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AKDENİZ HAVZASI VE AFRİKA MEDENİYETLERİ  
UYGULAMA VE ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ

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## MAKALELER / ARTICLES

- Harun ABUBAKAR SIDDIQUE  
Contours of African Democracy: A Narrative of Tailoring Governance to Local Realities – A Ghanaian Odyssey
- Osman TÜRK  
Çad Gölü Havzası'nda Radikalleşme ve ISWAP'a Katılım Dinamikleri
- Mohamed Abdelrhman Mohamed ALI  
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- Weston MARUME  
The Implications of Artisanal Small-Scale Mining on Food Security in Zimbabwe
- Buket ALTINÇELEP  
Indigenous People and Human Security: The Case of Ogiek Community in Kenya
- Saliha METİN  
Afrika'da İklim Değişikliğinin Etkileri: İklim Adaleti ve Göç

## KİTAP İNCELEMESİ / BOOK REVIEW

- Emre KAYMAKÇI  
"Storia Della Repubblica Di Venezia. La Serenissima Dalle Originialla Caduta", Mondadori: Milano (Riccardo Calimani)
- KANAN AGHASIYEV  
A Postcolonial Review on Jamaica Kincaid's Novella "Lucy"

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## İÇİNDEKİLER/CONTENTS

### MAKALELER / ARTICLES

---

Harun ABUBAKAR SIDDIQUE	<i>Contours of African Democracy: A Narrative of Tailoring Governance to Local Realities– A Ghanaian Odyssey</i>	<b>5-28</b>
Osman TÜRK	<i>Çad Gölü Havzası'nda Radikalleşme ve ISWAP'a Katılım Dinamikleri</i>	<b>29-46</b>
Mohamed Abdelrhman Mohamed ALİ	<i>France's African Colonial Policies in The Example of North Africa</i>	<b>47-63</b>
Weston MARUME	<i>The Implications of Artisanal Small-Scale Mining on Food Security in Zimbabwe</i>	<b>65-80</b>
Buket ALTINÇELEP	<i>Indigenous People and Human Security: The Case of Ogiek Community in Kenya</i>	<b>81-98</b>
Saliha METİN	<i>Afrika'da İklim Değişikliğinin Etkileri: İklim Adaleti ve Göç</i>	<b>99-118</b>

### KİTAP İNCELEMELERİ / BOOK REVIEW

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Emre KAYMAKÇI	<i>“Storia Della Repubblica Di Venezia. La Serenissima Dalle Origini alla Caduta”, Mondadori: Milano (Riccardo Calimani)</i>	<b>119-125</b>
Kanan AGHASIYEV	<i>A Postcolonial Review on Jamaica Kincaid's Novella “Lucy”</i>	<b>127-135</b>



# CONTOURS OF AFRICAN DEMOCRACY: A NARRATIVE OF TAILORING GOVERNANCE TO LOCAL REALITIES– A GHANAIAN ODYSSEY\*

*AFRİKA DEMOKRASİSİNİN HATLARI: YÖNETİMİ YER-EL GERÇEKLERE UYARLAMA ANLATISI - GANA'DA BİR SERÜVEN*

**Harun ABUBAKAR SIDDIQUE\*\***

**Abstract:** Democracy, as a system of government where the people have a say in the running of the affairs of the state, has been advocated largely by Western intellectuals and policymakers alike. Having taken root and bearing roots in Europe and beyond, it seems democracy offers some sort of hope and opportunity. However, for the African continent, this hope and opportunity continue to elude the people. This paper argues as its central point that for democracy to work effectively, it needs to take into consideration the cultural and traditional landscape of the region, state, or area where it is being implemented. The paper mentions the subjective nature of democracy and where its features or characteristics intersect. Africa as a continent must see and view democracy as such and go on to feature their traditions in their respective states. The paper mentions the efforts Ghana made (although with little democratic dividends) towards this argument and what happened to it.

**Keywords;** Democracy, Africa, Ghana, Government

**Öz:** Demokrasi, halkın devlet işlerinin yürütülmesinde söz sahibi olduğu bir yönetim sistemi olarak, büyük ölçüde Batılı entelektüeller ve politika yapan kişiler tarafından savunulmuştur. Avrupa'da ve ötesinde kök salmış olan demokrasi, görünürde bir tür umut ve fırsat sunmaktadır. Ancak, bu umut ve fırsat halen Afrika kıtası insanların uzağında kalmaya devam etmektedir. Bu çalışma, demokrasinin etkili bir şekilde işleyebilmesi için uygulandığı bölgenin, devletin ya da alanın kültürel ve geleneksel yapısını dikkate alması gerektiğini savunmaktadır. Çalışma, demokrasinin özne doğasından ve özelliklerinin ya da karakteristiklerinin nerede kesiştiğinden bahsetmektedir. Afrika bir kıta olarak demokrasiye bu gözle bakmalı ve ülkelerinde kendi geleneklerini ön plana çıkarmaya devam etmelidir. Çalışma, Gana'nın bu argüman doğrultusunda gösterdiği çabalardan (demokratik kazanımları az olsa da) ve bu çabaların sonucunda olanlardan bahsetmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler;** Demokrasi, Afrika, Gana, Hükümet

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## 1. Introduction

In the intricate tapestry of global governance, the discourse surrounding democracy has often been dominated by Western ideologies and experiences. As we scrutinize the evolving landscape of political systems, it becomes imperative to unravel the complexities embedded in the implementation of democratic structures within distinct cultural contexts. This academic exploration embarks on a nuanced journey into the heart of Africa, specifically focusing on Ghana, to illuminate the imperative of tailoring democratic frameworks to the indigenous cultural and traditional realities of the region.

As we delve into the discourse, it becomes evident that the conventional narratives surrounding democracy have predominantly emanated from Western intellectual and political spheres. However, this study contends that for democracy to transcend beyond a mere transplant, it must be intricately tailored to reflect the rich cultural tapestry of the societies in which it is implemented. The examination centers on the African continent, positing that a comprehensive grasp of democracy necessitates an earnest consideration of cultural, traditional, and historical contexts.

In the wake of Africa's post-colonial era, the adoption of democratic governance emerged as a beacon of hope for socio-economic development and political stability. However, the stark divergence between Western conceptualizations of democracy and the lived experiences of African nations poses a compelling dilemma. Rooted in the profound conviction that democracy is not a one-size-fits-all model, this study contends that the success of democratic systems in Africa is contingent upon a meticulous integration of indigenous cultural values, traditions, and socio-political landscapes.

The examination commences by juxtaposing the Western notion of democracy with its application in African nations, with a particular focus on Ghana. The premise is anchored in the argument that democracy, as a system of governance, must be inherently shaped by the unique cultural and historical tapestry of the societies it governs. Through an exploration of Ghana's endeavors to weave traditional values into its democratic fabric, we delve into the nuanced intricacies of fostering a governance model that resonates with the collective consciousness of its people. As we navigate this academic inquiry, the study will traverse the philosophical underpinnings of democracy, the historical evolution of state theory in Europe, and the dialectical engagements that shaped the democratic ideals in the African context. Drawing parallels between the theories of renowned political thinkers and the pragmatic realities faced by African nations, the research seeks to unravel the multifaceted nature of democracy and its subjective adaptations.

In light of the dynamic political landscape, this research critically assesses the choices made by African nations, exemplified by Ghana, in adopting democratic

governance. By dissecting the various types of democracies implemented, the study aims to discern patterns that shed light on the intricate relationship between governance structures and cultural heritage. Ultimately, this academic exploration endeavors to contribute a comprehensive understanding of the symbiotic relationship between democracy and cultural context, offering insights that resonate beyond the immediate confines of Ghana to inform a broader discourse on the democratization of diverse societies.

Finally, this study employs a qualitative methodology to investigate the correlation between the experiences of individuals governed within a democratic framework and the integration of cultural traditions into successful democratic systems. The research relies on data generated by Afrobarometer to elucidate the perspectives of ordinary Africans regarding choices about living in a democratic society or otherwise. The investigation encompasses a comparative analysis between Western democracies (Europe and the US), emphasizing their achievements in democratic implementation, and the challenges encountered by the African continent in striving for a sustainable democratic governance model. Historical evidence is examined to comprehend the variations observed in Western democracies, with a particular focus on how these thriving democracies incorporate cultural traditions and their distinct realities and experiences are quite different from that of Africa. The paper delves into the democratic struggles faced by Ghana in its pursuit of enhancing the representativeness of its political system within the context of traditional values.

## **2. Democracy and Its Subjective Nature**

Contemporarily, one of the most contested words in politics is the term democracy. The term democracy originates from the word *demokratia*, in Greek broken into two parts, '*demos*' meaning people and '*Kratos*' meaning rule, it conveys succinctly the 'rulership' of the people. It has attained several meanings, some of them are, according to Andrew Heywood (2003: 330), "rule by the people; democracy implies both popular participation and government in the public interest and can take a wide variety of forms". According to John Hirst (2004: 10) democracy means "a society in which the citizens are sovereign and control the government". According to Joseph Schumpeter (1942: 250), "the democratic method is that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide using a competitive struggle for the people's vote" he further adds "the purpose of the democratic method [is] not to select representatives who carry out the will of the people, but to choose individuals who [will] govern on their behalf". These definitions suggest firstly that the rule should be in the interest of the people and secondly, one that the people approve of. It follows therefore that democratic means or forms of government have in them similar characteristics, the essential features of democracy (the paper will call it). Although not exhaustive, some significant features of government or governance that make them democratic are rooted in the democratic

governing processes visible in the earliest and contemporary democratic states. First, the three ideals central to democracy as mentioned by Thomas Marshall (1950), the civil rights—the principal rights and the cornerstone for individual freedom; the political rights—the rights that enable citizens to participate in governing the state and finally, the social rights—the primary rights to welfare and security in the state. More so, human rights and secularism to some extent are significant features of democratic governments. Another important feature is voter enfranchisement and political participation. These two ensure that citizens or people, (as in the literal wording of the term democracy), actively contribute to the governing of the state. Most other features of democracy go into categorizing the kind of democratic governance a country has chosen, like say a social democracy that prioritizes welfare or the equality of citizens. Aside from that, a democratic state must certainly have the features mentioned above (or aim at the ideals).

There are different types of democracies, being that it is the people who are governing, different people will have different priorities. It is also important to note that democracy here refers strictly to the governing of the state, considering that democracy can exist in different places like markets and workplaces. First, the social democracy, where the state is concerned greatly with the welfare or equality within the state. It developed over time after World War II when most European countries had their governments as Social Democratic parties like Sweden, and Western Germany, etc. (its evolution goes beyond the scope of this paper).<sup>1</sup> Second, Liberal democracy, a form of democracy that shares an affinity with the philosophy of liberalism. In other words, liberal democracy focuses more on individual freedom and limiting state interference. Third, direct democracy, is the hardest and most complex among the types of democracy so far. Direct democracy is where all citizens within the approved age of political participation engage actively in governing the state. It is opposed to indirect or representative democracy (a contradiction of terms as mentioned by Jean Jacque Rousseau, 1762), where officials are elected to represent the people. Here, citizens are called upon to partake in policy discussions and their adaptation. This kind of democracy was practised in Ancient Greek city-states, under Cleisthenes the Athenian lawgiver, Athens is said to have become democratic in 508 BC thereby naming Cleisthenes, the “father of Athenian democracy” by historians.<sup>2</sup> Fourth, the representative kind of democracy where officials are elected on behalf of the people to the legislature. And finally, constitutional democracy, where the state is governed strictly by clear-cut specifications from the constitution— outlining the rights, freedoms, responsibilities and duties of the people and political leaders alike.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>See Ben Jackson, *The Oxford Handbook of Political Ideologies*

<sup>2</sup>See Ancient Greek Democracy. <https://www.history.com/topics/ancient-greece/ancient-greece-democracy>

<sup>3</sup> See Foldvary, F.E. (2011). *Democracy, Constitutional*. In: Chatterjee, D.K. (eds) *Encyclopedia of Global Justice*. Springer,

## 2.1. The Subjective & Variations in Democratic Governance

Democracy having different kinds implies that different states differ in terms of their democratic processes but essentially have the features or characteristics aforementioned playing out in their political dispensation. It could also be understood that the kind of democratic processes that take place within the state should not be divorced from the country's cultural, sociological, or historical aspects or dimensions. An intriguing example of the difference between States with differences in democratic processes or means that is tailored to their historic or cultural heritage is the difference in the term *secularism* and *Laicite*. The state does not take the form of any religion, mostly when it citizens practice diverse religions is known as secularism and the French version is *Laicite*. However, to assume that *Laicite* is the same as secularism is false, consequently, secularism in the United States of America is far different from that of the French Republic. France bans any conspicuous show of religious symbols like the Muslim headscarf (hijab), Christian crosses, the Jewish kippa and the Sikh turbans in public (Vaisse, 2004). It states in the first article of the 1905 Law in the Separation of the Churches and State, "the republic ensures freedom of conscience" second article, "the republic does not recognize, compensate or subsidize any religion" (France24, 2016). Henceforth, the state and consequently public places should not wear or have religious symbols, or persons should not appear with religious symbols. Simply put, the citizens are all seen as French and not as Christian or Muslim French. Unlike the United States where religion is conspicuous in the state like the national motto "In God we Trust", or the cliché ending the speeches of their political leaders, "God Bless America" and the prayers held in Congress, Christian prayers, and sometimes Muslim prayers (Crain, 2019). This distinction highlights the cultural divide between the two states: in France, where there has long been conflict between the state and the Church, they believe this type of secularism (*Laicite*) to be the best; in contrast, secularism is not understood in this strict sense in the US and many other democratically run countries across the world.

Another example is the Lebanon type of democracy which also takes into consideration the Lebanese cultural, historical, and sociological heritage. Lebanon has diverse religions or sects— there are the Maronite Christians, Greek Orthodox, Protestants, the Sunni Muslims, the Shiite Muslims, Jews, Baha'is, Buddhists, Hindus, etc.<sup>4</sup> Lebanon's democracy is the kind of democracy where political offices are filled through ethnic, tribal, religious etc. lines. This kind of democracy is called Consociationalism. When political offices are filled strictly on religious lines then it is called Confessionalism.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, in Lebanon, the President of the state is from the

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<sup>4</sup>See the US, Report on International Religious Freedom: Lebanon, 2019. <https://www.state.gov/reports/2019-report-on-international-religious-freedom/lebanon/>

<sup>5</sup> See the entry by the United States Institute of Peace on "Lebanon's Confessionalism: Problems and Prospects". <https://www.usip.org/publications/2006/03/lebanons-confessionalism-problems-and-prospects>

Maronite Christians, the Prime Minister is from the Sunni Muslims and the Speaker of Parliament is from the Shia Muslims. This explicitly shows how democratic processes consider the realities of the people in terms of sociology, cultural or historical heritage.

### **3. The Evolution of State Theory and Democracy in Europe**

#### ***The Philosophical & Dialectical Engagements***

In the fifteenth century, Europe was fraught with empires and not states as it has come to be known currently in the political parlance, the Great Britain Empire, the Ottoman Empire, and the Russian Empire among others. As it was mentioned earlier, a significant role played by the Reformation and Enlightenment period of the continent was its ability to question the accepted standard or norms of society thus it set in motion what has now become the democratic state. Painstakingly assessing John Locke's Two Treatises of Government (aside from Locke there have been numerous thinkers who have provided a thesis for the conceptualization of the state) provides a clear picture of what the environment was in the seventeenth century. The Two Treatises Of Government authored by Locke provides in its first part an answer or challenges Sir Robert Filmer's *Patriarcha* which is a book that argued the divine rights of kings as monarchs, and the second part of the treatises provides the basis of the formation of government and here '*State of Nature*' is mentioned.<sup>6</sup> This is a hypothetical state in political theory that posits that man before the creation of the state had full control over all that he/she could do, and it was because to secure him/herself from harm or injury to property that everyone corporated to form a state. This is also an understanding shared by Jean Jacque Rousseau, an Italian philosopher, and Thomas Hobbes an English philosopher among others.<sup>7</sup>

It is important to note that most of these writings or dialectical exercises considered the question of governance with Europe as their point of reference and point of departure, in other words, the European environment was the basis on which these suppositions were made. That is, the European cultural heritage provided the backbone or was a synthesis for the creation of the current state which happens to thrive under democracy. In saying this, it does not mean the creation of the state and democracy is exclusive to the advantage or workable only under the European environment but that, it is grounded in the very meaning and understanding of what these enlightenment thinkers imposed. In other words, the meanings of terms take the form of what these enlightenment thinkers have imposed on them or spring from a Eurocentric perspective. An example of these terms that could easily take the meaning or form of a Eurocentric perspective is civilization, modern, religion, beauty, rich, and

<sup>6</sup> Before Locke's text, the Two Treatises of government, Robert Filmer's text which was primarily supporting divine rights of monarchs had a lot of favour among the intelligentsia. However, after the strong argument put forward by Locke in his text, Robert Filmer's argument continued to lose credibility.

