimat Raji-Rasaki (Ekiti Central), Oluremi Tinubu (Lagos Central), Binta Garba (Adamawa North) and Alhaja Monsurat Sunmonu, Oyo, and Uche Ekwunife, Anambra Central (Ndujihe, 2019). While a total of 1,777 candidates vied for seat in the House of Representatives, 270 of this number were women and only 17 out of 360 seats were won by women (IRI & NDI, 2019). At the state level, the governorship race had a total of 380 candidates out of which 23 were women and none of emerged victorious in the election. Hence, none of the major political parties had a woman as the governorship candidate in the election as they mainly presented few deputy governorship candidates. The deputy governorship contest had also 380 candidates for which 64 were women but only 4 out of the 29 available seats

were won by women. There were 51 female members in the State Houses of Assembly and there were no female members in 14 states (IRI & NDI, 2019).

Nnamani (2014) contended that majority of political parties in Nigeria do not inculcate the principle of democracy which result in political tension and violence in the electoral system. The author further noted that political godfathers exhibit domineering attitudes by determining who take which position in the political scene. These attitudes of godfathers create discontent in the political system due largely on party's inability to abide to legal procedure for party nominations. Civil society reported that female aspirants often faced gender-based intimidation, violent attacks and substitution by men on the final list of party candidates despite their victory in the primaries (European Union, 2019). This behavior of political parties towards women denotes that they lack the ability to change women's political status by preserving seats for them in party affairs and party structure (Nnamani, 2014).

There is basically no serious improvement in the level of women participation in politics especially looking at their output in terms of occupying elective offices since the return of democracy in Nigeria, even when there has been an increase in the number of female candidates in past elections such as 2011 and 2015 as clearly shown above. An exploration of the 2019 party candidacy selection and election would further assist in explaining the undermining factor to women's political underrepresentation despite increase in the number of women candidacy by political parties in recent times.

Political Party And Women Candidacy in the 2019 General Elections: An Exposition

In preparation for the March, 2019 general elections, the Independent National Electoral commission (INEC) registered 91 political parties (EU, 2019; IRI & NDI, 2019). At the national level, for the office of the presidency, there were 73 candidates. For the Senate, there were 1,904 candidates while for the House of Representatives, there were 4,680 candidates in contest of the 109 and 360 seats for each of the houses respectively. At the State level, there were 1,066 candidates who vied for the office of the 29 governorship and deputy governorship seats in the designated states (INEC, 2019), and 14,609 candidates contested for the 991 state assembly seats. In spite of the high number of candidates for the various positions, the percentage of female candidates was less than 12.8 per cent in all races (European Union, 2019).

The 2019 elections encountered more women contesting for various offices across the nation but majority of these women were fielded by new or minor political parties with no good records of winning elections (IRI & NDI, 2019). A total of 2,970 women contested for different political positions in the 2019 election but only 62 of them were elected. This is a decline from the existing 5.6 per cent women representing in 2015 to 4.17 per cent in 2019 (Olokor, 2019). The two major political parties during this election, the APC and PDP presented few women candidates in all elections across the states of the federation. At the national assembly, out of 469 candidates that contested the election, APC had only 24 while PDP had 31 women candidates. These parties also had 13 and eight legislative candidates, respectively, below the age of 35. The result of the elections showed a decline in women representation in the national assembly when compared with the previous election in 2015. Thus, the number of women in Senate reduced from eight in 2015 to seven in 2019 while the House of Representatives fell from 19 to 11 members. This is in spite INEC's announcement that 47 percent of registered voters were women (IRI/NDI, 2019). Consequently, women hold only 3.8 percent seat in the National Assembly. This is below the global average of 24 per cent and the lowest in Sub-Saharan Africa (IRI/NDI, 2019).

Elections at the state level held in only 29 out of 36 states on March 9, 2019. There were no elections in seven states. This was as a result of court rulings. These states include Anambra, Bayelsa, Edo, Ekiti, Kogi, Ondo and Osun states (IRI/NDI, 2019). Of the 275 women representing 11.40 per cent of candidates for the Deputy Governorship election, four women were elected from four states including Enugu, Kaduna, Ogun and Rivers states (Onyeji, 2019). This is in spite of the 76 women candidates that contested the poll. States such as Bauchi, Edo, Jigawa, Katsina, Kebbi, Kwara, Nasarawa, Sokoto, Taraba, and Zamfara had no woman elected in their legislature both at the national and state levels while 14 states had no women elected to the State House of Assembly and these include Abia, Bauchi, Borno, Edo, Jigawa, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Kwara, Nasarawa, Sokoto, Taraba, Yobe and Zamfara states (IRI/NDI, 2019). Thus, Only 44 representing 4.4 per cent, of State House of Assembly members were women (IRI/NDI, 2019).

In a view to clearly underscore the level of political parties' commitment in promoting women candidacy for election especially with regards to 2019 elections, it is pertinent to present state by state breakdown of men and women candidates and the effort of the two major political parties in enhancing women's chances of winning elections in various political positions.

Table 1: Percentage representation of women governorship and deputy governorship candidates in the 2019 elections by states

State	Total no of candidates	Male	Female Gov./Deputy Gov.candidates	Women governorship candidates	% of female candidates
Abia	64	53	11	3	17.2
Adamawa	58	52	6	5	10.4
Akwa Ibom	90	71	19	2	21.1
Bauchi	62	60	2	1	3.23
Benue	66	54	12	1	18.2
Boronu	64	60	4	Nil	6.25
Cross River	52	40	12	2	23.1
Delta	100	77	23	8	23
Ebonyi	74	66	8	3	10.8
Enugu	84	56	28	5	33.3
Gombe	64	57	7	1	10.9
Imo	140	115	25	4	17.9
Jigawa	38	36	2	1	5.3
Kaduna	76	69	7	2	9.2
Kano	110	98	12	9	10.9
Katsina	36	34	2	Nil	5.6
Kebbi	62	59	3	1	4.8
Kwara	70	54	16	2	22.9
Lagos	90	60	30	7	33.3
Nasarawa	58	53	5	1	8.6
Niger	62	52	10	2	16.1
Ogun	82	54	28	1	34.1
Oyo	84	61	23	6	27.4
Plateau	48	44	4	Nil	8.33
Rivers	128	103	25	4	19.53
Sokoto	102	93	9	2	8.8
Taraba	60	53	7	2	11.7
Yobe	26	23	3	1	11.5
Zamfara	82	74	8	2	9.8
Total	2132	1780	352	78	

Source: Compiled by authors from INEC, 2019

Table 1, above shows that a total of 2132 governorship and deputy governorship candidates were fielded by various political parties and contested gubernatorial election in various states across the federation. The number of male candidates stood at 1780 representing 83.3 per cent of the total candidates while the female candidates were 352 representing 16.5 per cent of the total number. Of this 16.5 per cent of female candidates, only about 3 per cent of them contested the governorship seat. Female deputy governorship candidates were 274 representing 77.8 per cent while governorship candidates were 78 representing 22.2 per cent. Neither APC nor PDP had a governorship candidate. The 22.2 per cent representing the female governorship candidates came from small/new/unpopular political parties.

Candidacy selection across the states show that no political party in three states - Boronu, Katsina and Plateau had a female governorship candidate while eight states had only one female candidate each. Only three states could be said to have been more gender sensitive in their candidacy selection as can be observed from the table. These were Ogun state with 34.1 per cent representation, Enugu and Lagos states each with 33.3 per cent representation respectively. The international bench mark for women political representation is 30 per cent. Although standing in political contest is not a guarantee for winning election but an opportunity to convince electorates to vote in one's favour.

It is obvious from the above table that few women were given opportunity by political parties to contest on their party platforms. When this is the case, it would be impossible for women to at least attain the 30 per cent representation by international standard since the Nigeria constitution does not provide for individual candidate to run for election except through a political party platform. This reason further buttresses the important role of political parties in promoting women's participation in politics and governance.

Table 2: Political parties with women candidacy for senatorial contest and percentage representation of women by states

State	Total no of candidates	Male	Female	Political parties	% of female candidates
Abia	44	38	6	ADC, APC, FJP, ADC, ANP, ZLP	13.6
Adamawa	43	34	10	ADC, AGA, APC, JM, PP, ACD, ACD, PT, APC, NPM,	23.3
Akwa Ibom	34	26	8	KP, DPP, ZLP, CAC, DPP, PPN, DPP, PDP	23.5
Anambara					
Bauchi	75	61	14	ACD, ADC, APC, DPP, KP, NCP, PDP, PPC, RP, ADC, KP, PDP, RP, ZLP	18.7
Bayelsa	44	43	1	DA	2.27
Benue	44	40	4	DA, MPN, NRM, NUP	10
Boronu	47	39	8	APC, GDPN, LP, JMPP, LP, ADC, PPN, PT	17.02
Cross River	39	38	1	NEPP	2.6
				ID, PDP, A	

Delta	38	35	3		7.9
Ebonyi	68	57	11	LP, MPN, PDP, ASD, DA, HDP, KP, NFD, ID, MPN, SDP	16.2
Edo				ACPN, JMPP, PPN	
Ekiti	37	34	3	JMPP, ADC, JMPP	8.1
Enugu	33	30	3	DPP, PDP, PPN	9.1
Gombe	27	24	3	ID, MPN, NIP, PPN, APC, ID, KP, MPN, PPN, SDP, DPP, LP, MPN	11.1
Imo	51	38	13	A, ASD, PDM, PDP, SDP, A, PDC	25.5
Jigawa	45	38	7	ADC, AGAP, ASD, JMPP, NAC, NIP, LP, PPN, A, ADP, ASD, NIP, NRM, UPP	15.6
Kaduna	105	91	14	MPN	13.3
Kano	32	31	1	A, ABP, APGA, DPC, NEPP	3.1
Katsina	56	51	5	APDA, DPC, NPM	8.9
Kebbi	86	83	3	NRM	3.5
Kogi	33	32	1	A, AD, APA, NAC, GPN	3.0
Kwara	51	46	5	A, SDP, UPP, UPC, A, LP, UPP	9.8
Lagos	73	66	7	ADP, APC, GPN, LP, MPN, GNP, UPP	9.6
Nasarawa	57	50	7	A, APC, CAP, DA, FJP, ID, MPN, PT, ADC, CAP, DA, DPP, PDP, PT, A, ADP, APM, CAP, UPP, YPP	12.3
Niger	54	34	20	ADC, GPN, MMN, ADP	37.0
Ogun	45	41	4	NCP, PT, AGA, GNP, GNP	8.9
Ondo	40	35	5	ADC, GNP, MPN, LP, NCP, UPP, ZLP	12.5
Osun	61	54	7	ADP, ZLP, ASD, MRDD	11.5
Oyo	41	37	4	APA, BNPP, CAP, DA, GNP, LP, MAJA, ADC, CAP, RP, ACPN, APA, GPN, NCP	9.8
Plateau	68	54	14	A, ADC, A, JMPP, NCP, PDP, PPC	20.6
Rivers	60	53	7	ADP, MPN, PPC, MPN	11.7
Sokoto	40	36	4	ACPN, C4C, ID, NDLP, ADC, ID, MRDD, C4C, MRDD, NPC, PDP, PPA, UPN	10
Taraba	59	46	13	A, APGA, NAC, PPA, PPN	22
	102	97	5	PDM, ACPN, ADC	4.9

Yobe	49	46	3	MPN	6.1
Zamfara	17	16	1	NILL	5.9
Federal Capital Territory (FCT)	74	74	NILL	AAC, ADC, ANP, APM, CAP, GNP, JMPP, LP, MDN, YPP	Nil
Total	1904	1670	235		

Source: Compiled by authors from INEC, 2019

Table 2 above revealed the number of male and female candidates that contested for senate seats in the 2019 National Assembly election by states. Out of a total of 1904 candidates, 1670 were males representing 87.7 per cent of the total number of candidates and 235 were females representing 12.3 per cent. The table further shows political parties that presented female candidates for the election and their percentage representation by states. The table demonstrates that majority of political parties with female candidates are small/new/ unpopular political parties. Only but in few states did APC and PDP select a female candidate to run on their party platforms. The APC fielded only six female candidates while PDP had nine female candidates. The six states with APC female candidates were Abia, Adamawa, Anambara, Benue and Lagos states. States with PDP female candidates include Akwa-Ibom, Anambara, Delta, Ekiti, Gombe, Lagos, Oyo and Rivers states. Thus, only 11 states out of 36 had female candidates that contested for senatorial seats and Zamfara state had no female candidate.

In terms of percentage representation, only seven states had more than 20 per cent female candidates for the senatorial contest. These states include Lagos with the highest percentage -37.0, followed by FCT- 31.3 per cent, Enugu- 25.5 per cent, Akwa Ibom- 23.5 per cent, Adamawa- 23.3 per cent, Rivers- 22 per cent and Osun- 20.6 per cent. Thus, only about 19.4 per cent of states had more than 20 per cent women candidates for the senatorial contest while only two states representing 5.6 per cent had more than 30 per cent female candidature. Although few states had less than 5 per cent candidates for the election, a whopping 80.6 per cent of states had less than 20 per cent female candidates for the senatorial contest. This demonstrates the level of political party insensitivity in promoting women in politics and entrenching democratic principles in their selection of candidates for election. Political parties have failed to imbibe the principle of equality in their nomination and selection of candidates for election but have continued to promote patriarchy in both party structure and candidate's selection. This attitude by political parties have continued to undermine women's participation as well as their representation in governance and politics in Nigeria, and pose challenges for promoting gender sensitive issues, good governance and national development.

To further underscore the level to which women are undermined in securing political positions in Nigeria which are the consequences of political party marginalization, women could not win tangible number of seats in the 2019 election at all levels. The table 3 below clearly shows the number of women candidates and number of seats secured in the 2019 general elections at the national and state levels.

Table 3: Women candidates and number elected in the 2019 general elections

Political office	Available seats	Total no of candidates	Women candidates	Women elected
President	1	73	6	0
Senate	109	1,904	235	7
House of Representatives	360	4,680	533	12
Governor	29	1066	78	0
Deputy Governor	29	1066	274	4
House of Assembly	990	14,583	1,825	44

Source: Compiled by authors from INEC, 2019; European Union, 2019; Onyeji, 2019 & IRI/NDI, 2019 & INEC, 2019.

The outcome of the 2019 general elections with respect to women candidacy and number of seats won by women clearly indicates the effort of political parties in Nigerian democracy in promoting women in politics and governance. In spite that women form a large part of registered voters, yet their representation remains below African and global average. The Table 3 above shows that women formed only 8.2 per cent of presidential candidates and none had the courage to finally contest with the two major political parties (APC & PDP). Women only constituted 12.3 per cent of candidates that stood for senatorial seats and only secured seven seats representing 6.4 per cent. For the House of Representatives, women formed 11.4 per cent of all candidates and only secured 11 seats representing 3.05 per cent. At the state level, for the governorship contest, women formed 7.3 per cent of all contested candidates and none won while the deputy governorship race, they constituted 25.8 per cent of the candidate and won 13.8 per cent. The House of Assembly election had 12.5 per cent of women candidates and only 4.44 per cent representation. So far, the percentage candidacy representation by political parties and percentage seat representation at all levels are minimal and detrimental to the growth of the nation's democracy and fall short the 30 per cent global bench mark for women representation.