<sup>7</sup> See Rousseau's Social Contract as well as Hobbes Leviathan texts

certainly, democracy (which is part of the aims of this paper to argue that democracy should be understood from the African reality and not as a wholly imported commodity to the African continent).

It is part of this significant difference in the meaning of terms or connotations (here being civilization) that perhaps awarded the rights of Western states to intrude the continent of Africa, although other motives are behind this intrusion. This is depicted in the copious writings of Westerners, a popular notion is that it is the responsibility or burden of the white man to civilize the African continent, the '*White Man's Burden*' succinctly called (this is depicted in the poem of Rudyard Kipling titled *The White Man's Burden*).<sup>8</sup>

### 3.1. The Evolution of the Nation-State

In political science, the now nation-state is said to have been accepted as an international actor in international politics after the end of the religious wars that led to the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 (Farr, 2005). This war lasted for thirty years and caused a lot of damage throughout Europe, there were finally peace treaties signed in the cities of Osnabruck and Munster collectively known as the Peace of Westphalia. However, these states did not look like how states are now; it was the beginning of what will be known today as sovereign States. Sovereignty was the significant achievement of Westphalia, it ensured that States were not intruded by external forces and if there happened to be an aggressor amongst states collective security was to be activated i.e., states come together to fight the aggressor. Democracy was not specifically an attribute of these states however, freedom of movement and religion quite existed. Democracy took some time to have its seeds planted. This is seen in the Glorious Revolution of England in 1688 where the Catholic Monarch King James II was overthrown and replaced by his daughter Mary and William of Orange, her Dutch husband. The motives behind the actions of the parliament include political as well as religious reasons, however, this was what set in motion the political democracy of Great Britain.<sup>9</sup> Worthy of mentioning, before this event was the infighting between the barons and the crown, and later between the parliament and the crown that forced the monarch to sign the *Magna Carta* and later the Bill of Rights respectively– both signify the evolution of what is now known as the democratic state. The trailblazing state in terms of democracy was the newly established United States of America when it finally broke the shackles of colonialism under Great Britain in 1776. The US democratic trail was the hallmark for states to replicate. However, the question arises, how come women and blacks were not allowed voting rights in such a trailblazing democratic state? (Women began voting after the 19th Amendment of 1920, and

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<sup>8</sup> See the full poem of Kipling portraying the white as the saviors of the universe, thus brining civilization to other parts of the world especially Africa

<sup>9</sup> See the entry on the Glorious Revolution. <https://www.history.com/topics/european-history/glorious-revolution>

1965 for Black women). The answers to this question will be found in examining the evolution of States and most significantly in the Western or European cultural or sociological construct or understanding.

What was happening to the African continent during these periods of change? While the continent had structural leadership based on ethnic or tribal affiliations, such as chiefs, and some areas were flourishing, it also experienced enslavement and later colonization. Unlike Europe, Africa did not have the opportunity to explore diverse governing mechanisms, which has resulted in a difference in the nature of statehood. And this has led to what is found in the difference of the nature of statehood in both continents, in Europe, most of the states are termed Nation-States whilst in Africa, the states are termed State Nations. A nation is primarily psycho-cultural (i.e., language, culture, religion, history etc.) while a state is primarily a political-legal concept. Nationalism is thereby the sense of loyalty towards a nation. In this, Raji & Encloe distinguishes between nationalist ideology which is the “self-conscious attitudes and feelings towards nation and nationalist movement, social and political processes that seek to fulfil these attitudes and feelings” (Raji - Encloe, 1969: 142). They further mentioned the difference in the sphere of nationalism, the first, ‘formative nationalism’—the process of nation-building thus involves the effort to throw off foreign rule and establish a new nation, the second, ‘expansive nationalism’—annexation of territories or contest of lands, the third, ‘the prestige nationalism’—the process of nation-aggrandizing. Contemporary France is a form of prestige nationalism, Nazi Germany an expansive nationalism and the bulk of African states formative nationalism. This spells out why most European countries are easily known as nation-states since there was the psychological condition where one’s loyalty was to the nation and the African countries as State-nation, being that it was later after the European settlers demarcated borders which represented statehood that the sentiment of nationalism was kindled in the people and the African leaders alike.

#### **4. The Traditional Landscape of Africa and the West**

Africa, the second-largest continent, encompasses approximately 20% of the global land area and boasts over 50 countries, making it the most country and ethnicity-rich continent. This diversity is reflected in a population of 1.34 billion as of 2020, positioning Africa as the second most populous continent, with projections exceeding 2.5 billion by 2050. The continent is geographically segmented into West, East, South, North, and Central regions, each characterized by unique countries and ethnicities. Despite a plethora of languages, historical influences from Europe and Arabic-speaking empires have led many African nations to adopt English, French, Portuguese, or Arabic as their official languages.

The African continent is rich and diverse, although it has had a significant intrusion on its culture and society during the colonial period or even prior (i.e., the slavery period) it still retains its cultural heritage, and this is what forms the African society.

Africa continues to preserve its rich heritage, while European culture, influenced by the ideas of thinkers emerging from the Reformation period led by Martin Luther in the sixteenth century, has undergone significant transformations. The Reformation period of Europe undoubtedly has had significant consequences on the overall culture of the continent especially because it was followed by the Enlightenment period. The Enlightenment being a period of reasoning, skepticisms and as its famous motto relays “*Sapere Aude*” translated as “*dare to know*”, transformed the cultural heritage of the European continent i.e., standard cultural norms began changing, what was considered evil or immoral were through dialectical means proven to be otherwise, among others. Unlike the African continent where cultures of old age still flourish. The Himba tribe of Namibia is a place quite famous because of the number of people who have visited them and shared on social media (BBC, 2017). The continent of Africa is replete with such tribes that still preserve their cultural heritage, and although the urban areas have slight changes in their *modus vivendi*, they still retain within themselves their sense of tribal affiliation in terms of leadership etc.

Because of these differences in the preservation of culture between these two continents, there has recently been the issue of why African states are not accepting persons of LGBTQ+, there is, passing laws to safeguard people who identify with that community. Most often the argument put forth by the African states is that, these practices are against their culture. This is even echoed recently by the Ghanaian parliament which is trying to outlaw LGBTQ+ practices or ways of life<sup>10</sup>. The fundamental point that seems to be overlooked is that African cultural heritage has shown remarkable resilience in the face of colonialism, while European cultural heritage has been profoundly influenced by the Enlightenment period. The core culture of Africa, if they will significantly change, may take many more generations to change, as certain actions that would be frowned upon and met with consequences in a town like Agona Swedru in Ghana could be viewed as a symbol of liberalism and trailblazing in a town like Ilmenau in Germany. Some perhaps worth noting difference is the notion of happiness, maturity, love, God etc. which happens to play out and have significantly different meanings between the two continents. For instance, it has become a custom for Mauritanian women to celebrate when they successfully go through divorcing their spouse (TRT, 2020). This informs somewhat the notion of what is meant by happiness by these women, which is different from the conventional understanding of what happiness is.

#### **4.1. Colonial Woes on the African Continent**

The destruction of colonialism is such that peoples within the African continent were displaced on a large scale which in this day and age would have been considered

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10 See the entry, The Washington Post (2021). Lawmakers in Ghana seek to outlaw advocacy for gay rights. Retrieved from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2021/07/28/ghana-lgbtq-bill/>



a serious humanitarian crisis. Because of the forced borders springing from the Berlin Conference of the latter part of the 19th century, ethnicities found themselves living within two countries, that is, one ethnic or tribe could be found in one country and right across the border (sometimes far from the border) the remaining part of the ethnic members are found living there. For instance, between Ghana and Togo, there are shared ethnicities such as Ewe, Konkomba, and Akposso. In addition, Ghana and Burkina Faso share ethnicities such as Mossi, Sissala, and Dangara Kusasi. Within central Africa the Tshokwe found themselves living in Zambia, Angola, and Congo among other countries (Asiwaju, 1984). This is a significant cause of conflicts like what ensued in the Nigerian Civil War in 1967<sup>11</sup>. The situation has also further caused the fragmentation of the African continent, from when the greater proportion of African states regained independence till now more than 10 countries have been subdivided into states like the division between Rwanda and Burundi, Sudan, and South Sudan, and still an ongoing divide over self-determination in African countries like Somalia and Somaliland, Morocco and Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic.

The destruction of colonialism is such that different persons and multiplicity of languages and tribes are situated within a single territory known as a country, causing a plethora of minority-related issues. This issue was conveniently dealt with by using the languages of the colonial powers as an official language. The problem of having diverse languages or persons living within a state is something even countries with strong democratic institutions struggle with. It took the European Commission to create a charter such as the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML) in its efforts to preserve languages and grant freedom of the usage of languages. The EU also has the High Commissioner on National Minorities. However, within the African continent, due to colonialism, there has been a multiplicity of minority groups, although the African Union has taken some steps to deal with issues of the minority. (The African Union has made significant progress in addressing the issue of minority groups in Africa by adopting the African Charter on Human and People's Rights in 1981. The establishment of the African Commission on Human and People's Rights has played a crucial role in monitoring and reporting on human rights violations, while also engaging with member states to promote awareness and implementation of the Charter's provisions.)

## **5. Africa and Democracy**

Before the now strong favour for democracy, democracy was seen as an alien concept, and it was claimed that its introduction would "violate the integrity of African culture". This misconception according to Ake stems from the fact that there is confusion between the institutional manifestations of democracy and the principles

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<sup>11</sup> The Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970), also known as the Biafra War, was a conflict that occurred in Nigeria. It was primarily fought between the secessionist state of Biafra, located in the southeastern region of Nigeria, and the Nigerian government. The war was triggered by political, economic, and ethnic tensions, with the secessionist movement seeking to establish an independent state for the predominantly Igbo ethnic group. The war resulted in a significant loss of life and had a lasting impact on the political and social landscape of Nigeria.

of democracy (Ake, 1991). African societies were to some extent infused with democratic principles. These principles could include the accountability of leaders. “Chiefs were answerable not only for their deeds but for natural catastrophes like famine, epidemics, floods and drought” (Ake, 1991: 34). Chiefs were required to go into exile or asked to die as a consequence of their misdemeanours. There was a high level of participation in the activities of societies by the governed or ruled and in some instances or periods, with consent of the governed. Why then was Africa not fully and easily democratized when it finally ended the shackles of colonialism? According to Ake, the democratization of Africa was substituted with the so-called development of Africa. Most African leaders opted for a one-party system, *inter alia*, with claims that the newly founded states needed drastic developmental projects and redistribution of power; political pluralism would hamper such efforts. Several African states opted for a one-party state system during different periods in their history. For example, Tanzania established the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) as the sole legal political party in 1965, which remained in power until multiparty democracy was reintroduced in 1992. Kenya operated as a de facto one-party state under the Kenya African National Union (KANU) from 1969 to 1991. Zambia established a one-party state under the United National Independence Party (UNIP) in 1972, which lasted until multiparty democracy was reintroduced in 1991. Similarly, Malawi was under the rule of President Hastings Banda and his Malawi Congress Party (MCP) from 1964 to 1994, when multiparty democracy was reinstated. Ghana also experienced a period of one-party rule. After gaining independence in 1957, Ghana was under the leadership of President Kwame Nkrumah and his Convention People’s Party (CPP). During these periods, opposition parties were banned, dissent was suppressed, and political pluralism was discouraged.

In the 1960s, (the Year of Africa) being the period seventeen states regained independence aside from a handful of states like Ghana and Guinea that regained independence in the late 1950s, saw the post-colonial African continent fraught with states with some semblance of democracy more or less imposed upon them by the erstwhile colonial powers.<sup>12</sup> Ghana, for example, had to make it a point in its Constitution that the Ashanti Kingdom was excluded from the other regions that were to be under the political control of the new state. Aside from this, other concessions such as providing for land reforms, minority rights, federalism etc. had to be made before the African states could gain full control over the political affairs of the state.

These new states had to be governed anyway, considering the absence of administrators, minimal political institutions etc. Kwame Nkrumah mentions that when the British left the country, they collected everything and ransacked the buildings where they used to govern the Gold Coast until nothing was left behind (Nkrumah,

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<sup>12</sup> See the entry on “The Year of Africa” authored by Katherine Everett, Emily Hardick, Damarius Johnson. [https://origins.osu.edu/article/year-of-africa-1960-rumba-pan-africanism-Kariba?language\\_content\\_entity=en](https://origins.osu.edu/article/year-of-africa-1960-rumba-pan-africanism-Kariba?language_content_entity=en)

1963). The new African leaders were to find ways to develop or build the nation. ‘Democracy’ was the system of government with inspiration from pan-africanism coupled with Marxism, Socialism, and Lenin-Marxism amongst others. These African states resorted to these socio-economic ideas to build the newly formed states (or not). Democracy was also chosen because the new states had diverse ethnicities or tribes living within them, some had no clear majority of tribes in them while some had, consequently, to reach a consensus between these tribes the notion of nation-building was supported through democratic means thus voting. “Democracy in Africa is an experimental process in a new generation of countries”, a reference to 21st-century Africa, what about 20th-century African states? (Sklar, 1983: 12). The grappling of Africa with the democratic system of government has led to many variations outlined by Richard Sklar in four. First, the liberal democracy, where the constitution limits the powers of government and “citizens enjoy the freedom of association to compete for office in free elections at regular intervals”, he mentions Nigeria, Gambia, and Mauritius to have had some lingering semblance of such democracy. The second is guided democracy, where there is a one-party state, the government of Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya. Third, social democracy, was largely the theory of Nyerere of Tanzania seen through the Arusha Declaration of 1967 aimed at minimizing social inequality. The fourth is the participatory democracy, which was seen in Zambia, during President Kenneth Kaunda where there was the encouragement of all and sundry so that “no single individual or group of individuals shall have a monopoly of political, economic, social or military power” (Kaunda, 1971: 37). This led to Zambia’s constitutional declaration of a “One Party Participatory Democracy” in 1973.

It shows how these African states have struggled to implement the democratic system of government for various reasons. When other forms of government are mentioned for example authoritarianism, it harks back to the political and economic traumatic moments experienced in the continent by some leaders like Mobutu Sese Seko and so, it perhaps scares the African to imagine his or her state under such rule. Given the number of military coup d’etats that took place between 1950 and 2023, precisely two hundred and twenty two (220), including both failed and successful coups, Africans are aware of what it is like to be ruled by the military. Below in fig.1, the successful and failed coups in Africa spanning from 1950 to 2023 are outlined.

Decade	Total coup attempts	Successful	Success rate
1950-1959	6	3	50%
1960-1969	41	25	61%
1970-1979	42	18	42.9%
1980-1989	39	22	56.4%
1990-1999	39	16	41%
2000-2009	22	8	36.4%
2010-2019	17	8	47.1%
2020-2023	14	9	64.3%

Fig. 1 (Megan Duzor & Brian Williamson, 2023)

The choice of democracy is seen in the survey of the Afrobarometer Survey presented in the ‘Democracy in Africa: Demand, supply and the ‘dissatisfied democrat’ policy paper. The following are some of the results of the survey carried out in more than 30 African countries.

*“Respondents were asked:*

*Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion?*

*Statement 1: Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government.*

*Statement 2: In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable.*

*Statement 3: For someone like me, it doesn’t matter what kind of government we have. (% who say democracy is preferable)*

*There are many ways to govern a country. Would you disapprove or approve of the following alternatives?*

*A. Only one political party is allowed to stand for election and hold office.*

*B. The army comes in to govern the country.*

*C. Elections and Parliament are abolished so that the president can decide everything. (% who “disagree” or “strongly disagree”)*

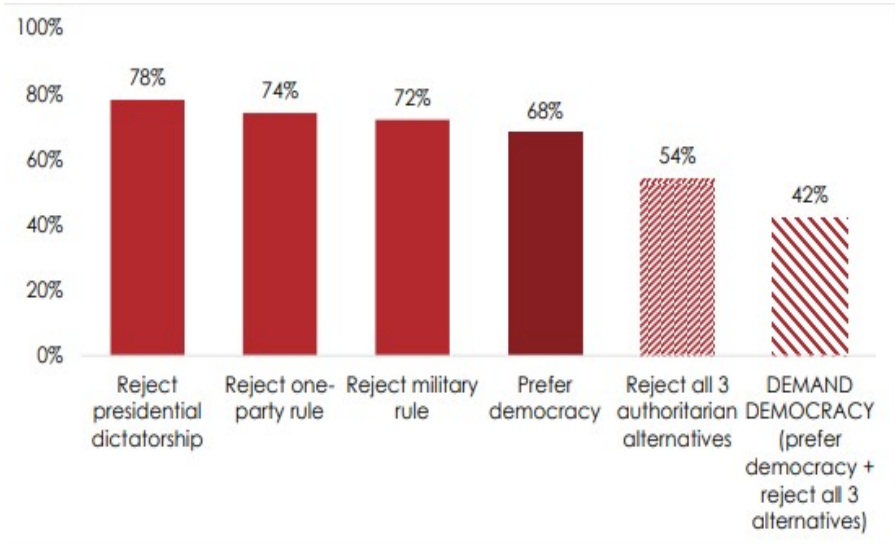


Fig.2 (Afrobarometer, 2019) Shows the results of Africans rejecting authoritarian rule in favour of democratic governance.