Table 4: Percentage of women candidates in 2019 national election by major political parties

Political Office	APC	PDP	New/small party(others)
President	0	0	100
Senate	3.04	4.31	92.65
House of Reps	2.65	3.60	93.75

Source: Adapted from School of Advanced International Studies Program (SAIS-AFP), Premium Times Center for Investigative Journalism (PTCIJ), and the Center for Democracy and Development (CDD), 2019.

Table 4 above clearly shows the percentage of candidates fielded by political parties for the national election held in 2019. The table revealed that majority of candidates that took part in the election came from new or small parties. For the office of the presidency, none of the two major political parties, the APC and PDP fielded a candidate while for the Senate and House of Representative, their percentage representation was less than 4 per cent each. Due to the wide popularity and influence of these two major parties, it was difficult for new and smaller parties to win seats in various elections conducted especially at the national level. This explains the reason for the low number of women who won seats at the national legislature as shown in the table 5 and 6 below.

Table 5: Women candidacy and distribution of seats by political parties that won seats in the Senate

Major Political parties	Total no of women Candidates (235)	No of seats won by women
APC	10	2
PDP	7	5
Total	17	7

Sources: Compilation by authors from Onyeji, 2019; Ndujihe, 2019 & INEC, 2019.

In contest for the 109 senatorial seats, 235 women, representing 12.34 per cent of candidates were cleared by INEC. The result of the election shows that women secured only seven seats representing 6.42 per cent of elected members (Onyeji, 2019; SAIS-AFP, PTCIJ & CDD, 2019 & European Union, 2019). These seven seats were won by APC and PDP candidates as shown on the table 5. The names, constituencies and political parties of these women are as follows: Oluremi Tinubu, Lagos Central, APC; Uche Ekwunife, Anambra Central, PDP; Stella Oduah, Anambra North, PDP; Akon, Eyakanyi, Akwa Ibom South, PDP; Aishatu Ahmed, Adamawa Central, APC; Rose Oko, Cross River, North, PDP, and Betty Apiafi, Rivers West, PDP (Ndujihe, 2019). The table further shows that APC and PDP fielded only 17 candidates out of 235 women candidates. Therefore, none of the 218 senatorial candidates from other political parties won seat in the election. The data further validates argument by IRI and NDI (2019) that the 2019 election had more women contesting for various offices across the nation than previous elections but majority of these women were fielded by new or minor political parties with no good records of winning elections (IRI & NDI, 2019).

Table 6: Women candidacy and distribution of seats by political parties that won seat in the House of Representatives

Major Political parties	Total no of women Candidates (533)	No of seats by women
APC	15	8
PDP	16	3
APGA	-	1
Total	31	12

Source: Compiled by authors from European Union, 2019; INEC, 2019.

It is worrisome looking at the data on table 6 which revealed that the two major political parties (APC & PDP) who contested the 2019 general elections in Nigeria expected to lead by example presented a meager 31 women candidates out of a total of 533 women who vied for seats at the lower chamber of

the national legislature. This number only represents a mere 5.8 per cent of women candidates and less than one percent of the total contestants. What this implies is that majority of the women candidates totaling 502 in number were fielded by new/small or unpopular political parties. Out of the total number of women candidates, only 12 emerged victorious representing 3.33 per cent of the total seats in the lower chamber in the national legislature. This number is insignificant looking at the percentage of male which stands at 96.77 per cent. These data clearly demonstrates the insensitivity of political parties in Nigerian politics to uphold the dividend of democracy which demands inclusive governance devoid of discrimination as witnessed by women in politics.

Table 7: Distribution of seats by political parties in the State Houses of Assembly in 2019

Political parties	No of Seats	No of Women
AA	8	1
ADC	5	1
ADP	1	0
APC	536	15
APGA	33	1
APM	7	0
NNPP	1	0
PDP	390	26
SDP	3	0
Total	984	44

Source: Modified from IRI & NDI Report, 2019.

The table 7 explicitly revealed that the two major political parties (APC & PDP) won majority of seats in the various houses of assembly across the nation. Out of a total number of 984, they control 926 seats representing 94.1 per cent of seats. Out of this number, these two political parties won only 31 seats for women and men had 894 seats. The result of the election implies that the two major political parties nominated few women candidates for the election. Women in (APC and PDP) won a meager 3.35 per cent of seat secured by their political parties. In sum, women only control 4.47 per cent of seats in state houses of assembly across the federation.

The poor performance of women in politics stem from the point of political parties' and their leaderships' failure to promote women in their candidacy lists. Major/popular political parties have preferred to give more than 90 per cent of its male members' tickets to contest elections to the detriment of the womenfolk. This finding affirms (Ugwu, 2018) assertion that women play significant roles during party campaigns and mobilization but are sidelined grossly during selection process. On the same note, Sadie (2005) blamed the poor representation of women in governance on the inability of the political parties to enlist them on party list and party structure. Women are hardly accommodated to occupy sensitive positions in political party structure. These actions by political parties expose women to all manner of intimidation including delisting them from party lists after emerging victorious in primaries. For instance, IRI/NDI reported how some stakeholders expressed dissatisfaction over political parties' continued practice of substituting candidates' names on the lists after parties conducted their primaries in October, 2018 ahead of the 2019 polls. The body lamented that several candidates who emerged victorious in primaries, women inclusive were eliminated by party leaders from the list and substituted with their desired candidates (IRI/NDI, 2019). This may have accounted for the low representation of women candidates in the election especially by the two major contending political parties. It is worthy to note that while the APC and PDP claim to love the womenfolk, none of these parties fielded a woman governorship candidate in any state. The best they offered was to nominate a few of them as deputy governorship candidates. Notably, in Nigeria, deputy governors lack political influence and have insignificant relevance in the polity (Ayomo, 2019). Some other political parties which may be regarded as smaller or unpopular parties fielded more women

candidates but most of them have little or no records of winning elections. In other words they are unpopular parties who may be seeking relevance in the political scene and seeking recognition to be considered for appointments by popular political parties when they emerge victorious.

Women face numerous challenges in politics ranging from lack of access to party decision-making structures and financial obligations that are difficult to meet without support of political party, and prevailing patriarchal system/social structures. Also practices that discriminate women often limit their ability to engage and advance in politics (IRI/NDI, 2019; Watuka, n.d). Similarly, lack of transparency in intra-party candidate selection undermines women's political aspirations, and severely reduces their probabilities of winning elections (SAIS-AFP, PTCIJ & CDD, 2019).

Political parties remain one of the weakest institutions among Nigeria's nascent democratic institutions in terms of promoting justice and transparency in their electoral processes. The paucity of women and youths nominated to run on the tickets of the two major parties, the APC and PDP, demonstrated Nigerian political elites' lack of commitment to groom and support new faces and voices (IRI/NDI, 2019). It is imperative to note that majority of those who won seats in the 2019 election at all levels were either incumbent members or those who have previously occupied one office or the other. Political elites and parties have inculcated the seat tight syndrome in political domain giving little chances for new individuals and ideas to change the status quo of political affairs in Nigeria. This is one of the reasons for the continued poor state of development in all sectors of the economy including but not limited to education, health, power, etc, and the persistent rise in unemployment and poverty levels.

Policy strategies by political parties to enhance women's participation and representation in politics and governance

The only platform through which individuals can legally contest for election in Nigeria is through political party. Therefore, political party is the gateway to occupying political office at all levels in Nigeria. Given this situation, it is necessary for political parties to promote women in governance through strategies as below;

1. Political parties should introduce a legal requirement to have a minimum representation of women candidates for political offices. This can be a mandated percentage of women or a recommended percentage of women as considered by a political party. This should include using a regulatory body to monitor compliance and non-compliance and sanction accordingly as prescribed by the law of such regulatory body.
2. Internal party democracy is imperative to promote a more inclusive atmosphere to enhance women's active participation devoid of fear, intimidation, sexual harassment, hate speech or forced patron-client relationships that exist between political leaders and aspirants. Thus, the adoption of more transparent, credible and fair nomination processes devoid of persistent substitution of candidates' names during and after party primaries are crucial for the consolidation of democratic principles and to promote political equity.
3. To achieve political equity for women, political parties should engage in training and mentorship of female members of the party especially those who wish to contest for political office. This act will help to boost their self confidence and leadership skills. New women politicians and candidates would be more encouraged when being mentored by more experienced female politicians and more likely help to stimulate their leadership qualities.
4. Political education and value re-orientation are vital to promoting women candidacy and winning election. This can be done through political parties engaging in sensitization

programmes on social media such as radio, television and internet platforms as well as social gatherings and meetings to educate the womenfolk and the public on their rights and imperative of women's participation in politics respectively, and how this would enhance gender equality, good governance and national development.