Fig.3. (Afrobarometer, 2019) Shows the level of education and how citizens in African states demand democracy.

Demand for democracy was also the highest in those with post-secondary education although those without formal education also had an appreciable per cent of demand for democracy.

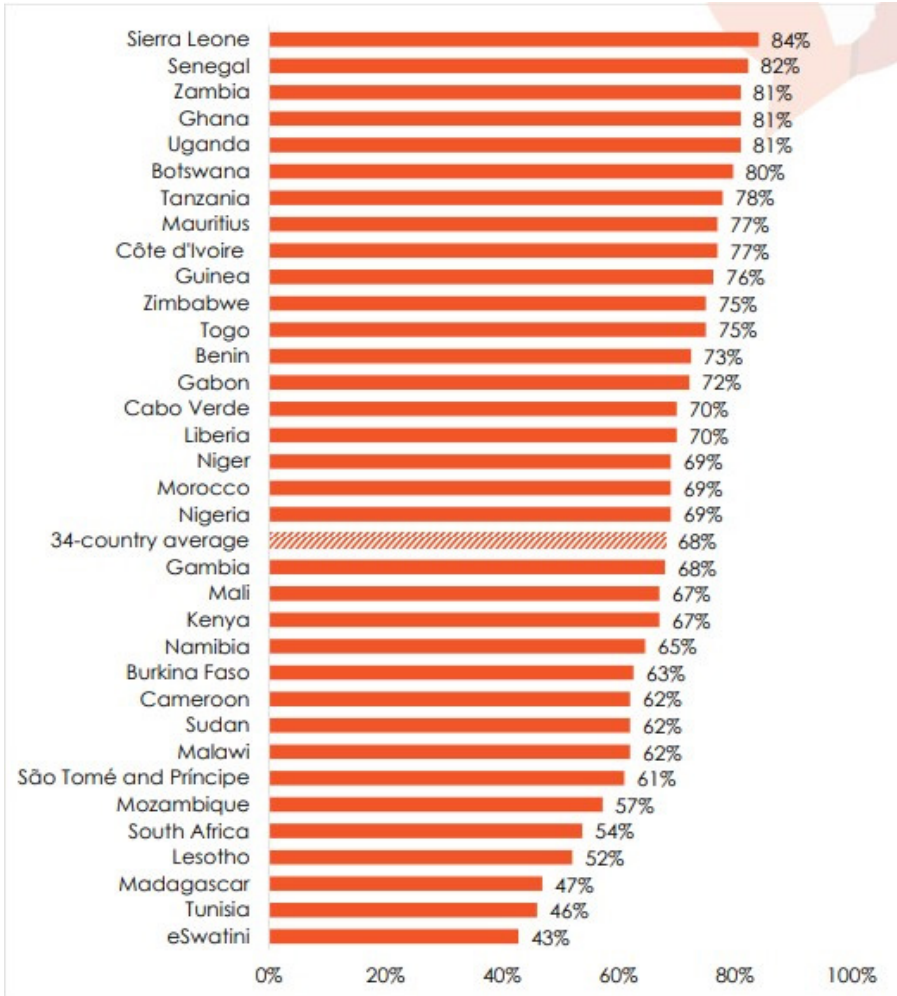


Fig.4. (Afrobarometer, 2019) Shows the demand for democracy in the respective African states.

Africans continue to yearn for and choose democracy, despite the negative outcomes experienced in states that claimed to be democratic. This can be attributed to several factors.

The presence of multiple tribes or ethnicities within a single territory, such as the more than 240 tribes in Cameroon, over 250 ethnic groups in Nigeria, and over 100 ethnic groups in Ghana. In order to promote equality and development and allow everyone to have a say in the governance of the country, democracy is seen as the

preferred system of government (PRC, American Historical Association (AHA), - Lamar Soutter Library).

Another reason Africans choose democracy is due to the horrors of authoritarian rule, whether by the majority tribe or even the intellectual minority. The Rwandan Genocide serves as a stark reminder of the consequences that can arise when such misdeeds are allowed to persist. By embracing diversity and fostering a sense of community, peace and harmony can be established as a defense against tribal conflicts and extreme poverty. In other words, a society that values freedom and allows individuals, regardless of their tribal affiliations, to express their opinions through voting can contribute to the economic development of the country.

Another reason for Africans to choose democracy is the success rate of other democratic states, which provides a blueprint for potential success. It is not coincidental that the Industrial Revolution in 18th century Europe took place after the Enlightenment and Reformation periods. There has been a clear correlation between societal development and the presence of freedom, where individuals can freely express their ideas and opinions. A free society encourages innovative thinking and allows intellectual growth to flourish, as there are fewer restrictions or authoritarian barriers hindering progress.

Another reason Africans choose democracy is the desire to be heard, listened to, and considered as part of society. Despite experiencing numerous democratic governments that have failed to deliver on their promises, this does not discourage the populace from demanding a more democratic system of governance (although there is some sense of apathy in the political participation of the masses). This is because humans, regardless of their background, crave inclusion and the opportunity to have their voices heard. Therefore, when given the chance to be heard, individuals tend to opt for that option rather than strictly following the orders of an authoritarian government.

Despite the aforementioned reasons, 2023 saw several coups in Africa. Surprisingly, the coup plotters were cheered on by the populace. This raises the question of why citizens would support coup plotters if they desire to live in a democratic country. It is evident that the leaders who were ousted from power had overstayed their welcome. Some of them were considered puppets of the Western apparatus, exploiting the resources of African countries. Niger serves as an example of such a country. These leaders were also authoritarian in their governance, which is why the populace was happy to see them ousted from power.

## **6. Ghana's Case and Pursuing a New Democratic System**

Ghana's journey of state formation and democratic development is intricately woven through its colonial past, independence struggle, and subsequent political transformations.

*Colonial Period (19th-20th Century):* Ghana's modern history arguably began with British colonization in 1874, known as the Gold Coast during this era. The British introduced a system of indirect rule, centralizing governance and exploiting resources for economic gain. This colonial presence significantly impacted Ghanaian society, altering power dynamics and creating dependency on British authority.

*Independence and Early Postcolonial Period (1957-1966):* After years of resistance, Ghana gained independence in 1957, becoming the first African colony to do so (Arhin, 1993). Kwame Nkrumah, a key nationalist leader, played a pivotal role in this struggle, serving as Ghana's first Prime Minister and later its President (Arhin, 1993). Nkrumah's government aimed at economic development through nationalization and social welfare policies. However, concerns about authoritarianism and economic challenges led to his overthrow in a military coup in 1966 (Nugent, 1995).

*Post-Nkrumah Era and Democratic Transition (1966-1992):* Ghana faced a series of military coups and civilian rule in the post-Nkrumah era. After the 1966 coup, periods of military rule followed, marked by political instability and economic decline (Nugent, 1995). In fact, Ghana has experienced four periods of military rule, namely from 1966-1969, 1972-1979, 1979, and 1981-1993 (Haruna, 2023). Jerry Rawlings, who came to power through a coup in 1981, transitioned Ghana back to multi-party democracy in 1992 (Gyimah-Boadi, 2005). The Fourth Republic marked a turning point, introducing a multi-party system and witnessing peaceful transitions of power.

*Current Democracy and Political Landscape (1993-present):* Ghana's Fourth Republic, inaugurated in 1993, symbolized a period of political stability and economic growth. Despite critiques of corruption and accountability issues, Ghana has upheld its reputation as one of Africa's politically stable nations. Regular elections and alternation of power between political parties, such as the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP), have been key features of Ghana's contemporary political landscape.

As extensively argued in the paper, the form of democracy in each country is influenced by its traditions. In simpler terms, democracy is shaped by the specific realities and circumstances of the people and country it governs. This is summarized concisely and precisely by Jennings, which is quoted at length below (Jennings, 1963: 68-9).

“The essential problem of African democracy is... the essential problem of democracy everywhere - and it is wise to remember that only a few countries in the world have made a success of it. Democracy has succeeded in Northwestern Europe and a few countries outside Europe because it has become entwined in the traditions of the people...If there is a strong political organization with its roots in the villages,



and if the leadership is both efficient and honest, it may create opposition to itself equally efficient and honest and so accustom the people generally to democratic ways...the success of a constitution depends very largely on the strength of the support given to it by the people. In the African context, this means the urban and rural masses, whose primary identification and loyalty are to local communities and traditional areas, with indigenous political traditions based, in the main, on different concepts of behavior”.

In the desire to change the democratic system to suit the realities of the country, in Ghana, during the rule of Jerry John Rawlings in the 1990s, the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) government launched a plan designed “to create a new kind of democracy that will bring about greater efficiency and productivity in the state machinery through the involvement of the people at all levels” (Owusu, 1992: 385). This is an effort towards ending “a lasting solution to some of Africa’s endemic political and economic difficulties, liberating the enormous long-term development and the potential of the countryside” (Owusu, 1992: 388). It is the Districts and District Assemblies established by the Local Government Law, 1988 (P.N.D.C.L. 207), and the Local Government (Amendment No. 2) Law, 1990, to include extensively the far too long forsaken countryside of the state. It seeks to be

“Non-partisan, based strictly on meritocracy and held every three years.

The district shall be responsible, for (a) the overall development of the district and (b) formulate programs for the effective mobilization of utility of human, physical, financial and other resources in the District etc.

The District assembly may conduct its business in English or any other Ghanaian language among others.”

*“The Assemblies have had the salutary effect of increasing local autonomy and raising political consciousness and participation, notably by producing both elected and appointed members who are more representative of, and responsive to, the local electorate”* (Owusu, 1992: 390).

In the spirit of democracy, after the decentralized system instituted by the Ghanaian government which was to reflect the cultural landscape of the country, some official delegates fascinated by how it works visited Ghana, from Uganda, Tanzania, Sierra Leone etc. In March, as well, the International Union of Local Authorities held in Gaborone unanimously decided to ask Ghana to host the fourth regional conference in 1993 (Local Government Information: 1991). The obvious question that comes to mind after hearing the advances Ghana made to incorporate at large the active participation of the grassroots is— what happened next? Where is Ghana’s democracy now? In the pursuit of answering these important questions, the paper will mention one important problem that hindered the progress of the democratic processes of the country.

The crucial problem that is plaguing Ghana’s democracy and most African states is that their democracies are not developing or developmental, i.e. “developmental democracy”. This kind of democracy should not be mistaken with the other forms of developmental democracy. Such as the type of developmental democracy that emphasizes the integration of democratic governance and socio-economic development. It recognizes that democracy is not just about political freedoms and participation, but also about addressing the needs and aspirations of the people by promoting economic growth, social welfare, and reducing inequality. In a developmental democracy, the government plays an active role in fostering economic development, implementing policies to improve living standards, and ensuring equitable distribution of resources. The goal is to achieve both political and socio-economic progress, with democratic institutions and processes supporting sustainable development and the well-being of the population.

The term “developmental democracy” in the paper refers to a type of democracy that acknowledges its shortcomings and continuously evolves to incorporate the changing realities of the governed people. This form of democracy strives for improvement, explores new ideas and methods to engage the masses, and aims to significantly increase political participation. It avoids stagnation in a state of unsatisfactory imperfection. In Ghana, after the 1992 constitution, there were questions as to why the Executive arm of government has so much power. Except for good faith, the executive arm of government is prone to function like a dictatorial arm within the state. After the 2020 elections, there were crucial discussions about the problematic nature of the appointments of public officials mandated by the constitution, given how the Chairperson of the Electoral Commission of Ghana was eluded with simple arithmetic. The Chairperson was appointed before the national elections on controversial grounds surrounding the dismissal of the former EC chairperson (Kaledzi, 2018). The aura around the political spectrum at that time was that the appointment was rather calculated to keep the government in power (Frimpong - Arku, 2018). Although the claims were speculations, after the 2020 elections, the EC chairperson granted critics enough to prove the point they made before the elections. There were unprecedented arithmetic errors, lengthy delays in the announcement of results (which was more than expected) etc. For the first time in Ghana’s history, five people were killed during elections, although there have been elections-related deaths in the past, however, the 2020 killings happened during and on the fields of polling stations, which was unprecedented (Aljazeera, 2020).

### **The Way Forward**

The unfortunate incidents surrounding the 2020 elections in Ghana provide a lens through which one can evaluate the state of democracy in the country, particularly in the context of “developmental democracy”. It is essential to assess how the democratic system recognizes its flaws, adapts to changing circumstances, and ensures increased

political participation to avoid stagnation in imperfection.

*I. Executive Power and Checks and Balances:*

The concentration of power in the executive arm of government raises concerns about the effectiveness of checks and balances within the democratic system. A “developmental democracy” should evolve to address such imbalances and prevent the executive from potentially functioning in a dictatorial manner. Evaluating the distribution of powers and mechanisms for accountability is crucial to ensure a healthy democratic environment.

*II. Appointment of Public Officials and Electoral Independence:*

The controversies surrounding the appointment of the Chairperson of the Electoral Commission highlight issues related to the appointment process of key public officials. In a “developmental democracy”, there should be transparent and accountable procedures for such appointments, ensuring that individuals in key positions are competent, impartial, and free from political influence. The events leading up to the 2020 elections suggest a need for reforms in the appointment process to enhance the credibility and independence of electoral institutions.

*III. Election Integrity and Transparency:*

The reported arithmetic errors, delays in result announcements, and allegations of manipulation during the 2020 elections underscore challenges related to election integrity and transparency. A “developmental democracy” should continuously strive to improve its electoral processes, ensuring fairness, accuracy, and transparency. Addressing issues such as delays and errors is crucial to maintaining public trust and confidence in the democratic system.

*IV. Political Violence and Electoral Security:*

The unprecedented incidents of violence, particularly the killings during the elections, highlight a significant concern. In a “developmental democracy”, efforts should be made to enhance political stability and security during electoral processes. Investigating the root causes of violence, implementing measures to prevent recurrence, and promoting a culture of peaceful political participation are essential components of a robust democratic system.

*V. Public Participation and Civic Engagement:*

The incidents described may indicate a potential decline in public trust and participation in the democratic process. A “developmental democracy” should encourage and facilitate increased political engagement among citizens. This involves creating platforms for dialogue, addressing concerns, and actively involving the public in decision-making processes.

### *VI. Media Freedom and Information Accessibility:*

The role of media in disseminating information and fostering public discourse is vital for a well-functioning democracy. Assessing the state of media freedom and accessibility of information is crucial. A “developmental democracy” should support a free and responsible media that provides accurate information, fosters informed public debate, and holds those in power accountable.

The incidents surrounding the 2020 elections in Ghana highlight areas where the democratic system can be further developed. A “developmental democracy” should continuously adapt to address its shortcomings, promote transparency, and enhance the political participation of citizens. The events described emphasize the importance of ongoing reforms to strengthen democratic institutions and ensure the resilience of the democratic process in the face of challenges.

### **7. Conclusion**

In examining the dynamics of democracy in Africa, with a particular focus on Ghana, this discourse seeks to underscore the pivotal importance of aligning democratic systems with the sociocultural fabric of the governed. Drawing upon the historical evolution of states and democracies, we contend that the adoption of democratic structures in Africa, often inspired by Western models, necessitates a nuanced approach deeply rooted in indigenous traditions. As the case of Ghana exemplifies, the endeavor to integrate cultural landscapes into governance mechanisms initially displayed promise. The decentralization efforts, marked by the establishment of Districts and District Assemblies, reflected a genuine attempt to engage grassroots participation and build a democracy reflective of Ghana’s unique societal tapestry. However, this promising trajectory faced a formidable impediment — the lack of “developmental democracy”.

The concept of “developmental democracy”, as advocated here, transcends the static implementation of democratic structures. It involves a continual process of introspection, adaptation, and innovation within democratic frameworks. Ghana’s experience post-constitutional reforms raises pertinent questions about the concentration of power within the executive, the integrity of electoral processes, and the urgency for a democracy that evolves to address contemporary challenges. This analysis draws attention to the imperative for African states, including Ghana, to cultivate a “developmental democracy” that not only acknowledges its imperfections but actively engages in reforms and enhancements. The experiences recounted herein, coupled with insights from African nations, emphasize the need for democracies that are dynamic, responsive, and attuned to the evolving sociopolitical landscapes they govern.

In conclusion, for Africa to flourish democratically, it must break free from the shackles of imported models and forge a path uniquely suited to its historical, cultural,

and traditional contexts. Only through a commitment to “developmental democracy” can the continent surmount the challenges that have hindered the full realization of the democratic ideal, fostering a future where governance aligns harmoniously with the diverse voices and aspirations of its people.

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# ÇAD GÖLÜ HAVZASI'NDA RADİKALLEŞME VE ISWAP'A KATILIM DİNAMİKLERİ\*

## *RADICALIZATION IN THE LAKE CHAD BASIN AND THE DYNAMICS OF PARTICIPATION IN ISWAP*

*Osman TÜRK\*\**

**Öz:** Bu çalışma Afrika-Çad Gölü Havzasında, radikal bir örgüt olan ISWAP'a katılımın temel dinamiklerini eleştirel bir yaklaşım ile ele almayı hedeflemiştir. Bu katılım süreci Randy Borum'un dört aşamalı radikalleşme modeli üzerinden analiz edilmiştir. Afrika Çad Gölü Havzası başta sömürgecilik olmak üzere iklimin de negatif çarpan etkisi ile kronik savunmasızlığa açık hale gelmiştir. Bölgenin kırılgan ve gözenekli yapısı; yoksulluk, genç nüfus arasında yükselen işsizlik, kabileler arası mücadele, merkezi otorite tarafından dışlanmışlık, askeri müdahaleler gibi içsel, sömürgecilik gibi dışsal gerekçelerle terör örgütlerinin odağı haline dönüşmüştür. Bu kırılganlık bölgedeki gözenekli yapıyı belirginleştirmiş, ISWAP gibi radikal örgütlere, bölge içi derinleşme ve genişleme fırsatı sunmuştur. DEAŞ'ın Batı Afrika temsilcisi olarak varlığını ilan eden ISWAP bu gerçekçe ile DEAŞ'ın küresel bağlantı ağını ve popüleritesini kullanma hakkını elde etmiş ve örgüte Batı Afrika eyaletlerine yayılma olanağı sunmuştur. Sonuç olarak ISWAP bölgede etkinliğini derinleştirmek ve örgüte katılımı arttırmak için bölgenin mücadele ettiği problemleri birer taraftar toplama stratejisine dönüştürmüş ve bu süreçte dini argümanları hem motivasyon hem de meşrulaştırma dayanağı olarak kullanmıştır. Fakat örgüte katılımın temel dayanağını dini gerekçelerden ziyade iktisadi, siyasi ve toplumsal temeller oluşturmuştur.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Çad Gölü Havzası, Eleştirel Teori, ISWAP, Radikalleşme, Sahel Bölgesi

**Abstract:** This study aims to critically examine the basic dynamics of joining ISWAP, a radical organization in the Africa-Chad Lake Basin. This recruitment process is analyzed through Randy Borum's four-stage radicalization model. The African Chad -Lake region has become vulnerable to chronic vulnerability due to colonialism and the negative multiplier effect of climate. The fragile and porous structure of the region has become the focus of terrorist organizations due to internal reasons such as poverty, rising unemployment among the young population, inter-tribal struggle, exclusion by the central authority, military interventions and external reasons such as colonialism. This fragility has accentuated the porous structure of the region and provided a window of opportunity for radical organizations such as ISWAP to deepen and expand within the region. By declaring its existence as the West African representative of DAESH, ISWAP gained the right to exploit DAESH's global network of connections and popularity, allowing the organization to expand into West African states. In conclusion, in order to deepen its influence in the region and increase recruitment, ISWAP has turned the region's problems into a recruitment strategy and used religious arguments as both motivation and legitimization in this process. However, the main basis for joining the organization is based on economic, political and social grounds rather than religious reasons.

**Keywords:** ISWAP, Sahel Region, Radicalization, Lake Chad Basin, Critical Theory

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### Araştırmanın Metodolojisi

Bu araştırma, eleştirel bir metodolojik perspektif benimseyerek Çad Gölü Havzası (ÇGH) bölgesinde İslam Devleti Batı Afrika Vilayeti (ISWAP) 'a katılımın nedenlerini açığa çıkarmayı hedeflemiştir. Eleştirel yaklaşım, radikalleşme, aşırılık ve terör çalışmaları gibi bölgesel ve küresel düzeyde etkili olan unsurları analiz etmek için tercih edilen bir yöntemdir. Metodolojinin en temel özelliği mevcut literatürün temel söylem ve iddialarını eleştirerek analize başlamasıdır. Aşırılık, radikalleşme ve terör çalışmalarına yönelik eleştirel yaklaşımlar yeni değildir. Jeffrey Sluka'nın (2008) da belirttiği gibi, antropologlar uzun süredir aşırılık ve terörizm ile ilgili hâkim söylem ve çalışma yöntemlerine şüpheci bir bakış açısıyla yaklaşmıştır (Sluka, 2008). Bunun sonucunda literatürün büyük bir kısmı terörizmin doğası ve nedenleri hakkında yaygın olarak kabul edilen iddialara karşı çıkararak şekillendirilmiştir. Ancak, bu gibi eleştirel yaklaşımlar büyük ölçüde Ortodoks Terörizm Çalışmaları alanı olarak tanımlanabilecek ana akademik faaliyetlerin dışında yer almıştır.

Eleştirel yaklaşımın birlikte Randy Borum'un dört aşamalı radikalleşme modeli bu çalışmaya uyarlanmış ve örgüte katılım dinamikleri bu modele göre kategorize edilmiştir. Model radikalleşme sürecini; sosyal ve ekonomik yoksunluk, eşitsizlik ve küskünlük, suçlama ve atfetme belli bir kalıba sokma ve düşmanın şeytanlaştırılması gruplaması ile açıklamaktadır.

### Giriş

Soğuk Savaş dönemi uluslararası güvenlik çalışmaları, anarşik bir uluslararası sistemde hayatta kalmak için güç elde etme ihtiyacına dayanan geleneksel paradigmalara şahit olmuştur. McSweeney, güvenlik çalışmalarında "Grand Theory" olarak bilinen geleneksel bu güvenlik yaklaşımların genellikle askeri perspektif ile uluslararası sisteme odaklandıklarını ileri sürmüştür (McSweeney, 1999: 35). Geleneksel güvenlik anlayışını savunanlar yüksek politika kapsamına aldığı askeri konular dışında kalan toplumsal, çevresel ya da iktisadi konuların özünde mutlak güvenlik sorunu olmadığını iddia etmişlerdir. Bu gerekçe ile yüksek politika ve düşük politika ayrımına giderek askeri sorunların dışında kalan faktörleri düşük politika kapsamında incelemişlerdir.

Fakat Sovyetler Birliği'nin dağılması ve Soğuk Savaş'ın sona ermesi ile birlikte uluslararası sistemde devlet merkezli hâkim paradigma sorgulanmaya başlanmış, terörizm, aşırılık ve radikalleşme gibi geleneksel olmayan güvenlik konuları uluslararası güvenlik çalışmaları içerisinde görünür olmaya başlamıştır. Bu çerçevede güvenliğin referans nesnesi genişlemiş ve derinleşmiştir. Bu bağlamda Soğuk Savaşın sona ermesi ile birlikte asker odaklı ve devlet merkezli güvenlik anlayışı yerini devlet dışı aktörlerin rolünü de vurgulayan yeni bir güvenlik anlayışına bırakmıştır (Buzan - Hansen, 2009: 12-13). Bu yeni güvenlik anlayışı Eleştirel Yaklaşımın birer alt kırılımı olarak tezahür etmiştir.

Özellikle El-Kaide tarafından gerçekleştirilen 11 Eylül saldırısı sonrası, güvenlik çalışmaları literatüründe radikalleşmenin yükselen bir trend olması, Devlet Dışı Silahlı Aktörlerin (DDSA) uluslararası güvenlik çalışmalarındaki önemini arttırmıştır. Güvenliğin derinleşmesi ve genişlemesi ile birlikte, Barry Buzan'ın ifadesi ile çevresel, ekonomi, siyasi, askeri ve toplumsal konuların güvenlik nesnesi haline dönüşmesi bu örgütlerin faaliyet alanını genişletmiştir. Bu genişleme sürecinde El-Kaidenin temsil ettiği radikal akım bölgesel ve küresel etki bağlamında diğer faktörlere nazaran bir adım öne çıkmıştır.

Radikalleşme kavramı etrafından yapılan araştırmalarının çoğu önemli terör saldırılarına müteakiben dönemin siyasi aktörleri tarafından yürütülmüştür. El-Kaide tarafından Dünya Ticaret Merkezine bir saldırı gerçekleşmesi sonrası radikalizm, dini aşırılık ve “selefilik” üzerine araştırmalar gündem olmuş ve literatür söz konusu bu kavramlar etrafında şekillenmeye başlamıştır. Literatürde radikalleşme üzerine çalışmalar belirgin hale gelirken literatürün kimin tarafından oluşturulduğu ve şekillendirildiğine binaen radikalizmin toplum nezdinde uyandırdığı anlam da şekillenmiştir. Bu örgütler yapılanma ve örgütlenme sürecinde bölgesel farklılıkları ve dinamikleri bünyelerinde barındırsalar da İslam dini şemsiyesi altında dini motivasyonlu bir söylem ile ortaya çıkmışlardır.

Bu bağlamda ISWAP, ÇGH'da yaptığı eylemler neticesinde Olivier Roy'un iddia ettiği “radikalleşmenin İslamlaşması” söylemine zemin hazırlamışlardır. Başta Ortadoğu ve Afganistan coğrafyasında yaşanan siyasi, toplumsal, iktisadi vb. krizler neticesinde kendisine hakimiyet alanı bulan bu örgütler Sahel bölgesinde ise özellikle sömürgeciliğin neden olduğu kronik savunmasızlığından faydalanarak bölgeye kristalize olmuştur. 1960'lı yıllar sonrası domino etkisi ile bağımsızlıklarını ilan eden bölge ülkelerinin, devlet olma salahiyetini tam olarak kazandıkları konusu hali hazırda tartışılmaktadır. Zira Weberyen bir nazariyet ile devlet olmanın temel prensiplerinden biri olan meşru şiddet tekeli şartı son dönemlerde sekteye uğramıştır.

Bu çalışmada ise radikalleşme olgusunun ISWAP üzerinden bölgeye kanalize olma süreci analiz edilmiştir. Bu süreç analiz edilirken öncelikle radikalleşmeye neden olan dinamikler ve radikalleşme süreçlerini açıklayan modeller kullanılarak belirlenmiştir. Örnek vaka olarak belirlenen ISWAP'a katılım dinamikleri ise bu modeller arasında seçilen Randy Borum'un dört aşamalı radikalleşme modeline uyarlanarak analiz edilmiştir. Bu model radikalleşmeyi bireyin ya da toplumun içinde bulunmuş olduğu sosyal ve iktisadi durumun doğru ve adil olmadığına benimsemesine ve sonraki aşamada suçlama ve ötekileştirmesine bağlamaktadır.

### **Radikalleşme**

Radikalleşme kavramı XVII. yüzyıl Fransız devrimine zemin hazırlayan aydınlanma süreci ve XVIII. yüzyıl ABD devrimi ile ilişkilendirilmiş olmakla

birlikte kavram asıl olarak XX yüzyıl başlarındaki “liberal”, “ruhbanlık karşıtı”, “demokrasi yanlısı” ve “ilerici tutumları ile şiddet eylemlerinden uzak duran aktivistler” bağlamında kullanıldığı ifade edilmiştir (Schmid, 2013: 7). Süreç içerisinde anlam kaymasına uğrayarak dramatik bir değişikliğe giden kavram, ilk kullanıldığı dönemin aksine “anti-demokratik”, “anti-liberal”, “köktenci” ve “gerici” anlamlarıyla özdeşleştirilmektedir (Schmid, 2013: 7-8). Avrupa siyasi tarihindeki birçok oluşum olumsuz anlamda radikal devrimci olarak değil, yenilikçi ve reformist olarak anılmıştır. Dahası, bugünkü çağrışımın aksine, radikalizm XIX. yüzyılın sonlarında ve XX. yüzyılın başlarında kendi başına şiddete yol açmayan haklı talepleri doğrultusunda bir ideolojiyi temsil etmiştir (Williams, 1983: 251).

Daniela PISOIU (2012), literatürdeki radikalizm üzerine yapılan çalışmaların genellikle kavramın değişim/reform ve köküne inme gibi iki temel tarihsel özelliği çevresinde şekillendiğini ileri sürmektedir: Her iki özellik dikkate alındığında ise kendi içinde zıtlıkları barındırdığı anlaşılmaktadır (Timur, 2018: 7). Nihayetinde Sedgwick: “*en iyi araştırmacılar için çözüm, muhtemelen radikalleşmenin mutlak bir kavram olduğu fikrinden vazgeçmeleri gerektiğini*” ileri sürmüştür (Sedgwick, 2010: 491).

Radikalleşme kavramı ile ilgili benzer şeyleri ifade eden çok sayıda tanım yapılabilmektedir. Fakat radikalleşmenin standart tanımı üzerinde hala bir fikir birliği bulunmamaktadır. Bu kapsamda söz konusu benzer ya da farklı tanımlamaları farklı kaynaklara atıf yaparak, peşi sıra sıralamanın okuyucuya yeni bir şey kazandırmayacağı kanaatindeyiz. Moskalkenko & McCauley ve Sedgwick’in radikalleşme kavramı ile ilgili kapsamlı ifadesi çalışmanın maksadı için yeterli olacaktır. Konuyu analitik bir yaklaşımla ele alan Moskalkenko ve McCauley, radikalizmi “yasa dışı ve şiddet içeren politik eylemlere katılmaya hazır olma” şeklinde tanımlamıştır. Sedgwick’e göre ise radikalleşme; “*bir kişinin belirli bir siyasi/ideolojik hedefe ulaşmak için terörizm dahil olmak üzere demokratik olmayan veya şiddet içeren yöntemleri giderek daha fazla kabul ettiği bir süreç*” olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Sedgwick, radikalleşme kavramını ele alırken iki ana temanın bulunduğu, bu temalardan ilkinin radikalleşmeyi ‘bir ruh hali’ olarak değerlendirdikleri, diğerlerinin ise ‘davranış’ olarak görüldüğünü öne sürmektedir (Sedgwick, 2010: 479). Bu nedenle her iki ana temanın literatüre yansımaları; bir tarafın radikalleşmeyi şiddet içermeyen ve radikal düşüncüyü benimsemeye zihniyet değiştirme süreci olarak görmesi, diğerlerinin ise radikalleşmeyi şiddet içeren ve radikal davranışlarda bulunarak eylemleri değiştirme süreci olarak görmesi anlamında iki farklı yaklaşım şeklinde tezahür etmiştir. Bir başka ifade ile terörist eylemlere aktif bir katılım göstermeden radikal düşünceleri benimseme sürecini ifade eden “şiddet içermeyen radikalleşme” ile terör faaliyetlerine doğrudan katılım gösterme sürecini ifade eden “şiddet içeren radikalleşme” olarak ayrılmıştır (Bartlett - Miller, 2012: 2).

Radikalleşmenin ne olduğuna yönelik sistematik bir kategorizasyon yapan Asta Maskaliunaite'nin çalışması kavramın kapsamını ve ne ifade ettiğini anlamlandırmak bağlamında faydalı olacaktır. Maskaliunaite radikalleşmenin aşağıdaki özelliklerine dikkat çekilmektedir (Maskaliunaite, 2015:24):

- Radikalleşme aşamalı bir süreci temsil etmektedir.
- Sürecin herhangi bir seviyesinde birey durabilir ya da geri dönebilir.
- Köktenci bir inancı benimseyen bir bireyin bu inançlar doğrultusunda hareket etmesi ve yasal bir siyasi eylemden yasadışı bir eyleme geçmesini gerektirmez.

Farklı süreçleri bünyesinde barındıran izafi bir kavramdır. Bireylerin radikal bir eylemlerine katılmama motivasyonları birbirinden farklı olabilir.

- Bireylerin radikal bir örgütüne bağlılığını etkileyebilecek çok çeşitli faktörler vardır. Fakat ancak radikalleşmenin çoğu zaman sosyal ağlar tarafından sağlanmaktadır.
- Radikalleşmenin bir sonucu olarak terörist faaliyetlere katılımın, bireyin kontrolü dışındaki süreçlerin bir sonucu olmaktan ziyade rasyonel seçime dayalı bir süreçtir.
- Şiddet eylemlerine katılmaya «karar verirken» sosyal ağlar büyük önem taşımaktadır.