5. Institutionalization of women's sections by political parties is crucial in enhancing the participation of women in party politics. This internal mechanism would help to recruit more women into the party.

6. The women's section here deals with women issues in party and governance including their challenges and how to tackle such. It would engage women in training for leadership, organize workshops and symposiums that would expose women to leadership skills, build their confidence and teach them how to support each other. This internal organization would facilitate the growth of women party members and make them suitable to contest and win elections with the support of their political parties.

Conclusion

Since the return of democracy in Nigeria in 1999, evidences show that political parties have undermined women in political party especially as it concerns candidates' selection processes which have be marred with undemocratic characteristics such as lack of transparency and undue substitution of candidates' names on the parties' lists. The 2019 general elections showed a poor representation of women candidates on party lists most especially by the two major political parties, the APC and the PDP. Majority of women candidates were enlisted by new and unpopular political parties with little or no records of winning elections. These actions revealed a decline on the number of women who won election into various positions across the federation. Women's percentage representation in parliament remains insignificant when compared to men after 20 years of Nigeria's democracy. In order to enhance women's participation in politics and governance in Nigeria, political parties as the only gate way to attaining political offices should introduce legal means of maintaining a given per cent of women in their candidates' lists, adopt more transparent process of selecting candidates for election, create women's section in political parties with high number of women integrated in parties' administration, educating and sensitizing the electorates on the imperative of women's engagement in politics and governance for enhanced development.

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Collision of Covid-19 Pandemic Lockdown on the Economic Conditions among Women: A Sociological Perception

AFRO EURASIAN STUDIES -VOLUME: 8 / ISSUE: 3 pp.182-194

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Received: 15.02.2022

Accepted: 16.04.2022

Cite as: Ara, N., Das, S. (2022). Collision of Covid-19 Pandemic Lockdown on the Economic Conditions among Women: A Sociological Perception. Afro Eurasian Studies, 9 (3),182-194. DOI: 10.33722/afes.1094797

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Covid-19 Pandemi Kilitlenmesinin Kadınlar Arasındaki Ekonomik Koşullar Üzerindeki Çarpışması: Sosyolojik Bir Algı

ÖZ

Covid-19 salgını, iş ve bakım taleplerini dengelemeye çalışırken orantısız iş kaybı ve tükenmişlik ile dünya çapında kadınlar üzerinde endişe verici bir etki yarattı. Covid-19 pandemisinin ekonomik yansımaları onlar üzerinde düşüncesiz bir etki yaratıyor ve orantısız bir şekilde düşük ücretler, az sayıda sosyal yardım ve en az güvenceli işler sunan sektörlerde temsil ediliyorlar. Başta dullar olmak üzere ailelerinin tek ekmekçisi olan kadınlar, daha sonra hayatlarının diğer bölümlerini de etkileyen bir ekonomik başarısızlıkla karşı karşıya kalmışlardır; çocuklarının eğitiminde, besleyici gıdada, sağlık koşullarında, barınmada ve şehirlerde genellikle insanlar kiralık oda veya evlerde yaşıyorlardı ve bu insanlar için evin kirasını, elektrik faturasını, su bağlantılarını vb. ödemek zorunda kalıyorlardı. Dünya genelinde ve özellikle gelişmekte olan ülkelerdeki düşük gelirli kadınların, yaşlanan kadınların ve bekar annelerin, kadınlar için var olan eşitsizliklerle ve aynı zamanda nispeten dezavantajlı bir diğer toplum grubuna ait olmanın kırılganlıklarıyla karşı karşıya kaldıkları tespit edilmiştir. Bu makale, ilgiyi Covid-19 pandemisinin kilitlenmesinin farklı konulara ve özellikle kadınların hayatta kalmak için çok daha fazla zorlukla karşı karşıya kaldıkları ekonomik kayıplara olan büyük etkilerine çekiyor. Çalışma, birincil veri kaynaklarının (gözlemlerin) yanı sıra ikincil veri kaynaklarının gözden geçirilmesine dayanmaktadır. Devlet ve sivil toplum kuruluşları, bu incelemeye dayalı çalışmada verilen tavsiyelere dayanarak, Covid-19 pandemisinin ilk günlerinden itibaren kadınların karşı karşıya olduğu bu sorunlara dikkat etmelidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Faiz, Müslümanlar, Memurlar, İslam, Ekonomi, Nasarawa Eyaleti.

Collision of Covid-19 Pandemic Lockdown on the Economic Conditions among Women: A Sociological Perception

ABSTRACT

The Covid-19 pandemic has had an alarming impact on women globally, with disproportionate job loss and burnout as they attempt to juggle work and care-giving demands. Economic fallout by the Covid-19 pandemic is having an inconsiderate impact on them and they are disproportionately represented in sectors offering low wages, few benefits and the least secure jobs. Women, who are the only bread earners of their families especially widows, have faced an economic failure which later effects other parts of their life as well, such as; in education of their children, nutritious food, health conditions, shelter and in cities usually people used to live on the rent rooms or houses and for those people they have to pay the rent of the house, electricity bills, water connections etc. And it has been found that low-income women, ageing women, and single mothers, around the world and especially from developing countries, encounter the inequalities that exist for women and also the vulnerabilities of belonging to another relatively disadvantaged group of society as well. This paper places the interest on major impacts of Covid-19 pandemic lockdown on different issues and especially on economic toll through which the women are facing many more difficulties to survive. The study is based on reviewing of primary data sources (observations) as well as secondary sources of data. On the basis of the recommendations given in this reviewbased study, the government and non-governmental organizations should look towards these issues that the women are facing since the early days of Covid-19 pandemic.

Keywords: Covid-19, Economic Issues, Women, Sociological Perception, Economic Conditions.

Introduction

As an infectious disease caused by corona-virus; the Covid-19 pandemic and its associated economic crisis have impacted women differently than men all around the world. Even if gender issues have never been so high-up, the effects of the Covid-19 crisis are putting in difficulty the progress achieved in the past decades in terms on the reduction of gender inequalities in terms of making women economically empowered. According to a policy brief published by the United Nations in April 2020, the pandemic increases pre-existing inequalities and exposes weak social, political and economic mechanisms, amplifying the effects of the crisis. From its early period, the International Labour Organization (ILO)¹ estimated that 195 million jobs could be lost (UNDP: 2020). And it has been said that *'It is very hard to see what the other end of this crisis is going to look like at the grassroots level, at the base of the economic pyramid,'* said by Sally Roever, international coordinator of Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO). She also added by saying that the *'Street vendors can go in the street, but there is no one to sell, same as the home-based workers can make things, but there is no one who will buy them. So that is the real challenge actually.'* During the Covid-19 pandemic, lockdown has been a common admonition that has been mulled over by many people. As of March 2020, lockdown has been implemented by authorities across the world to restrict people from leaving their places of residence, leading to massive quarantines and stays at home². It was this virus that triggered the first phase nationwide lockdown in a developing country such as India on March 25, 2020, for 21 days, then repeated on April 15, 2020, for 19 days as the second phase; on May 04, 2020, for 14 days as the third phase; on May 18, 2020, for 14 days as the fourth phase; and on June 01, 2020, for only the containment zones, taking 16 days. And to get control over Covid-19 pandemic was/is only possible with people's uncontrolled fortitude of the strict deterrent procedures such as maintaining physical isolation by following medically instructed quarantine process (Khachfe: 2020). But by knowing about the great loss that the women around the world, has faced during this Covid-19 pandemic; women across the globe, earn less, save less, hold less secure jobs, are more likely to be employed in the informal sector and especially during the days of Covid-19 pandemic lockdown they had faced and are stilling facing a lot of economic loss. An estimated 740 million women are employed in the informal economy. In developing nations, such work constitutes more than two-thirds of female employment. But as countries all over the world locked down, these jobs quickly disappeared³. That can have catastrophic consequences. Economic challenges during the outbreak pose a serious threat to young women's work and business activity and expose them to increased

¹ ILO- International Labour Organization is an agency of United Nations and its motive is to work on socioeconomic justice making setting international labour standards. Founded in 1919 under the League of Nations, it is the first and oldest Specialized agency of the UN- (ILO. Global wage report 2018/19: what lies behind gender pay gaps? Geneva: International Labour Organization; 2018.

² The emergency protocol implemented by the competent authorities to restrict people from leaving their place of living <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC7832355/>

³ Covid-19 pandemic negatively Impact of employment chances; content accessed from; <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC7836874/>

risk of exploitation and abuse⁴. The unemployment rate for men in regular economic crises is higher because they tend to work in highly cyclical sectors (e.g., manufacturing, construction). However, currently, the current crisis has turned into a 'she-cession' because of the lockdowns and social distancing measures, as the service sector has been unduly vulnerable to the economic shock and women now face a greater likelihood of poverty, at least in the short-term. It is not only the case that women have experienced disproportionately heavy job losses during the outbreak, but that they have also experienced greater challenges when reentering the workforce between the first two 'waves' of Covid-19 cases in summer 2020, when Europe experienced a partial economic recovery. Therefore, between the second quarter and the third quarter of 2020, employment prospects for men increased by 1.4 percent but only by 0.8 percent for women. The inability to transpose the overwhelmingly female-dominated sectors has also led to multiple laying offs of women to a Tele-working modality. Oxfam International reports that women globally lost 64 million jobs by 2020, representing 5 percent of all jobs. In contrast, 3.9 percent of men's jobs were lost last year. Oxfam International also reports that women have lost at least \$800 billion in earnings as a result of the Covid-19 crisis, more than the combined GDP of 98 countries. In an overview of Cher's data, she emphasizes that the 'conservative estimate' does not include the millions of women working in the 'informal economy' such as domestic workers, market vendors and garment workers, whose income and hours have plummeted due to the pandemic. In times of economic hardship, girls and young women are more likely to take on high-risk work in order to stay afloat. The experience of women in foreign countries in Liberia specifies that recovering from a pandemic is a tough proposition. The vast majority of market traders in the West African nation are female. During the 2013-16 Ebola outbreaks, they endured higher levels of unemployment than men and it subsequently took considerably longer for them to re-enter the workforce⁵ (Parveen: 2020). The United Nations has cautioned that a lot of women who have fugitive extreme poverty are at risk of falling back and for large population of women in economic sector alongside of with loss in earnings, unpaid labor and domestic work saddle has detonated. Everyone is grappling with unprecedented challenges; however, women are bearing a disproportionate share of the economic and social ramification of covid-19. Poor and marginalized women face a heightened risk of Covid-19 transmission, fatalities, loss of livelihood, and increased violence. Approximately 70 percent of first sufferers are women, yet they do not earn the same as their male counterparts⁶ and the gender gap in the health sector is 28 percent, exceeding the overall gender wage gap of 16 percent (Staab: 2020). It can be said with assurance that if we do nothing now, and act deliberately, then Covid-19 will roll back women's economic gains of the past decades. 'For the last 22 years, extreme poverty has been declining globally and as a result of Covid-19, a huge job loss, shrinking economies and losing of livelihood took place, especially for women. Weakened social protection systems

⁴ Threat for women workers in all fields- retrieved from; <https://plan-international.org/emergencies/covid-19-faqs-girls-women/>

⁵ DESA Policy Brief-58, 'Covid-19: Addressing the social crisis through fiscal stimulus plans', accessed from; <https://www.un.org/development/desa/dpad/publication/un-desa/policy-brief-58-covid-19-addressing-the-social-crisis-through-fiscal-various-policies>

⁶ Loss of livelihood and increased violence among women during Covid-19 pandemic lockdown- Retrieved from; <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2020/9/feature-covid-19-economic-impacts-on-women>

have left many of society's poorest without safeguards to cope,' stated Ginette Azcona lead author of UN Women's latest report⁷ Senior Research and Data Specialist⁸ at UN Women; according to a report released in 2020, the pandemic will push 96 million people into extreme poverty by 2021, of which 47 million will be women and girls⁹ (Azcona: 2020). With the pandemic-induced poverty surge, there will also be a wider gap between women and men in-terms of extreme poverty, as more women the men will live on USD 1.90 or less than 435 Million¹⁰. At the height of their family formation and productivity period¹¹ 25 to 34-years old are more likely to see this trend. Before, it was projected that there will be 118 women aged 25 to 34 living in extreme poverty out of every 100 men aged 25 to 34 living in extreme poverty globally by 2021, that ratio could go up to 121 women out of every 100 men by 2030¹². According to Anita Bhatt, Statistics Specialist and Co-author of the report '*From Insights to Action*¹³' the resurgence of extreme poverty due to the virus revealed women's precarious economic security'. Women often earn less and have fewer job security opportunities than men. Women are particularly vulnerable to the loss of their livelihoods as economic activity declines¹⁴. As a result of losing income, women on every continent are now taking on increased unpaid care work, says Bucher. She also added by saying that, 'women worldwide have lost \$800 billion in income as a result of the combined impact of unemployment and the pressure to care for children'. According to a report by Lean and McKinsey and Company, mothers have been responsible for a majority of housework and childcare during the pandemic. Furthermore, mothers have twice as much to worry that they will be negatively judged for their work performance during the epidemic because they were caring for their children. In September, approximately one in four women said that due to the Covid-19 crises they were considering downsizing or quitting their job. Bucher further notes, that the government worldwide must make greater efforts to improve women's security by investing more in child-care and offering more flexible work arrangements in response to the pandemic's devastating effects on women. According to Oxford International, there have been only 11 countries worldwide that have introduced short-term or flexible work schedules to accommodate employees with care-giving duties, and 36 that have strengthened their family and paid sick leave policies.

Challenges in Employment Opportunities

⁷ Impact of pandemic on employment as well as economies- accessed from; <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2020/9/feature-covid-19-economic-impacts-on-women/>

⁸ Global Humanitarian Response Plan Covid-19 United Nations Coordinated Appeal April - December 2020; <https://www.unocha.org/sites/unocha/files/Global-Humanitarian-Response-Plan-COVID-19.pdf>

⁹The pandemic will push 96 million people into extreme poverty by 2021- article accessed from: www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2020/8/press_release_covid-19_will_widen_poverty_gap

¹⁰ Report released in 2020 showed that the pandemic push's 96 million people into extreme poverty by 2021, 47 million of whom are women. The content retrieved from; <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2020/9/feature-covid-19-economic-impacts-on-women>

¹¹ The Covid-19 pandemic lockdown impacts the gender gap as well as family formation period. Information retrieved from; <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2020/9/feature-covid-19-economic-impacts-on-women/>

¹² increasing of poverty among people especially women- single parent households; <https://www.undp.org/press-releases/covid-19-will-widen-poverty-gap-between-women-and-men-new-un->

¹³ Work at home during pandemic lockdown information cite the link; <https://www.chegg.com/homework-help/questions->

¹⁴ Sexual violence threat and increased cases among women; <https://www.un.org/sexualviolenceinconflict>