### **Radikalleşme Sürecini Açıklayan Modeller**

Radikalleşme süreci genellikle dışlama kültürünün bir tezahürü olan öteki olgusu üzerinden bir başkasını “düşman” olarak tanımlamayı ön görür. Böylelikle öteki olarak kabul ettiği birey ya da gruba karşı şiddete başvurmayı haklı gösteren radikal bir inanç sistemini veya anlatıyı benimsemenin önü açılır. Bireyler aynı zamanda kendisini bir özgürlük savaşçısı olarak tanımlamaya ve bağlı olduğu grubun inanç ve kimlik değerlerine bağlılıklarını vurgulayan faaliyetlerde bulunmaya başlar. National Institute of Justice (NIJ) tarafından desteklenen araştırma, bireyin radikalleşme sürecinin benimsediği ideoloji, radikalleşme sürecine girdiği zaman dilimi ve katıldıkları grup ya da hareketlere göre değişebileceğine dair ampirik kanıtlar sunmaktadır. (Smith, 2018: i-ii). Bu noktada, şiddet içeren aşırıcılığa ve terörizme giden radikalleşme sürecinin nasıl gerçekleştiğinin ve şiddetin nasıl araçsallaştırıldığına ortaya konulması gerekmektedir.

Bu araçsallaştırma bağlamında McCauley ve Moskalenko (2017) tarafından geliştirilen fikirde radikalleşme ve eylemde radikalleşme piramit modeli radikalleşme süreci hakkında bir tipoloji sunmakta ve örgütlerin eleman devşirme süreçlerine açıklık getirmektedir. İki sosyal psikolog McCauley ve Moskalenko 'ya göre; bir kişinin bir fikri benimsemesi ile bu fikir uğruna öldürmeye başlaması nedensel mekanizmaların neler olduğuna bağlıdır. Fikir piramidin tabanında tarafsızlar olarak isimlendirilen ve siyasi bir davayı umursamayan bireyler yer almaktadır. Piramidin bir diğer aşamasında ise sempatanlar olarak bilinen ve örgütün ideolojisini benimseyen ancak şiddeti haklı görmeyenler yer almaktadır. Bir sonraki aşamada ise benimsemiş olduğu ideolojiyi savunmak için şiddeti haklı görenler ve piramidin tepesinde ise davayı savunmak için

şiddet kullanımını içselleştirmiş bireyler yer almaktadır. Araştırmacıların önerdiği bu aşamalar Moghadam'ın çalışması gibi merdiven modelini temsil etmemektedir. Zira bireyler bu model içerisinde yukarı ve aşağı doğru bir hareketlilik içinde bulunabilirler. Eylem piramidi ise tabanında eylemsizler; piramidin üst kısımlarında amaç için yasal siyasi eylemlerde bulunanlar (aktivistler); daha üst kısımlarda amaç için yasadışı eylemlerde bulunanlar (radikaller) ve piramidin tepe noktasında ise sivilleri hedef alan yasadışı eylemlerde bulunanlar (teröristler) yer almaktadır (McCauley - Moskalenko, 2017: 211-212).

McCauley ve Moskalenko'nun önerdiği “fikirde radikalleşme” piramidi ile “eylemde radikalleşme” piramidini ters çevirip fikirde radikalleşme piramidini eylemde radikalleşme piramidinin üzerine koyduğunuzda radikalleşme piramidinin tabanına giren bir kişi en aşağıda eylemde radikalleşme piramidinin zirvesinden bir “ölüm makinası” olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Buna ek olarak McCauley ve Moskalenko kitle düzeyindeki mekanizmaların bireyleri ve grupları etkileyebildiğini, bireysel düzeydeki mekanizmaların da grupların ve kitlelerin görüşlerini etkileyebilecek şekilde iç içe geçmiş bir sarmal olduğundan bahsetmiştir. Ayrıca “yalnız kurt “ eylemlerinde olduğu gibi bireysel düzeydeki radikalleşmelerin de terörizm eylemleri ile sonuçlandığını vurgulamışlardır (McCauley - Moskalenko, 2017: 212-213).

Radikalleşme sürecini açıklayan bir diğer model ise Sageman'ın dört aşamalı modelidir. Bu modele göre Batı ülkelerindeki Müslümanları şiddete iten dört farklı dinamik bulunmaktadır. Bunlar; İslam'a karşı bir savaş yürütüldüğü inancı, Müslüman toplumlara yönelik dışlanmışlık duygusunun bireysel deneyimleri; anlatılar, yüz yüze veya internet bağlantıları üzerinden sosyal ağın oluşturulması. Sageman bu faktörleri tartışırken radikalleşmenin duygusal yönlerini vurgulamıştır

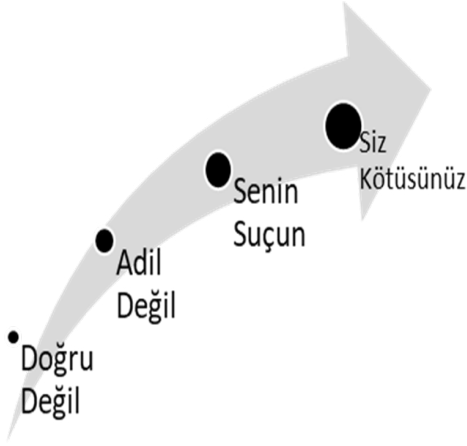
3N modelinde ise şiddete doğru radikalleşmenin üretilmesinde yer alan üç faktör kategori edilmiştir. Bunlar: önemsenme ihtiyacı (Need), anlatı (Narrative) ve ağ (Network). Shmotkin ve Litwin (2009) tarafından yapılan araştırma, sosyal yabancılaşmanın, kişisel değer ve amaç kaybıyla güçlü bir şekilde ilişkili olan yıkıcı bir duygu olduğunu öne sürmektedir. Bu modelde, birey toplumsal ortamda önem kavramını kaybettiğinde bunu tekrar kazanmak için bir mücadeleye girer. Bir başka ifade ile, önemi geri kazanma motivasyonu olarak, tehdidin kaynağına karşı misilleme yapabilir veya bulunduğu çevreyi terk ederek amacına uygun hareket edeceği yeni sosyal ağlar keşfedebilir. Bu motivasyona uygun olarak Wiktorowicz toplumsal yabancılaşma gibi olumsuz kişisel olayların “bilişsel bir açılma” dolayısı ile potansiyel olarak şiddet içeren ideolojilere karşı bir sempati duymaya ve yaklaşmaya yol açtığını ileri sürmüştür. Önem arayışı genellikle insanların kişisel başarısızlık, reddedilme ve aşağılanma deneyimlemeleri gibi önem kayb olduğunda önemli bir hedef haline gelir. İdeolojik anlatılar ise, kişinin (etnik, dini veya sosyal) grubunun algılanan düşmanlarına karşı tipik olarak aşırı şiddeti içeren, önem kazanmak için

gereken eylemleri tanımlayan ve paylaşılan inanç sisteminin kuruluşu için gerekli motivasyonu sağlar. Öte yandan, ideolojik anlatı, dış grup üyelerine karşı şiddeti kabul edilebilir ve hatta arzu edilir kılan ahlaki gerekçeler sağlar. Son olarak birey, önemi geri kazanmak için şiddet kullanımını ahlaki olarak haklı çıkaran ideolojik anlatıya bağlı kalırken benzer grupların varlığı ile motive olurlar. Karşılıklı anlayışa ve paylaşılan bir gerçeklik duygusuna ulaşmaya yönelik evrensel motivasyon nedeniyle, insanların inançlarının katıldıkları grup türünü etkilemesi muhtemeldir. Bu epistemik ve ilişkisel güdüler, benzer düşünen bireylerden oluşan bir grupta öngörülebilir ve kontrol edilebilir bir ortam elde edilerek tatmin edilir. Bu nedenle, şiddeti destekleyenlerin benzer ideolojik inançları paylaşan kişilerle arkadaşlık kurması muhtemeldir (Belanger vd., 2019: 2-3).

Son olarak Fathali Moghaddam, interdisipliner bir çalışma ile, şiddet içeren radikalleşme süreci için bir metafor olarak “Terörizme Giden Merdiven” modelini geliştirmiştir. Bu modele göre “merdiven”, zemin kattan yükseldikçe ve birbirini izleyen beş seviyeden geçtikçe daralmaktadır. Moghaddam, bireyin içinde bulunmuş olduğu hoşnutsuzluk duygularının terörizme giden yolda ilk adımı atmak için temel oluşturduğunu savunmaktadır. Modelin her basamağı bir önceki basamağa göre daha az kitleyi kapsamaktadır. Bir bakıma model ters huni şeklini almaktadır (Moghaddam, 2005).

### **Randy Borum’un Dört Aşamalı Radikalleşme Modeli**

Randy Borum tarafından önerilen model dört aşamadan oluşmaktadır. Model sivil ve eylemsiz konumda olan bireyin zaman içerisinde aktif şiddet eylemine katılım sürecini aşamalı olarak analiz etmektedir. Borum bu modelde, bireyin içinde bulunmuş olduğu kırılma noktaları ve şikayetlerin şiddete dönüşüm aşamalarını açıklamaktadır. Farklı bir şekilde ifade etmek gerekirse, model, iddia edilen bir adaletsizliğin sorumluluğunu dağıtmak ve terör eylemini haklı çıkarmak için görece mağduriyetin ve ahlaki öfkenin nasıl birleştirildiğini açıklamaktadır (Borum, 2011: 38).



**Kaynak:** (Borum , 2011: 39)

Şekil-1’de gösterilen modelde birinci basamak hedef bireyin bir olay, koşul veya şikâyet karşısında “Doğru değil” tanımlanması yapması ile başlamaktadır. Bu aşama özellikle yoksunluğun izafiyeti, etnisitenin dışlanmışlığı ve sahip olunan inanç değerinin ötekileştirilmesi üzerinden negatif ayrımcılığın yol açtığı durum veya şikâyete yönelik bir farkındalık ve başkaldırı aşamasıdır. OECD tanımına göre göreceli yoksulluk, kabul edilebilir asgari yaşam kalitesine ulaşmayı mümkün kılacak geliri elde edemeyen birey ve topluları tanımlamak için kullanılan bir kavramdır. Mutlak yoksulluk ile karıştırılmamalıdır. Zira mutlak yoksulluk bireyin hayatını idame ettirebilmesine için gerekli temel ihtiyaçların karşılanamaması olarak ifade edilmektedir (OECD, 2005).

Gerek mutlak yoksulluk gerek ise göreceli yoksulluk olsun bireyi radikalleşmenin ilk basamağına sürükleyen gerekçe bu iki olgunun birey tarafından nasıl algılandığıdır. Borum bu modelde, bireyin haksızlığa uğradığı inancıyla ortaya çıkan mağduriyetinin ve bu mağduriyetten oluşan kin ve öfkenin adaletsizlik algısı ile terörist eylemlerin meşrulaştırıldığı ortaya koymuştur.

Modelin ikinci aşaması ise birey içinde bulunmuş olduğu bu durumu “bu adil değil” diyerek eleştirmeye ve karşılaştırma yapmaya başlamasıdır. Bu aşama aslında bireyin içinde bulunduğu durumu toplumun diğer fertleri ile kıyas yapması sonucunda kabullenmemeye ve sorgulamaya başladığı dönemdir. Adil olarak görmediği durum sadece mutlak ya da göreceli olarak yoksulluğun varlığı değil bu durumun bireyin içinde bulunduğu etnik ya da dini kimliğinin bir sonucu olarak ortaya çıktığı ihtimalidir. Daha açık bir ifade ile bireyin mutlak yoksul olması değil içinde bulunduğu sosyal statü gereği yoksulluğun kendisine dayatıldığı hissiyatı bireyi

adalet arayışına sürüklemektedir. Bu noktada ise siyasi otoritenin bireyin içinde bulunmuş olduğu sosyal topluma yönelik politika tercihi ön plana çıkmaktadır. ÇGH bölgesi özelinde örneklendirecek olursak kabilelerin sahip oldukları etnik ve inanç farklılıkları merkezi otorite tarafından dışlanmanın gerekçesi olabilmektedir.

Modelin üçüncü aşaması ise birinci ve ikinci basamakta yaşanan problemler ve adaletsizliğin nedeni için bir suçlu arama girişimidir. Bu aşama adaletsizliği hedeflenen bir politikaya, kişiye veya ulusa “bu senin hatan” söylemi ile yüklenmeyi içermektedir. Ortada bir fail var ise bu failin bir faili var anlayışı üzerine genel olarak bu fail arayışı siyasi otorite içinde aranmaktadır.

Dördüncü ve son aşamada ise saldırganlığın gerekçesi veya itici gücü ile sorumlu tarafı “sen kötüsün” söylemi ile tanımlamayı, kötülemeyi ve hatta düşmanlaştırmayı içermektedir (Borum, 2011: 39). Bu aşama bir bakıma üçüncü aşamaya gelmiş bireye yönelik bir endoktrinasyon sürecidir. Özetle Borum’un dört aşamalı modelinde şiddete varan düşünce yapısının başlangıç noktası, temelde haksızlıklar ve bu haksızlıkların yol açtığı bireysel ve toplumsal mağduriyetler olarak ele alınmıştır. Modelin önerdiği her aşama tamamlandıkça, bireyin içinde bulunmuş olduğu mağduriyetlere mevcut iktidarı ele geçirme, kendi ideolojisini yayma, ayrılıkçılık gibi idealize edilmiş hedeflerden oluşun farklı olgularda eklenmiştir.

### Çad Gölü Havzası

Çad Gölü Havzası, Afrika Sahel Güvenlik Kompleksinin alt güvenlik bölgesidir. ÇGH, Nijerya, Kamerun, Çad ve Nijer Cumhuriyeti’ni Çad Gölü çevresinde bir araya getiren alanın genel adıdır. Bölge ilk olarak bölge ülkelerinin bağımsızlıklarını kazandıkları 60’lı yılların ortasında Çad Gölü kaynaklarına erişim ve kullanımı koordine etmek amacıyla isimlendirilmiştir. Daha sonra Boko Haram ile mücadele kapsamında siyasi, iktisadi ve askeri iş birliğine sahne olmuştur (Galeazzi vd., 2016).

ÇGH’sı Sahel bölgesinin geneline kıyasla düşük sosyo-ekonomik bir profil, yetersiz eğitim seviyeleri, mutlak ve göreceli yoksulluk seviyeleri ve ulusal entegrasyon sorunları ile uluslararası politikada gündeme gelmektedir. ÇGH oluşturan dört ülke Kamerun, Çad, Nijer ve Nijerya bir dizi ortak siyasi dinamik gözlemlenmektedir. Havzayı oluşturan ülkelerin en temel birleşeni Fransa ve İngiltere sömürgeciliğine maruz kalmaları ve bu sömürgeciliğin 1960 sonrası bağımsızlık hareketinden sonrada devam ediyor olmasıdır. Nijerya hariç diğer üç bölge Fransa sömürgesi altında kalmış ve literatürde ‘Frankofon’<sup>1</sup> olarak bilinen Fransız kültürü ve idari sistemini benimsemişlerdir. Bölge yukarıda verilen Sahel kuşağının kronik 1 Anglofon ve Frankofon grupları Afrika’nın İngiltere ve Fransa tarafından kolonizasyonu sırasında ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu iki grup, neredeyse tüm Afrika’yı işgal eden baskın aktörlerdir. Anglofonlar İngiliz kolonilerini, Frankofonlar ise Fransız kolonilerini temsil eder. Edinilen bölgelere yeni diller ve idari sistemler getirmek ve/veya empoze etmek olarak da tarif edilebilir. Fransız kolonilerinde Fransızca, İngiliz kolonilerinde İngilizce kullanılmaktadır (Ebong, 2022, s. 109)



savunmasızlığı ve ekonomik kırılganlığı bünyesinde barındırdığı bir alandır. Bu kronik sorunlarla birlikte ÇGH'sı, duruma göre askeri, isyancı, dini ya da başka bir aidiyete sahip olabilen silahlı grupların sınır ötesi dolaşımından muzdarip bir bölgedir. Dolayısı ile bölge, sorunları fiziksel sınırların dışına taşıyabilen, hacminden daha büyük tehdit kapasitesine sahip bir alanı kapsamaktadır. İşte bu bölgede Boko Haram, ISWAP ve DEAŞ ile bağlantılı diğer gruplar, bölge devletlerini rahatsız eden bir dizi ortak mağduriyetlerden faydalanarak bölgeye kristalize olmayı başarmıştır (Mahmood - Ani, 2018).