Economic issues faced by the women because of losing employment opportunities were very frustrating for them as a whole. During the pandemic, women lost/are losing their jobs, and the steps to stop it spreading are causing a disproportionate increase in women's unemployment (as opposed to men) and a reduction in their overall working time¹⁵. Women are overrepresented in many of the industries hardest hit by Covid-19, such as food service, retail and entertainment¹⁶. For example, 40 percent of all employed women only 510 million women globally work in hard-hit sectors, compared to 36.6 percent of employed men (Turquet: 2020). Before the pandemic, workers in some of these sectors, where informal employment is common, faced low pay, poor working conditions, and a lack of social protection (pension, healthcare, unemployment insurance)¹⁷. Globally, 58 percent of employed women work in informal jobs, and estimates imply that informal workers lost an average of 60% of their income in the first month of the pandemic¹⁸. The situation for domestic workers, who make up 80% of the workforce, has been dire: 72 percent of domestic workers have lost their jobs globally, and even before the pandemic, paid domestic work, like many other informal economy jobs, lacked basic worker protections such as paid leave, notice periods, and severance pay¹⁹. During Covid-19, the burden of unpaid care and domestic work has exploded on both women and men. As quarantine measures kept people at home, schools and day-care facilities closed, the burden of unpaid care and domestic work increased²⁰.

Nevertheless, women performed unpaid care on average for 4.1 hours per day before Covid-19 while men did it for 1.7 hours. So, this means that women did three times more unpaid care work than men, accords the globe²¹. While both men and women report that unpaid work has increased since the pandemic began, women are still shouldering the bulk of that work. Combined with the reduced availability of outside help, the closure of schools and daycares has resulted in months of additional work for women. For working mothers, this means balancing full-time careers with childcare and academic responsibilities²². Women's unpaid workload is exacerbated by poverty and issues with basic services and infrastructure²³. A third of the world's population lives without safe sanitation facilities, and roughly 4 billion people lack access to clean water at home. As a result, girls and women are often left in charge of water collection and other necessary tasks.

¹⁵ Future predictions in economic loss among women; <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2020/9/>

¹⁶ Food service, retail and entertainment connected with the life of a single earned lady has been overrepresented during pandemic. Content cited from: <https://allafrica.com/stories/202009250607.html>

¹⁷ Impact on economic condition; <https://www.ilo.org/global/topics/dw4sd/themes/informal-economy/lang>

¹⁸ Government policy during pandemic; <https://www.oecd.org/coronavirus/policy-responses/women-at-the->

¹⁹ Covid-19 impacting domestic workers; <https://www.ilo.org/global/topics/domestic-workers/>

²⁰ The quarantine measures keep people at home, closed schools and day-care facilities, the burden of unpaid care and domestic work has exploded both for women and men. This information has been accessed from; https://www.malaysianbar.org.my/cms/upload_

²¹ Media reports on women condition during pandemic; <https://intractive.unwomen.org/multimedia/explainer/>

²² Pandemic covid-19 has also created several issues for working mothers: <https://allafrica.com/stories/202009250607.html>

²³ Pandemic has also increased the workload on women in different fields. Content retrieved from; <https://www.ijcspub.org/papers/IJCSP22A1117.pdf/>

Today, economic insecurity encompasses more than just job insecurity²⁴. There is a long-term impact on the lives of women and girls. In addition, education and employment effects have far-reaching consequences, which could reverse hard-won gains in gender equality. According to estimates, an additional 11 million girls may leave school by the end of Covid-19. Based on previous crises, many of them will not return (UNESCO report plan). There are serious implications for women when the education gender gap widens²⁵. Women who lack education and are insecure economically are also at higher risk of victimizing gender-based violence. The lack of adequate economic resources threatens women's ability to escape abusive partners and exposes them to a greater threat of sexual exploitation²⁶. These consequences would not disappear when the pandemic subsides: women are likely to experience long-term setbacks in work force participation and income. The effects of pension cuts and savings will have profound implications for women's economic security in the future.

The hardest hit of all will be the most vulnerable women- those often out of the spotlight: migrants, refugees, people from marginalized racial and ethnic groups, single-parent households, and the world's poorest²⁷. Those recently escaping extreme poverty will inevitably fall back into it. In addition, we would like to point out a few things that the government and businesses can do to minimize the negative economic impact of Covid-19 on women. As a first measure, cash transfers or unemployment benefits can help to ease the financial burden of informal workers who are unemployed and can defer or exempt taxes and social security payments for workers in the informal sector. The second step is to strengthen social protection systems to support women's income security for example, expanding the availability of affordable and quality childcare services will enable more women to work. Enacting laws and policies that guarantee equal pay for work of equal value and stop undervaluing the work done by women is the first step toward bridging the gender pay gap. The third recommendation is that women-led businesses should receive specific grants and stimulus funding, as well as subsidized and state-backed loans. Whenever possible, governments should source food, personal protection equipment, and other necessities from women-owned businesses to ease tax burdens. Women comprise a significant proportion of the workers in many sectors and industries where economic relief should be targeted²⁸. Fourth is; introducing economic assistance packages including direct cash transfers, enhanced unemployment benefits, tax breaks, and enhanced family support programs for vulnerable families. These measures would provide tangible assistance to women at this time²⁹. To round out

²⁴ Economic insecurity has negatively in all respects especially related to women. The information accessed from; <https://www.ngeckenya.org/Downloads/>

²⁵ UNESCO Report; <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000379270>

²⁶ Inadequate economic resources threaten women's ability; <https://www.cgdev.org/sites/default/files/pandemics-and-vawg-april2.pdf>

²⁷ The people who were affected by the negative impact of pandemic lockdown are usually the poor and helpless sections of the society. And the more detailed information's cit the link given; <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2020/9/feature-covid-19-economic-impacts->

²⁸ Inequality in pay-gap always an issue; [https://www.ngeckenya.org/Downloads/SPEECH%20BY%](https://www.ngeckenya.org/Downloads/SPEECH%20BY%20)

²⁹ Lack in income, can be a lifeline for those struggling to afford day-to-day necessities during this pandemic. These measures provide tangible help that women need right now- <https://www.msf.org/women-and-girls-face-greater-dangers-c/>

the list, all primary caregivers should be offered paid leaves and flexible work arrangements, and essential workers should be provided with childcare. Moreover, unprecedented measures have already been taken to address the economic crisis, while comparatively few have been taken to support families struggling with paid and unpaid work, including care needs³⁰. It would also be useful to promote public campaigns that involve citizens and workers to promote equity of care and domestic work³¹.

Lockdowns and physical distancing measures have also contributed to a disturbing spike in reports of domestic violence, including sexual violence. Some 243 million women are thought to have experienced physical abuse at the hands of an intimate partner. Many of these women have been trapped with their abuser. Within one week of France instituting its lockdown, reports of domestic violence had surged by 30 percent. It was a similar story in dozens of other countries. Staying home is not safe for many women and girls who may be trapped with an abuser. The World Health Organization reports that one in three women experience physical or sexual violence. During the Covid-19 pandemic, emerging data from around the world show that domestic violence has intensified, according to UN Women. Even in normal times, accessing care for sexual violence can be extremely difficult due to stigma, fear of retribution, and a lack of trust in authorities, among other reasons. But now women and girls face even more hurdles. Only emergency cases are being seen at many health facilities, and only by appointment with doctors. Tensions can build up in confined spaces, especially with added stress over health concerns, economic insecurity, and fear for the future. Even as the need for sexual violence care is apparently growing, access to health services is more difficult³². In countries outside India like Choloma, Honduras, it has been reported that gang violence has decreased during the lockdown, but domestic violence has gone up like it has everywhere,' says Dr Jennifer Stella, MSF's³³ medical advisor in Choloma. But when we talk about India (a developing country) has been buckling under the fatal spread of Covid-19 ever since the first case was detected on January 30-2020, in Kerala. The meter currently stands at a staggering 3.3 million total cases, with deaths touching almost 60,000, making India the third-worst affected country in the world behind the USA and Brazil. But in the shadow of this newer pandemic looms an older, more persistent one that has been around for a year is rape. One would think that in a time when the entire country is under lockdown and streets are relatively emptier, this particular gender-based crime against women would have shown signs of eradication. Every new morning brings reports of fresh rapes, murders, and mutilations of women. There arise questions that if a woman is not safe from rape even amidst a life-threatening pandemic, will they ever be or when will they be then?