Resim 1:Çad Gölü Havzası



Kaynak: (www.voanews.com, 2023)

Çad Gölü Havzasında mevcut krizler ISWAP ve Boko Haram'ın radikal eylemleri ile bağlantılı şiddet olaylarıyla ateşlenmiş olsa da kökleri uzun süredir devam eden kalkınma sorunlarına dayanmaktadır. Bölgenin maruz kaldığı bu sorunlar bağımsızlık sonrası siyasi otoritenin yetersiz kalması, derin adaletsizlik duygusunun toplumsal tabanda yayılması, bölgedeki toplulukları marjinalleştirmesine ve ISWAP ve Boko Haram'ın yayılması için elverişli bir ortam yaratılmasına yol açmıştır. Boko Haram ve diğer militan grupların 13 yıldır devam eden isyanı Çad Gölü havzasını ve daha geniş anlamda Sahel bölgesini istikrarsızlaştırmıştır. Bu nedenle Mercy Corps mevcut krize, kendi kendini besleyen güvensizlik, şiddet ve yoksulluk döngüsünün bir çıktısı olarak yaklaşmaktadır (Corps, 2017: 8).

Uluslararası Kriz Grubu'nun raporuna göre, Boko Haram ve ISWAP saldırıları 2015'ten bu yana yüzlerce kişinin ölümüne ve 100.000'den fazla kişinin yerinden olmasına neden olmuştur. Boko Haram'ın Çad Gölü Havzası'ndaki yükselişi, Nisan 2012'de Benin, Kamerun, Çad, Nijer ve Nijerya'dan oluşan Çok Uluslu Ortak Görev Gücü'nün (MNJTF) kurulmasına neden olmuştur.

## ISWAP

İslam Devleti Batı Afrika Vilayeti (ISWAP) resmi adı ile Wilāyat Garb Ifrīqiyā ((ايقييرفيا) برغيف ييمالسالإلا ؤلودلا)), Irak ve Şam İslam Devleti'nin (DEAŞ) Batı Afrika temsilcisi ve idari bir bölümüdür. ISWAP, resmi adı Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati Wal-Jihad olan listelenmiş terör örgütü Boko Haram 'ın 2'bir fraksiyonu olarak ortaya çıkmış Selefi bir örgüttür.

Mart 2015'te Boko Haram lideri Abubakar Shekau'nun DEAŞ'a bağlılık yemini kabul edilmiş ve grup ISWAP adı altında faaliyet göstermeye başlamıştır. Shekau'nun bağlılığından bir yıl sonra DEAŞ, açıkça görülen iç memnuniyetsizliğin ardından lider kadrosunu Ebu Musab el-Barnavi ile değiştirmiştir. Shekau'nun bu karara itiraz etmesi ve el-Barnavi'yi yeni lider olarak reddetmesi, biri el-Barnavi 'ye diğeri Şhekau'ya bağlı iki grubun ortaya çıkması ve bölgede birbirlerine rakip olmasına neden olmuştur (Australian National Security, 2023). Boko Haram bu ayrışmalar neticesinde üç farklı fraksiyona ayrılmıştır (International Crisis Group, 2019). Bunlar:

Jama'atu Ahl Al-Sunna Lid Da'wati wa al-Jid (JAS)

Ansaru al-Musulmina fi Bilad al-Sudan (Ansaru)

Islamic State West-Africa Province (ISWAP)

Ebu Musab el-Barnavi 'ye sadık olan grup ISWAP adı altında faaliyet göstermeye devam etmekte ve DEAŞ'a yakın durmaktadır. Şhekau' ya bağlı grup ise JAS adı altında faaliyet göstermeye başlamıştır. Başlangıçta JAS'dan daha küçük olmasına rağmen, zaman içerisinde ISWAP Sahra altı Afrika'daki en güçlü silahlı gruplardan biri haline gelmiştir. Grubun hakimiyet kapasitesinin boyutu, 2018'den itibaren Nijerya'nın Borno Vilayetinin kuzeyinde, Çad Gölü yakınlarında Nijerya ordusuna karşı bir saldırı başlatmasıyla hissedilmeye başlanmıştır.

ÇGH bölgesinde Barnavi komutası altında saldırılar artarak devam etmiş Mart 2019'a gelindiğinde Ebu Musab el-Barnavi görevden alınmış ve Abdullah İbn Ömer el-Barnavi (diğer adıyla Ba İdrisa) liderliği üstlenmiştir. ISWAP içindeki iç anlaşmazlıkların ardından, Ba İdrisa'nın yerine 2021'in başlarına kadar Lawan

2 Boko Haram, Nijerya'nın kuzeydoğusunda bulunan Borno eyaleti başta olmak üzere ÇGH sınır ülkelerin birleştiği bölgede Muhammed Yusuf tarafından kurulmuştur. Bu bölge aynı zamanda Fulani, Hausa ve Kanuri lehçelerinin konuşulduğu ve Müslümanların çoğunlukta olduğu bir bölgedir. "Boko Haram" olarak bilinen terör örgütünün ismi esasen "Selefi Yöntemi Üzerine Ehl-i Sünnet Davet ve Cihat Cemaati'dir (Cemaatu Ehlü's-Sünne Li'd-Dava ve'l-Cihad ala-Menheci's-Selefi)" (Kekilli vd., 2017: 9)

Abubakar (diğer adıyla Ba Lawan) geçti ve sonraki süreçte Ebu Musab el-Barnavi yeniden ISWAP'ın lideri oldu. Ebu Musab el-Barnavi, İbrahim Bakura Doro yönetimindeki Boko Haram savaşçılarıyla girdiği bir çatışmanın ardından yaralandığı bildirilen Ağustos 2021'e kadar liderliği elinde tutmaya devam etmiştir (International Crisis Group, 2019).

Eylül 2021 itibarıyla DEAŞ, Libya (2014), Cezayir (2014), Sina (2014), Batı Afrika (2015), Somali (2018) ve Orta Afrika'da (2019) bulunan altı resmi Afrika vilayeti kurmuş ve Batı Afrika Vilayeti iki farklı kola ayrılmıştır: bir kol ÇGH faaliyetlerini yürüten ISWAP-Merkez Komutanlığı, bir diğeri ise daha çok kuzey bölgesinde etkili olan ISWAP Büyük Sahra'dır. Benzer şekilde, Orta Afrika Vilayetinde, biri Mozambik'te ve diğeri Demokratik Kongo Cumhuriyeti'nde (DKC) olmak üzere iki hakimiyet bölgesine sahiptir (Warner vd., 2020).

DEAŞ'ın özellikle Afrika Sahel bölgesinde hakimiyet kurma, bölgenin gözenekli yapısına kanalize olarak kristalleşme stratejisini yukarıda bahsedilen sekiz vilayet üzerinden kurgulamaktadır. Zira Boko Haram 'ın küresel hareketleri yerel dinamiklere kanalize ederek bölgede kazandığı potansiyel, 2015 sonrası isim değişikliği ile beraber ISWAP şemsiyesi altında sürdürülmüştür (Dabiq, 2015). Her ne kadar bu iki örgüt aynı ideolojik misyonun farklı kırılımlarında yer alsalar da Modus Operandi (hareket tarzı/yöntemi) açısından aralarında farklılıklar mevcuttur.

JAS ve ISWAP tarafından ÇGH bölgesinde operasyonel anlamda benimsenen yaklaşımlar arasında bu ayrım sivilleri, özellikle de Müslüman sivilleri nasıl algıladıkları ve onlara nasıl davrandıkları ile ilgilidir. Bu durum aslında, bazı ISWAP üyelerinin Boko Haram'dan ayrılma motivasyon nedenlerini açıklamaktadır. Boko Haram eylemlerinde ve saldırılarını yaparken seçtikleri hedef kitleler arasında sivil ayrımı yapmazken, ISWAP bir örgüt stratejisi olarak özellikle Müslüman sivilleri hedef almaktan kaçınmıştır. Zira ISWAP'ın bölgede kurmak istediği Sahel Vilayeti için bölgedeki Müslüman kabilelerin desteğine ihtiyaç duymaktadır. ISWAP'ın sivil saldırıları sadece mevcut devlet otoritesine kendileri hakkında istihbarat sağlayan ve güvenlik güçleri ile iş birliği yapanlara karşı gerçekleşmiştir. Bu durum kısa vadede sivil kayıpların azalması bağlamında olumlu bir izlenim verse de ISWAP'ın "kalpler ve zihinler" yaklaşımını sürdürmeye devam ettiği için orta ve uzun vadede örgütün bölge halkı üzerindeki etkinliğini artırıcı nitelikler taşımaktadır. Zira bölgede yaşayan sivillerin vergi ödemeleri ve kurallarına uymaları karşılığında JAS'ın yağmacı baskınlarından aktif olarak korumanın yanı sıra ISWAP aynı zamanda yardım kuruluşlarını tekeline alarak yiyecek, giyecek ve para dağıtımını yapmaktadır. Bununla birlikte ISWAP, özellikle genç bireylere yönelik iş ve refah bir yaşam vaatleriyle onları kendi bölgelerine göç etmeye teşvik etmektedir (Bukartı, 2022: 14-16). Bu strateji ile ISWAP sadece daha fazla savaşçı değil, aynı zamanda grubun finans ve tedarik yollarını ve istihbarat yeteneklerini güçlendirmesine yardımcı olacak sempatanlar ve muhbirler de kazanmaktadır.

Bununla birlikte ISWAP'ın güvenlik güçlerini, devlet memurlarını, gayrimüslim ve farklı devlet misyonlarını hedef alma konusundaki duruşu Boko Haram ile örtüşmektedir. Özellikle silahlı operasyonlar noktasında ise her iki grubun eylem stratejileri benzerlik göstermektedir. Genel olarak güvenlik güçlerinin bulunduğu yerlere yönelik koordineli saldırılar tercih edilmektedir. Ani baskınlar, yağma, soygun ve yolcu kaçırmaya amacıyla kontrol noktalarının kurulması bu saldırıların birer örneklerini teşkil etmektedir. Bununla birlikte, her iki grubun da diğerine kayıp verdimeye çalıştığı ölümcül çatışmalar da dahil olmak üzere gruplar arası ve grup içi dinamikler vardır (UNDP, 2022: 11-12). JAS, 2021 ortasına kadar gerçekleştirdiği saldırıların yüzde 22,9'unda askeri ve polis hedeflerine saldırırken, yüzde 50,2'sinde sivil vatandaşları ve mülklerini hedef almıştır. Buna karşılık, 2021 ortasına kadar ISWAP, saldırılarının yüzde 61,4'ünde askeri ve polis hedeflerine saldırırken, özel vatandaşları ve mülklerini hedef alan saldırıların oranı yüzde 27,4'tür. Fakat Boko Haram ile arasındaki orantısızlık bu ayırım ISWAP'ı daha mahsum kılmamaktadır. Zira 18 Ocak 2022'de DEaş tarafından 27 dakikalık bir video yayınlanmış ve bu videoda grubun çocuklara yönelik günlük dini telkin rutini ve askeri eğitimler paylaşılmıştır. Yayınlanan videonun son bölümünde ise ISWAP'ın çocuk üyelerinin üç esir askeri ayrı ayrı infaz edilişini gösterilmiştir. Çocuklar tüfeğini önünde diz çökmüş Nijerya ordusu üniforması giymiş bir adamın başına dayamış ve tetiği çekmiştir. Bu video ile ISWAP "kuşaklar arası endoktrinasyon programına" bir pencere açmıştır (Bukartı, 2022: 3).

İdeolojik endoktrinasyon eğitimi ile birlikte ISWAP operasyonel anlamda eğitim sürecini DEaş'ın aktif yardımı ile tamamlamıştır. DEaş, ISWAP'ın taktiksel ve operasyonel kapasitesini geliştirmek için Çad Gölü bölgesine Libya'dan eğitimler göndermiştir. DEaş aynı zamanda fiziksel ve dini eğitimin yanında ISWAP'a savaş taktiklerinde değişiklikler yapması ve espionaj faaliyetlerini engellemesi için bir askeri tugay kurulmasını tavsiye etmiştir. Bununla birlikte yüzlerce ISWAP savaşçısı eğitim için Libya'ya konuşlandırılmış, 2021 yılında, Libya'da aylarca eğitim gören ISWAP savaşçıları ÇGH geri dönerek bu bölgede faaliyetlerine devam etmişlerdir. Aynı zamanda DEaş, ISWAP'ın bölgedeki etkinliğini arttırmak için düzenli olarak 10.000 ila 100.000 ABD Doları arasında değişen miktarlarda para aktararak önemli ölçüde mali destek sağlamıştır (Bukartı, 2022: 13)

### **Randy Borumun Radikalleşme Modelinin ISWAP'a Katılım Dinamiklerine Uyarlanması**

#### ***Birinci ve ikinci Aşama: Bu doğru değil/ Bu adil değil***

Randy Borum'un radikalleşme sürecini açıkladığı modelin ilk basamağının "ekonomik ve sosyal şartların mağduriyet yorumu" şeklinde ortaya çıktığı yukarıda ifade edilmişti. Bu süreç "bu doğru değil" söylemi ile kristalize olmuştur. Bu durum göreceli yoksulluk yaşayan ya da sahip olduğu kimlikten (din, dil, mezhep vb.) dolayı dışlanma ve ötekileştirme davranışları ile yüzleşen bireyin ilk basamağa adım

atmasını tetikleemektedir.

ISWAP'ın faaliyet yürüttüğü bölge özelinde Borum'un radikalleşme üzerine önerdiği modelin ilk basamağı değerlendirilecek olursak Nijerya hariç diğer üç bölge mutlak ve göreceli yoksulluk sıralamasında Çad (12) Nijer (8) Kamerun (36) sırayı paylaşmaktadır (World Bank, 2023). Her ne kadar göreceli fakirlik ile radikalleşme süreci arasında mutlak korelasyon kurulmasında bir konsensüs sağlanmış olmasa da Sahel kuşağında göreceli yoksulluğun bu süreçte çarpan etkisi yaptığı söylenebilir. Zira ISWAP'a katılım sağlayan bölgeler ÇGH etrafında yoğunlaşmıştır. Bu bölgelerin ise ortak özelliği kendi bulunmuş oldukları ülkenin merkezi otoritesinden uzak, iklimin negatif etkisine maruz kalmış, yer altı zenginliği olan ve bundan dolayı tarım arazilerini sömürge devletlere kaptırmış olmalarıdır (Lyammouri - Skah, 2017). Birleşmiş Milletler Kalkınma Programı tarafından 2018 yılında yayınlanan rapora göre, Çad Gölü Havzası Krizlerinin nedenleri arasında yüksek eşitsizlik, sosyal adaletsizlik, sosyal hizmetlerin sağlanamaması, tarihi marjinalleşme, yetersiz ekonomik fırsatlar, yüksek yoksulluk seviyesi, hızlı büyüme ve iklim değişikliği ile arazi bozulmasının etkisi yer almaktadır. Bu kısıtların yetersizliği, nüfusun ve siyasi, sosyal ve ekonomik sistemlerin çatışma kaynaklı kesintilerle başa çıkma kabiliyetini azaltmıştır (Bitrus - Isah, 2021, s. 19). Çevreye yönelik zorluklar, çatışma ve güvensizlikteki artıştan ve büyük ölçüde ISWAP'ın bitmek bilmeyen isyanından sorumlu faktörlerden biri olarak gösterilmektedir.

Onyia (2015) tarafından ÇGH bölgesine yönelik interdisipliner bir çalışma neticesinde özellikle bölgenin içinde bulunduğu coğrafyanın getirmiş olduğu olumsuzlukların da etkisi ile, bölgenin ilerlemesini ve kalkınmasını daha da engellediğini, kuraklığa, işsizliğe ve yoksulluğa yol açtığını gözlemlemiştir. Bu durum karşısında merkezi otoritelerin ağır davranması bölge halkı nazarında dışlanmışlık ve terk edilmişlik duygusunu arttırmıştır. Bununla birlikte ÇGH'da artan genç nüfus için istihdam fırsatlarının artık mevcut olmaması, bu bölgelerdeki güvensizlik ve çatışma koşullarını daha da artırmıştır. Bu durumun ise bölgede faaliyet gösteren terör örgütlerinin taraftar toplama stratejisini olumlu yönde desteklediği ileri sürülmüştür. Zira bu gruplar, yüksek yoksulluk oranı nedeniyle savunmasız olan toplum üyelerini bünyelerine katmak için çevreye yönelik bu olumsuz değişiklikleri istismar etmektedir (Kangdim vd., 2022: 166)

Homer Dixon'ın araştırması bu sürecin radikalleşme üzerinde etkisini doğrular niteliktedir. Dixon' a göre tarımsal arazilerin kırsal nüfusun elinden alınması, gruplar arası şiddet içeren çatışmalara yönelik negatif çarpan faktörü olarak ele alınmaktadır. Bir diğer çalışma ise Joshua Busby, tarımsal araziler ve doğal kaynakların kaybı ve çatışma arasındaki kesişme üzerine yaptığı bir literatür taramasıdır. Busby, "bu kayıpların iktisadi etkileri, örgütlü şiddetin önemli katalizörleri olarak görmekte ve değişikliğinden silahlı çatışmaya giden yolların bir sentezini sunmaktadır (Busby, 2019).