³⁰ Issues of development and being independent has become nearly impossible for the more marginalized sections of our society especially during pandemic. <https://www.un.org/development/desa/family/wp->

³¹ Efforts are needed to engage citizens and workers in public campaigns that promote equitable distribution of care-
<https://www.msf.org/women-and-girls-face-greater-dangers-during-covid-19-pandemic/>

³² Sexual violence and lack of health services during pandemic; <https://www.doctorswithoutborders.org/what-we-do/news-stories/news/women-and-girls-face-greater-dangers-during-covid->

³³ Medicines Sans Frontiers (MSF); a worldwide, self-determining, medical humanitarian organization that distributes Crisis aid to distressed public by armed divergence, outbreak, pandemics, natural calamities and segregating from healthcare

It was reported recently that a 17-year-old girl was viciously raped and killed in Uttar Pradesh's Lakhimpur Kheri-India, the second of two such similar crimes from the district in a matter of a mere 10 days. The first one occurred on August 15, the day we celebrate the country's Independence, when a 13-year-old, allegedly a Dalit³⁴, was raped and thrown in the fields with her eyes gouged out and tongue slit. News of another rape came from Utterpardash's (UP's) Sitapur area where three teenage boys were charged with raping a teen girl on August 17. And these are only the reported cases God Almighty knows how many more are unreported because many of the parents do not want to register any complaint against the wicked person sometimes because of the threat of the brute's gang by taking the revenge and sometimes because of the threat of society. Meanwhile, in its neighbouring state of Haryana, which according to National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) data had the third-highest rape count in 2018 behind only Assam and Madhya Pradesh, violence against women is proving to be a virus far deadlier than any other. The Tribune reports that the state 'has recorded 66 rapes, 62 cases of abduction and 142 incidents of molestation in April this year.' Out of 66, as many as 17 have been gang-rapes. This is just north India. Data by The New Indian Express indicates that between March and May, there were a total of 64 rape cases and 716 molestation cases in Karnataka. It was also reported that three migrant workers from Utterpardash (UP) were arrested for alleged gang-raping a 14-year-old minor in Kerala³⁵. National Crime Records Bureau³⁶ (NCRB) data showed that out of the 33,356 reported rapes in 2018, offenders were known to the victims in almost 94 percent cases. This alarming fact is ringing truer than ever during the lockdown. As many as five cases were reported between the months of March and May where fathers had raped their daughters, including one incident involving a 75-day-old baby girl. These are rape cases and the data for domestic violence, sexual and otherwise, is telling a whole other horror story. Complaints of domestic violence were reported to have reached a 10-year high during the lockdown. A study published by the US National Bureau of Economic Research in June, with help from NCW³⁷ data, registered that there was a whopping 131 percent increase in complaints of domestic violence in May 2020 in red zones (Covid-19 hotspots with stricter lockdown measures). Women are often disapprovingly told to stay home and not venture out onto the streets at night, for fear of losing their lives, or worse, the honor of the family³⁸. But what could be the danger of an unknown street be compared to their own unsafe houses? Women are not safe from violence even within the sanctuary of their homes; could there be a bigger indicator of the disadvantage that our gender is at?

³⁴ Dalit (Sanskrit: दलित, romanized: dālit), meaning "broken/scattered" in Sanskrit and Hindi, is a name for people belonging to the lowest caste in India characterized as 'untouchable'

³⁵ Cases of sexual violence during pandemic-New Indian Express; <https://www.shethepeople.tv/home-top-video/rape-cases-india-covid-19-lockdown/>

³⁶ The National Crime Records Bureau, abbreviated to NCRB, is an Indian government agency responsible for collecting and analyzing crime data as defined by the Indian Penal Code and Special and Local Laws. NCRB is headquartered in New Delhi and is part of the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India

³⁷ The National Commission for Women (NCW) is the statutory body of the government of India, generally concerned with advising the government on all policy matters affecting women. It was established on 31 January 1992 under the provisions of the Indian constitution as defined in the 1990 National Commission for Women Act

³⁸ Additional restrictions on the movements of woman during pandemic time- Content accessed from; <https://www.msf.org/women-and-girls-face-greater-dangers-during-covid-19-pandemic>

The gender pay gap between men and women has been documented for decades, putting women at a disadvantage economically and this is due to the fact that women often lack access to credit. Women still endure sexism, discrimination, and the rigidity of gender roles. In addition, Hardy and Gisella Kagy, an assistant professor at Vassar College, demonstrated in their research out of Ghana that women have limited employment options and can therefore congregate in a small set of industries catering to women. 'Think haircuts,' said Kagy, or women's clothing. As a result of overcrowding, earnings are lower due to an oversupply. Moreover, when formally employed women such as in Hawassa are laid off, they are forced into informal employment, which in turn may put other women even further down on the economic ladder. There was also a thicket of rumors and misinformation spread about the new Corona-virus itself that the women and girls had to deal with. There is often a fear of seeking health care, especially in places where authorities are not trusted, and facilities are not deemed safe. The role of trusted sources in providing clear directions is therefore crucial. This is yet another lesson learned from the Ebola crisis in West Africa: avoiding hospitals and health centers or delaying seek care can be more dangerous than the infection itself³⁹. And sometimes they drop in patient numbers was scary. Women over the world and especially belonged to developing countries have faced difficulties in getting transportation. Many are likely delivering at home with traditional birth attendants who have had no formal training, in an environment that may not be safe.⁴⁰ Caluwaerts warns that there are not nearly enough local clinics to meet the huge demands because of it many of the maternal and neonatal deaths caused by movement restrictions. Especially in the countries where people are facing political unrest and at the time of curfew in those areas many of the drivers were stopped and brutally beaten by police while driving woman in labor to a health center.

Review of literature

Several studies have been done on the issues that the women had faced and are still facing in their economic field during this unending Covid-19 pandemic. So here we would like to mention a few studies in this review based paper;

World Trade Organization (2020) '*The Economic Impact of Covid-19 on Women in Vulnerable Sectors and Economies*' explained that the economic impact of the Covid-19 pandemic is anticipated to be predominantly noteworthy for women in developing and least-developed economies for the cause that lesser number of women than men are employed in these economies in occupations which can be taken on distantly and a larger share of women is working in sectors highly exposed to international tour limitations. The effects of the pandemic are infuriating obtainable vulnerabilities. Many channels from beginning to end which Covid-19 is having a larger impact on women are those at the heart of masculinity dissimilarities, such as subordinate wages for women, less enlightening

³⁹West Africa Ebola crisis accessed from; <https://www.doctorswithoutborders.org/what-we-do/news-stories/news/women->

⁴⁰ During pandemic because of the lack of facilities available usually the traditional birth attendants who have had no formal training, in an environment that may not be safe used to treat the pregnant ladies, which also results in the death of the infants as well mothers <https://www.msf.org/women-and-girls-face-greater-dangers-during-covid-19-pandemic/>

opportunity, inadequate access to economics, improved dependence on informal service and social constraints. Inadequate access to digital technologies and subordinate rates of information technology (IT) skills further diminishes women's chance for e-commerce, teleworking and thus for adapting to the present calamity (WTO: 2020).

Kavitha Chalakal, in her study *'Increase in Domestic Violence against Women and Children during Covid-19'* acknowledged that familial brutality is a widespread apprehension in all societies and the negotiations on the subject of this practice is allied with the qualms and taboo. Domestic aggression refers to close relationships or flanked by partners and typically female are the victims in these instances. There are lots of women that in their close relations and instantaneous social setting experiences emotional and corporeal aggression that afterwards becomes serious health trouble for them. A prototype of the coercive move toward corporeal, emotional, sexual, financial, and psychological maltreatment that one person perpetrates in opposition to another close person with the aim to ascertain and uphold authority and control is familial brutality (Chalakal: 2020).

The Covid-19 pandemic and its associated lockdowns have had a particularly detrimental impact on women's jobs and livelihoods (McKinsey: 2020), with women's jobs 1.8 times more vulnerable than men's globally, accounting for some 54 percent of overall job losses (ibid). Unpaid care work has disproportionately been borne by women, with school closures leaving families in need of additional childcare, which has often fallen to women due to social norms and expectations that women take on this work. Women's over-representation in employment sectors impacted hardest by lockdowns, including the food industry, retail and entertainment (UN Women: 2020), has only increased the expectation that they take on this additional childcare. Directorate-General for Internal Policies (2021) *'Policy Department for Citizens Rights and Constitutional Affairs'* found that even if, overall, women encounter a higher likelihood of poverty throughout their life courses, the pandemic has increased such likelihood as women have been disproportionately and negatively affected by the Covid-19 crisis *vis-à-vis* their male counterparts⁴¹ (DGIP: 2021).

Research Method

The entire study is based on reviewing of primary data sources (observations) as well as secondary sources of data such as; news papers, official reports, previous articles as well as book chapters by keeping an objective that places the interest on major impacts of Covid-19 pandemic lockdown on different issues and especially on economic toll through which the women are facing many more difficulties to survive.

⁴¹ Women faced several issues during the pandemic especially of economic ones. Content retrieved from; <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/supporting-analyses/>

Objective of the Study

The objective of the study enquires the interest on major impacts of Covid-19 pandemic lockdown on different issues souring from economic toll through which the women are facing many more difficulties in social milieu.

An Analytical Discussion

This study has sketch-out diverse social impacts of Covid-19 on different aspects of women's life. Wages as well as limited access to economy, a greater proportion of women in informal employment and social constraints, all tend to make women more susceptible to economic recessions⁴². From leisure to hospitality to retail, entire industries in which women make up a greater share of the workforce have been brought to a cut short. Women are also more likely to hold temporary and part-time positions, in these types of jobs; employers are most likely to cut first in a recession. And not only this but domestic duties, things like childcare, preparing food for the extra youngsters who would normally be at school, and looking after sick family members, these responsibilities fall disproportionately on women', said Wenham. The pandemic has further aggravated women's predicament in other ways as well. Children home from school place a disproportionate amount of responsibility on women. Most of them work in fields that are not likely to bounce back quickly, such as hospitality and travel. A World Bank Report July had showed in the same month the previous year, the women-owned business in Ethiopia, had made 80 percent less than they had. In the intervening time, the same report also said that 57 percent of workers laid off in June were women, even though they made up 42 percent of the labor force. So the social policy with respect to Covid-19 needs to encompass the most vulnerable sections of the population, i.e. women and children who face abuse, mistreatment, domestic violence, decreased financial stability and who face double discrimination during these times. The objective of the study enquires the interest on major impacts of Covid-19 pandemic lockdown on different issues souring from economic toll through which the women are facing many more difficulties in social milieu. The Covid-19 pandemic reveals the need for serious attention for policymakers with regard to public health service provision, mental health support for the vulnerable and economic management.

Conclusion and Suggestions

In order to end-up the research and coming to a closure that women is always becoming the victims of several injustice against her whether it is, gender discrimination, employment inequalities, her status inside (family relationship) as well as outside world, this pandemic has added or increased

⁴² Greater proportion of women in informal employment and social constraints all, tend to make women more vulnerable to economic recessions- https://www.wto.org/english/news_e/news20_e/info_note_covid_05aug20_e.pdf/

challenges in the various social spheres of life. As Bucher argues that as nations across the world transition from immediate recovery measures to more long-term solutions, they must use this opportunity to build more equitable and inclusive economies for everyone. Through strong social safety nets and vibrant care infrastructures, women's employment and unpaid care work can be supported in a fair and sustainable economic recovery as well as formalizing grassroots efforts that sprang up during the pandemic; the government has an opportunity to formalize its own efforts. During the pandemic, women's groups began making masks and initial obstacles included difficulty obtaining raw materials, working capital, and payment to these groups. However, with experience, these strategies can be expanded into other areas, such as supplemental nutrition schemes and community health initiatives, kitchens etc, in-order benefit women in a broader sense.

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Writing and Publishing Policies

Publication Principles & Representation of Footnotes and Reference

Academic circles and popular media alike have been discussing the changes in the global economic and political balance of power. Whatever the future may bring; the region of Africa, Europe and Asia, i.e. the Old World, which was the cradle of world civilizations for millennia, is destined to play a significant role in shaping the world again.

The Afro Eurasian Studies has been established in summer 2011 to offer a respected peer-reviewed outlet for the scholarly research in social and administrative sciences, which would shed light on the history and the current state of economic, political and social dynamics of Africa, Europe and Asia. The journal welcomes original manuscripts in English on a range of subject matters including economics, finance, management, political science, public policy and international relations with particular focus on the Afro Eurasian region.

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The material submitted for publication may not be previously published or accepted for publication by another publisher.

1. Title of the Article: The title should suit the content and express and should be written in bold letters. in 11 Punto Cambria each word.

2. Author Name and Institution Information: Author name and institution information should not be written as they will go to the study referees who will be installed on the system. The article must be typed exactly as it appears in the Name, Surname, Organization Information (ENG), email and Orcid ID before receiving the final approval.

3. Abstract: The article should include an abstract in Turkish at the beginning. The abstract should explain the topic clearly and concisely in a minimum of 150 and a maximum of 200 words. The abstract should not include references to sources, figures and charts.

4. Keywords: Keywords of 5 to 8 words should be placed at the end of the abstract. Each word of the keywords must be written in Capital letters and a comma must be used between them.

5. Body Text: The texts sent, pictures, maps etc. should not exceed (9,000 words), including the attachments. Written letters should be written in A4 size with white space at the top 1,5 cm; left 2,5 cm, bottom 1,5 cm, right 2,5 cm "floor 1,2" line spacing, two sides, without line hyphenation and 12 points "Cambria" font. (For detailed and visual information, the "journal page layout example" should be looked at on the layout page.) For this reason, tables, figures, pictures, graphics and so on. smaller points and single spacing can be used in the elements. The "APA" system will be used for footnotes and references.

6 Section Titles: In the article, main, intermediate and subtitles can be used in order to provide compatibility with the content. These headings should be written in Capitalized Word.

6. Tables and Figures: Tables should have numbers and captions. The tables, figures, pictures, graphics and the like sent to the journal must not exceed 12x17 cm in order for the magazine not to go beyond the page dimensions and to be used more easily. For this reason, tables, figures, pictures, graphics and so on. smaller points and single spacing can be used in the elements.

7. Pictures: Pictures should be attached to the articles scanned in high-resolution print quality. The same rules for figures and tables apply in naming pictures.

The number of pages for figures, tables and pictures should not exceed 10 pages (one-third of the article). Authors having the necessary technical equipment and software may themselves insert their figures, drawings and pictures into the text provided these are ready for printing.

8. Quotations and Citations:: Direct quotations should be placed in quotation marks. Quotations shorter than 3 lines should be placed within the flowing text. If the quotation is longer than 3 lines, it should be turned into a block quote with a 1.5 cm indentation on the right and left, and the font size should be 9 punto. Footnotes and endnotes should be avoided as much as possible. They should only be used for essential explanations and should be numbered (Office Word) automatically.

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