Kadınlar tarafından bakıldığında ise, ÇGH dört ülkede de tüm sosyal kalkınma göstergelerinde erkeklere kıyasla tarihsel olarak dezavantajlı durumdadır. Bölge ülkeleri içerisinde kadınların maruz oldukları ayrımcılık, bireysel ve toplumsal sorunlar erkeklere oranla daha ileri seviyededir. Örneğin Nijerya'nın kuzey bölgelerinde orta yaş üzerindeki kadınların yüzde 70'i Kuzeydoğu 'da okuma yazma bilmezken bu oran sahil bölgelerine yaklaştıkça yüzde 34'tür. Aslında bir bakıma görece eğitim ya da eğitimsizlik mevcuttur. Bu durum ise kadınlar arasında radikalleşmenin bir dinamiğini oluşturmaktadır. Kadınlar ve kız çocukları da erkeklere ve erkek çocuklarına kıyasla önemli ölçüde daha az karar alma gücüne sahiptir ve şiddet bu dezavantajı daha da pekiştirmektedir. Gençler, ÇGH kriz bölgesi genelinde ekonomik, sosyal ve siyasi beklentilerinin sınırlı olduğunu düşünmektedir. Bu durum ISWAP'ın bölgede yükselişini sağlayan faktörlerden biridir (Bitrus - Isah, 2021: 20).

Sürecin ikinci basamağı ise yaşanan ekonomik ve toplumsal sorunun birey tarafından adil olarak görülmediği aşamadır. Aslında bu aşama modelin ilk basamağında yer alan göreceli yoksulluk ile kanalize olmuştur. Zira göreceli yoksulluk kavramında birey kendi yaşam standardının düşük kalmasını bir başka bireyin ya da grubun pozitif ayrımcılığa uğramasına bağlamaktadır (Borum , 2011: 38-39). Bu aşamada buna ek olarak birey içinde bulunduğu toplumsal statü, etnik köken ya da dini inanış tercihinden dolayı bu haksızlığa uğradığını düşünmektedir.

Nijerya ve Kamerun'un kuzey bölgeleri ülkenin diğer bölgelerine kıyasla sosyal, eğitim ve iktisadi kalkınmadan daha az faydalanmaktadır. Söz konusu ülkelerin bu bölgeleri ÇGH'nın çevresini oluşturmaktadır. Bu eşitsizlik, bölgenin coğrafi konumunun getirmiş olduğu negatif çarpan etkisi ile açıklanmakla birlikte, merkezi otoritenin politik tercihi, bölgenin yer altı zenginliğine sahip olmasını getirdiği sömürge girişimi asıl nedeni teşkil etmektedir. Nijerya'da ÇGH'na denk gelen kuzey bölgelerinde nüfusun yüzde 50'si yoksulluk sınırının altında yaşarken, ulusal ortalama yüzde 33'tür. Bu durum ülke içi bölgeler arası gelir dağılımdaki adaletsizliği de ortaya koymaktadır. Kamerun'da ise bu fark daha da büyüktür; nüfusun yüzde 74,3'ü Uzak Kuzey Bölgesi'nde yoksulluk sınırının altında yaşarken bu oran ülke genelinde yüzde 37,5'tir. (Okpara, Stringer - Dougill, 2015). Bölgeler ayrıca, temel sosyal hizmetlerin sınırlı bir şekilde sağlanması nedeniyle, okula devam konusunda önemli cinsiyet farklılıkları (hepsi ulusal ortalamaların altında) ile düşük beşerî sermaye gelişimine tanık olmuştur. Kamerun'un Uzak Kuzey Bölgesi'nde net akademik kayıt oranı yüzde 23,5 iken ulusal ortalama yüzde 44,5'tir (Okpara vd., 2015). Nüfus içindeki bu sosyal ve ekonomik eşitsizlikler, marjinalleşme ve dışlanma algılarını derinleştirmiştir. Çad ve Nijer'de Çad Gölü'ne kıyısı olan bölgeler, Kamerun ve Nijerya'daki eşdeğer bölgelere kıyasla daha az marjinalleştirilmiş ve kalkınma planlamasından daha az dışlanmış olsa da kalkınma göstergeleri ulusal ortalamalardan daha kötü olmaya devam etmektedir ve buralarda temel hizmetlere erişim sınırlıdır veya hiç yoktur. Çad Cumhuriyetinde açlık sınırının altında yaşamalarını idame etmek zorunda kalan bireylerin sayısı 2011 ile 2021 arasında 4,7'den 6,3 milyona çıkmıştır. Çad'ın mevcut

nüfusu göz önüne alındığında bu rakam yüzde 30'ları aşmaktadır. Yoksulluk ve bununla birlikte ortaya çıkan mutlak açlık, özellikle Çad Gölü bölgesinde ağırlıklı olarak kırsal alanlarda yoğunlaş ve genç nüfus arasında gerilime neden olmaktadır. UNDP'nin raporuna göre 25 yaşın altındaki genç nüfus arasında işsizlik oranının yüzde 22 ve eksik istihdam oranının yüzde 35 olduğu tahmin edilmektedir (UNDP, 2022).

Nijer'de ise yoksulluk ve buna bağlı olarak ortaya çıkan açlık vakası 2011'de yüzde 48,2 olarak tahmin edilmektedir. Nijer'in yoksulluk oranını düşürmek için son yıllarda kaydettiği büyük ilerlemeye rağmen, aşırı yoksulluk seviyesi 2022'da yüzde 41,4 yükselmiştir. Bu durum Nijer özelinde 9,5 milyondan fazla insanı ve özellikle de gençlere etkilemektedir. Bu endişe verici yoksulluk faktörü, binlerce aylak gencin ailelerini terk edip terörist grubun saflarına ISWAP'ın nüfuzunun genişlemesinde etkili olmuştur (UNDP, 2022). ÇGH bölgesinde "bu doğru değil" söylemi ile basamağın tırmanılmasına zemin hazırlayan bir diğer durum ise bölge siyasi ve iktisadi yaşamda fay hatlarının kırılmasına neden olan kabile yapısıdır.

ISWAP'ın bu kırılan fay hatları üzerinden sızma girişimi Moghadam'ın radikalleşme modeli ile de doğrulanmaktadır. Moghadam'a göre birey izafiyet algısı içerisinde yoksun hissettiği durum neticesinde şiddete uzanan merdiven basamağına adım atmaktadır. Bir başka ifade ile birey kendi sosyo-ekonomik ve kültürel durumlarının yanı sıra ait oldukları grup ile diğer grupların durumlarını karşılaştırarak sahip olmadıklarını adaletsizlik olarak düşünüp görece yoksunluk duygusu yaşamaktadırlar (King - Taylor, 2011). Tam bu noktada Vinci, terör örgütlerinin ekonomik teşviklerini mağduriyet kapsamında olduğu düşünülen bireylere motivasyon sağladığını belirtmektedir. Bu durum özellikle içinde bulunduğu sosyo-ekonomik durumu yetersiz olarak algılayan bireylerin, radikal örgütler tarafından vaat edilen maddi ödüller vasıtasıyla daha kolay motive oldukları ve bu sayede çatışma bölgesine gitmeye daha kolay karar vermelerine yardımcı olduğu ileri sürülmüştür.

### ***Üçüncü Aşama ve Dördüncü Aşama: Bu sizin suçunuz/ Siz kötüsünüz***

Modelin üçüncü aşaması ise birinci ve ikinci basamakta yaşanan problemler ve adaletsizliğin nedeni için bir suçlu arama girişimidir. Bu aşama adaletsizliği hedeflenen bir politikaya, kişiye veya ulusa "bu senin hatan!" söylemi ile yüklenmeyi içermektedir. Özellikle ÇGH bölgesinde yer alan ülkelerin güvenlik, yönetim ve hatta ekonomik kalkınma alanlarının doldurulması, devletler tarafından bırakılan bir boşluk olduğu fikrini ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Bu durum ise aslında modelin üçüncü aşamalarına zemin hazırlayan duyguların temel basamaklarını oluşturmaktadır.

Modelin dördüncü aşaması ise saldırganlığın gerekçesi veya itici gücü ile sorumlu tarafı "sen kötüsün!" söylemi ile tanımlamayı, kötümeyi ve hatta düşmanlaştırmayı içermektedir (Borum , 2011: 38-39). Modelin son iki aşaması, ilk

iki aşamasında radikalleşme sürecine girmiş bireylerin ISWAP tarafından potansiyel örgüt elemanı olarak devşirme sürecidir. Bu süreç aynı zamanda öğretün potansiyel bireye örgüt ideolojini aşıladığı, biz ve öteki kavramını benimsettiği, ötekinin şeytanlaştırılarak şiddetin meşrulaştırıldığı dönemdir. Bu noktada ise örgüt Selefi ideolojiyi kurtarıcı bir güç olarak bireye sunulmaktadır. ISWAP'ın benimsemiş olduğu Selefi yaklaşım bireyin ya da toplumun memnuniyetsizliğine sebep olan siyasi idarenin "şeytanlaştırılması" ve devamında şiddetin meşrulaştırılması için ihtiyaç duyulan dini referansı sağlamaktadır. Bir başka ifade ile bu süreç ideolojik endokrinasyon sürecidir.

Kepell' e göre Selefilik, ana akım modern toplumların değerlerini, kültür yasalarını ve davranış kurallarını reddeden uzlaşmaz, köktenci normlar üzerine kurulmuş bir karşı kültür olarak sınıflandırılabilir (Kepell, 2006). Selefi yaklaşım, İslam hukukuna ait temel metinlerin literal bir okumasına dayanmaktadır. Selefi gruplar kendilerini doğru ve saf dini normun koruyucuları olarak ifade etmektedir. Benzer şekilde, Selefi bakış açısını benimseyen radikal gruplar, inanç-eser birliğini savunarak, kendilerini hakikat üzerinde sıkı bir tekel olarak görmelerine yol açmıştır.

Kısacası Selefi gruplar gerek bireysel gerekse toplumsal hayatın tüm siyasi, sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik alanlarında eser ve inanç arasında tam bir birlik arayışında olmuşlar ve bu birlik bulunamayınca tekfir silahını muhalif ve düşmanlarına karşı kullanmışlardır. Selefilik aynı zamanda diğer ideolojilerle, yani taraftarları için yeni bir kimlik yaratma çabasıyla da paralellik göstermektedir. Selefilik, modernite ile yönünü kaybetmiş olanlara, uluslarüstü bir varlığa üyelik şeklinde yeni bir kendini tanımlama ve aidiyet duygusu sağlamaktadır. Selefiler, Müslümanlara gerçekten önemli olan tek kimliğin, ezilen Müslümanlara rahatlık, saygınlık, güvenlik ve onur sağlayan küresel İslami topluluk olan ümmete üyelik olduğu fikrini yerleştirmeye çalışmaktadır (Moghadam, 2008).

Bu bağlamda Selefilik'in ISWAP için sunmuş olduğu şiddetin ve ötekileştirmenin dini meşrulaştırma dayanağı, bireyin modelin son aşamasına çıkartmaktadır. İçinde bulunmuş olduğu mağduriyetin müsebbibi suçlanırken tekfir silahı kullanılmaktadır. Bu kullanım Selefi gruplarda oldukça yaygındır. Tekfir, dışlayıcı kültürün bir tezahürü olup Müslüman bir bireyin dinden çıkma ile itham etme girişimidir (Badar – Nagata: 2017: 1). Söz konusu kavram her ne kadar da teolojiye ait bir kavram olsa da sonuçları itibari ile sosyal, hukuksal hatta iktisadi sonuçlar doğurmaktadır. Siyasi ve ideolojik nedenlerin teolojik okuması sonucunda İslam düşünce tarihinde yer bulan tekfir doktrini, ISWAP gibi radikal örgütler arasında ötekileştirdiği gruplara yönelik şiddeti meşrulaştırma aracı olarak kullanımı yaygınlaşmıştır. İslam Hukukunda Zarurat-i Hamse (Korunması gereken 5 şey) olarak kavramsallaştırılan can, akıl, din, servet ve neslin korunması (Esen, 2011) tekfir kılıcı aracılığı ile kolaylıkla ihlal edilebilmektedir. Bir kimseyi kafir ilan etmek İslam hukukunda hem suçlayan hem de suçlanan için dini, siyasi ve sosyal hayat açısından yaptırıma dayalı sonuçlar



doğurmaktadır (Naimi, 2019). Bu çerçevede tekfir kavramı, teolojik alanın ötesine geçerek muhalefeti ortadan kaldırmak için siyasal bir araç olarak kullanılması yaygınlaşmıştır. Bireyin bu aşamadan şiddeti bir çözüm olarak görmesi ve bunu din ya da ideoloji ile meşrulaştırması Borum'un önerdiği modelin aslında son aşamasıdır.

### **Sonuç**

Bu çalışmada Çad Gölü Havzası bölgesinde radikalleşmenin temel dinamikleri ISWAP örneği üzerinden analiz edilmiştir. Bu analiz yapılırken Randy Borum'un dört aşamalı radikalleşme modeli kullanılmış ve ISWAP'a katılımı tetikleyen faktörler bu modele uyarlanarak belirlenmiştir. Model dört aşamadan oluşmaktadır. Modelin ilk aşaması bireyin ya da grubun içinde bulunmuş olduğu mağduriyet durumuna itirazı oluşturmaktadır. Bu aşama bireyin radikalleşmeden uzak insan olmanın verdiği doğal bir reaksiyon olarak kabul edilmektedir. ÇGH bölgede yaşayan insanların ihtiyaçlarını karşılamada yetersiz kalmaktadır. Bölgeyi kronik kırılganlığa sürükleyen işsizlik, kaynakların dağılımındaki adaletsizlik bireyleri basamağa bir adım atmaya zorlamıştır.

Modelin ikinci aşaması ise bu mağduriyetin adil olmadığı söylemi ile devam etmektedir. Bu süreç ilk basamakla birbirini tamamlamakta ve birey bu mağduriyetin sebebini sorgulamaktadır. Bu aşama bireyi radikalleşmeye bir basamak yakınlaştırmaktadır. ÇGH bölgesinde bu iki aşama bölgenin içinde bulunmuş olduğu yoksulluk/ yoksunluk durumunu merkezi otoriteden uzak ve farklı kabile üyesi olmanın negatif avantajına bağlayarak tamamlanmıştır.

Modelin üçüncü ve dördüncü aşamasında ise ISWAP'ın mağduriyet yaşayan bireyin bu kırılganlığını fırsata dönüştürmesini içermektedir. Bu aşamada öncelikle suçlu tespit edilmekte ve Selefi doktrin kullanılarak bu suçlu şeytanlaştırılmaktadır. Bu bölgede ise suçlu genel olarak siyasi otoriteyi elinde tutan yönetimdir. Genel olarak ISWAP'ın hakimiyet kurduğu bölgelerde hükümet ve hükümete ait kurumlar batı işbirlikçisi birer tağut olarak kabul edilmektedir. Bu noktada ise radikalleşme literatürüne kristalize olan Selefilik ortaya çıkmaktadır. Selefilik ISWAP'ın terör eylemlerini meşrulaştırmak ve yeni taraftar kazanmak için bir başkaldır ideolojisi olarak ifade edilmektedir. Fakat ÇGH bölgesinde bölge halkının inanç yapısı ile ISWAP'ın benimsemiş olduğu Selefilik arasında bir paradoks oluşmaktadır. Çalışmanın bu kısmı eksik bırakılmış ve sonraki çalışmalar için önemli bir araştırma sorusunu ortaya çıkarmıştır.

Son olarak bölgenin içinde bulunmuş olduğu kronik savunmasızlık radikalleşme için bir zemin hazırlamaktadır. Boko Haram'dan ayrılarak merkezi DEAŞ idaresine bağlılık gösteren ISWAP, Afrika-Sahel bölgesinde giderek etkinliğini arttırmaktadır. Son dönemlerde meydana gelen askeri darbeler ve uluslararası sistem içerisinde meydana gelen gıda ve iklim krizleri ISWAP'ın bölgedeki hakimiyetini genişletmektedir. Suriye ve Irak coğrafyasından sonra Afrika ülkelerine ilgisini

arttıran DEAŞ, kendisine biat etmiş yerel örgütler aracılığı ile bölgeye angaje olmaya devam etmektedir. ISWAP ise bu girişimin fiziksel tezahürü olarak ortaya çıkmıştır.

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### EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The new understanding of security that emerged in the post-Cold War era aims to broaden the field to include new actors, relationships and units of analysis that emerged after the collapse of the USSR. Within this new approach, new threats and dangers in Africa are articulated in relation to environmental risk, terrorism, fundamentalist movements, structural violence, neo-colonialism, migration and refugees, economic famine, ethnic and racial conflict, domestic abuse/violence against women, political and human rights.

The rising trend of radicalization in the security studies literature, especially after the 9/11 attacks perpetrated by al-Qaeda, has increased the importance of non-state armed actors (NSAAs) in international security studies. With the deepening and widening of security, the transformation of environmental, economic, political, military and social issues into security objects, as Barry Buzan puts it, has expanded the field of activity of these organizations.

Much of the research around the concept of radicalization has been conducted by political actors following major terrorist attacks. After the attack on the World Trade Center by Al-Qaeda, research on radicalism, religious extremism and "salafism" became a hot topic and the literature began to take shape around these concepts. While studies on radicalization have become prominent in the literature, the meaning of radicalism in the eyes of the society has also been shaped depending on who created and shaped the literature. Although these organizations incorporate regional differences and dynamics in the process of structuring and organizing, they have emerged with a religiously motivated discourse under the umbrella of Islam..

In this context, ISWAP, as a result of its actions in the Lake Chad Basin (LCB)

region, paved the way for the “Islamization of radicalization” discourse claimed by Olivier Roy. These radical formations, of which al-Qaeda laid the foundations and DAESH increased its popularity after the Arab Spring, have spread to the LCB region through local elements and representatives. These organizations, which found an area of dominance as a result of political, social, economic, etc. crises in the Middle East and Afghanistan, crystallized in the Sahel region by taking advantage of the chronic vulnerability caused by colonialism. The countries in the region, which declared their independence with the domino effect after the 1960s, are still debating whether they have fully gained the capacity to become a state. This is because one of the basic principles of statehood in Weberian terms, the requirement of holding the monopoly of legitimate violence, has been disrupted in recent times.

In this study, the process of channeling the radicalization phenomenon to the region through ISWAP is analyzed. While analyzing this process, first of all, the dynamics that cause radicalization were determined by using models that explain radicalization processes. The dynamics of participation in ISWAP, which was determined as a case study, was analyzed by adapting Randy Borum’s four-stage radicalization model, which was selected among these models. This model attributes radicalization to the individual’s or community’s recognition that the social and economic situation in which they find themselves is not right and fair, followed by blame and marginalization.

## FRANCE'S AFRICAN COLONIAL POLICIES IN THE EXAMPLE OF NORTH AFRICA \*

*KUZEY AFRİKA ÖRNEĞİNDE FRANSA'NIN AFRİKA SÖMÜRGE POLİTİKALARI*

**Mohamed Abdelrhman Mohamed ALİ\*\***

**Abstract:** Between the 18th and the 20th century, France built a great colonial empire in Africa. The French Colonization had its authentic mentality since France as a state passed many historical developments, which consequently affected its colonial methods. The study aims to review summarily the French colonial policy by identifying general determinants for its methods by taking North Africa as a study case. The study starts with a brief look at the history of French colonialism and the philosophy of French colonialism. Then, the study reviews North Africa as a study case briefly as a practical example of those colonial styles. Throughout the essay, the study uses the historical approach and deduction from specific to general, and from the study case to generalize the whole scope of the study, to reach the result that the French colonization was more direct and violent compared to the British one. However, the French colonization was still influenced by the British methods in some areas, and North Africa is one of them. Moreover, the French colonization was based more on the idea of making those colonies part of the homeland of France, especially after the French Revolution.

**Keywords:** Colonialism, French Colonial Empire, Francization Policy, Francophone

**Öz:** Fransa, 18. ve 20. yüzyıllar arasında Afrika'da büyük bir sömürge imparatorluğu kurmuştur. Fransa'nın tarihsel gelişimi bakımından özgün süreci, sömürge yöntemlerine de yansımıştır. Böylece, çalışma, Kuzey Afrika'yı örnek olay olarak ele alarak Fransız sömürge politikasını, yöntemlerinin genel belirleyicilerini belirleyerek özet olarak incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Çalışma, Fransız sömürgeciliğinin tarihine ve Fransız sömürgeciliğinin felsefesine kısa bir bakışla başlamaktadır. Daha sonra çalışma, bu sömürge tarzlarının pratik bir örneği olarak Kuzey Afrika'yı bir çalışma vakası olarak kısaca gözden geçirmektedir. Bu çalışma tarihsel yaklaşımı ve özelden genele ve çalışma örneğinden çıkarımları kullanmaktadır. Makalenin temel bulgusu Fransız sömürgeciliğinin İngilizlere kıyasla daha doğrudan ve şiddetli olduğudur. Ancak Fransız sömürgeciliği bazı bölgelerde hâlâ İngiliz yöntemlerinden etkilenmektedir ve Kuzey Afrika da bunlardan biridir. Üstelik Fransız sömürgeciliği, özellikle Fransız Devrimi'nden sonra, daha çok bu kolonilerin Fransa'nın anavatanının bir parçası haline getirilmesi fikrine dayanıyordu.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Sömürgecilik, Fransız Sömürge İmparatorluğu, Francizasyon Politikası, Frankofon

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## Introduction

The French reaction to the recent military coups in Central and West Africa such as the last two coups in Burkina Faso in January and September 2022 on a row, the Gabonese coup d'état on 30 August 2023, and the Nigerien coup d'état in July 2023, brought to mind the French colonial image, which undoubtedly proves that the link between France and its colonies has not been severed. Although Britain, Germany, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands were partners of France in its colonization of Africa. However, the relations of the aforementioned countries with their African colonies didn't continue, or at least didn't continue at the same level as France's relationship with these colonies continued. Hence, the question arises about the specificity of French colonialism and the specificity of its presence in Africa. Therefore, this question prompts a re-examination of France's colonial methods.

Before delving into the subject of French colonialism in Africa, it may be useful to introduce some definitions for the main concept related to the phenomenon of colonialism, which helps build a conceptual frame for the work. As for colonialism itself as a concept, it may not be possible to talk about a common definition of colonialism. Because it has been applied in many different geographies, in different periods of history, and by various countries. Colonialism is a practice or policy of control by one power over other people or areas, usually through the establishment of colonies and usually for economic domination (Tignor, 2005: 340). When the word colonialism is mentioned, the period from the Renaissance to the first half of the 20th century and European countries such as Great Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Germany, and Italy always come to mind. However, due to the defeat of Spain's famous Armada in 1588 and Portugal's internal affairs, Spain and Portugal left the race of colonialism early. As for Germany and Italy, these two countries joined this race late because they achieved national unity late and could not obtain large colonies. Therefore, colonialism is synonymous with British and French colonialism. France and England were able to establish huge colonial empires, and the two countries have different methods of managing their colonies. Colonialism history can be divided into two important periods, direct colonization in the period before World War I, and indirect colonization in the period after the end of World War I, which started with the establishment of the League of Nations, as a new mandate system was established and the colonies were called mandates. We can say that the mandate system is an important step towards independence.

Another related concept to the study is Francization, (in French: La Francisation), which means the policy of spreading and expanding the French language and the French culture, communicating it to the world and making it dominant, pioneering, and dominant over other languages. The term appeared at the beginning of the French colonization campaign in countries, especially African ones. This concept has a strong linkage with the colonial empire built by France. It is considered one of the most

important signs of French colonialism, and it reflects one of the most important aspects of French colonialism and the French view of their colonies, which we will discuss in the French colonial philosophy section.

### **1.French Colonial History**

French colonial history is synonymous with the French Colonial Empire. This concept consisted of overseas colonies and mandate territories that came under French sovereignty starting from the 16th century. This colonial empire, between 1534 and 1980, has an important place in the modern history of the world (Uygur - Uygur, 2014). French colonial history is divided into two phases, as a distinction is often made between the “First French Colonial Empire”, which lasted until 1814, when most of it was lost or sold, and the “Second French Colonial Empire”, which began with the invasion of Algeria in 1830. The First French Colonial Empire began in the 17th century by establishing colonies in North America, the Caribbean, and India, but France lost most of its possessions following its defeat in the Seven Years’ War<sup>1</sup>. The second French Colony began with the occupation of Algeria in 1830. At its peak, the Second French colonial empire became one of the largest empires in history. The total amount of land under French rule, including France, had reached 11,500,000 km<sup>2</sup> in 1920, with a population of 110 million in 1936 (Hargreaves, 2005: 1). The second French colonial empire remained intact despite Germany’s occupation of France in the 1871 War of German Unification and during World War II. After the war, anti-colonial movements began to challenge French authorities, and France unsuccessfully fought fierce wars clinging to the empire in Vietnam and Algeria in the 1950s and early 1960s. By the end of 1962, most of France’s colonies gained independence. From another aspect, we can make another division of French colonialism into two distinct periods, the period before the French Revolution and the Period after the French Revolution, because the transformation during the revolution left great effects on the French human mind, and therefore, this transformation established a new order of colonial philosophy.

### **2.French Colonial Philosophy**

Before delving into the subject of French colonial methods in North Africa, knowing the French colonial philosophy and the realities of colonialism will be useful to understand French Colonialism’s main lines. We can explain the real reasons behind French colonialism as follows:

- To provide new markets for industrial products and the increasing need for raw materials for the sustainability of industrial production, while simultaneously seeking markets to sell these products and paving the way for French investors.
- The desire to control the rich resources of agriculture and mineral

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<sup>1</sup> It should not be forgotten that one of the most important reasons for Napoleon’s expedition to Egypt was determined as compensation for France after losing its colonies in Canada.



production on the continent is central to the sustainability of large-scale capital investments.

- The use of colonies was an effective way to end the population crisis.
- The desire to employ African workers in France increased in order to invest more capital and transport Africans to European and New World colonies for the purpose of the slave trade. (Dinar, n.d.).

Nevertheless, of course, these reasons were not the ones declared to justify French colonialism, but rather a philosophical and moral framework was presented for the colonial mission. It is also important to recognize the principles of French colonialism or precisely the French Colonial mentality. We can explain the principles on which French colonialism is based as follows:

### **2.1. Civilization Mission**

The French thinkers and the French elite community thought that French culture was pioneering and high. In other words, there was a vibe and feeling of exceptionalism and excellence in France at that time. This feeling of French cultural excellence led to the French see themselves as a superior race and they saw the other nations, including Africans, as inferior races (Ferry, 1884: 199-201). As a result of that national consciousness of cultural excellence, the French adopted the idea of the duty to transfer this civilization to other nations. Accordingly, French colonialism found an important intellectual basis, and this principle was to transfer civilization to other nations. We can see that in the French thinker, statesman, and leading proponent of colonialism, Jules François Camille Ferry's words: "The higher races have a right over the lower races, they have a duty to civilize the inferior races" He called it France's "Mission Civilisatrice" or "civilizing mission (Ferry, 1884: 210-211). This idea, which shaped the core of French colonial ideology, some analysts think it still occupies the minds in France as President Macron declared in 2017, that the problems in Africa are "civilizational." (Rutabingwa, 2017). As a result of that French national consciousness of excellence, being civilized was synonymous with being French. To be more specific the idea of "Mission Civilisatrice" or Civilization Mission started to rise and became a dominant sign of French colonial expansion under the Third Republic (Burrows, 1986: 109)<sup>2</sup>. Therefore, bringing civilization

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<sup>2</sup>When we look at the French idea of "Mission Civilisatrice," that is, bringing civilization and Catholic Christianity to less civilized peoples, we find that it is very similar to the ideas of the first American pioneers who arrived in North America, such as "Manifest Destiny" idea. As the American pioneers believed that God had chosen this land for them and that expanding it was a sacred mission. For example, the Protestant Father John Cotton says: "When the Lord created us and breathed into us the spirit of life, He gave us the Promised Land (America); As long as we are now in a new land, there must be a new beginning of life in which we work for the glory of this chosen people." In addition to, the American president McAllney decided to go to invade the Philippines in order to "raise their status, civilize them, and convert them to Christianity." Indeed, when President Taft invaded Mexico, he declared, "I must protect my people and their property in Mexico until the Mexican government understands that there is a God in Israel (America) that must obey him." In fact, these

to other societies was synonymous with Francization, and this had a great impact on French colonial methods.

## 2.2. Missionary

Since the medieval, France considered itself the guardian of Catholic Christianity, a view that was evident even in Napoleon's wars. This view was reflected in France's general colonial policy. In fact, it became a sacred duty of the French to bring Christianity to Africa<sup>3</sup> (Efe, 2020). The idea of bringing Catholic Christianity was related to the idea of civilization mission, as civilizing other nations was perceived as turning them into the Catholic faith. The idea that was discussed by the Former Minister of the Navy and the Colonies of France Jean-Baptiste Colbert in his brochure "Sixty Articles Code Noir" was the Christian basis of slavery in French Africa. For example, the first eight articles of that manifesto declare that slaves shouldn't have any religious practice other than Catholic Christianity (Turhan, 2020: 52). The Code's sixty articles, which also known as the Black Code became later the Colonial Ordinance, regulated the life, death, purchase, religion, and treatment of slaves by their masters in all French colonies. It provided that the slaves should be baptized and educated in the Catholic faith (Buchanan, 2011).

## 2.3. French Colonialism and British Colonialism

Historically, there was a great colonial race between England and France in the 18th and 19th centuries; actually, the administrative methods used by the two countries were different from each other because of the difference in the views between the two countries. France, as a colonial power, is completely different from other colonial countries, specifically Britain. The French had a different view of the lands they occupied as they viewed the lands they occupied as a part of the motherland France, which interprets their civilization mission, and why their colonies were subjected to assimilation attempts, the francization policy came also from this point. Thus, the francization of the inhabitants of the colonies was one of the first priorities of the French (Şirin, 2020). French colonial administration is often characterized as more "direct rule" than the British did; traditional authorities were largely ignored (G. Mills, n.d.). To ensure the good exploitation of the colonies, France adopted a certain centric policy in every field and gave great importance to all its administrative, military, economic, and even social and religious aspects. Nevertheless, it shouldn't be ignored that, this policy differed from one colony to another, according to the nature and date of the occupation, and according to other circumstances relating to the geography of the colony and the nature of its people. (Lee - A. Schultz, 2009).

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views were the moral justifications of the classic colonialism in that period, another example is the British mission of "White Man's Burden". (Mohamed, 2023)

<sup>3</sup> The missionary delegations and schools work was an effective tool for all European colonialists

On the other hand, the British viewed the colonial process from a more expedient and realistic perspective. The British saw their colonies as a warehouse of raw materials and materials. That is why the British did not want to interfere with the indigenous peoples and the internal affairs of these countries, British colonialism in Egypt's case is a clear example of that<sup>4</sup>, contrary to French authorities, which destroyed the institutions, appointed chiefs, and dismissed them at will. The first priority of the British colonialists was to exploit the wealth of this land as much as possible. These methods of the British came from a different opinion, which was that the British believed that their stay in these lands was not eternal and that they would leave in one day. For these reasons, British colonialists granted extensive authority to native and local governments ("Nigerian Scholars", n.d.).

### **3. Study Case: France'S Colonies in North Africa**

#### **3.1. Algeria**

French colonialism has started in 1830, following the famous "Hand Fan Incident"<sup>5</sup>, and continued until the Independence of Algeria in 1962. Generally, Colonial France, with the help of its experts and theorists in various fields, pursued a comprehensive policy aimed at subjugating the land, destroying humanity, and exploiting the wealth in Algeria. Algeria's linguistically, religiously, and ethnically harmonious society has been one of the targets of this policy. Actually, France has tried to disintegrate Algerian society through various policies, ideas, and theories, such as the divide-and-rule policy.

##### **3.1.1. French Administrative and Political Policy in Algeria**

French colonial policy was associated with encouraging European settlement and providing aid to European settlers, with the aim of stabilizing the French presence and continuing the colonial policy. Indeed France from the beginning tied France to Algeria and considered it a French territory. The French administration is divided into two periods or stages.

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<sup>4</sup>When the British came to Egypt, they recognized both the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire and the sovereignty of the existing palace in Egypt. For example, Lord Dufferin, the British Ambassador in Istanbul in 1883, created The Egyptian Administrative Constitution. Lord Dufferin Report rejected direct rule like a colony and indirect rule through a British representative like that seen in the Princely States in India. In this aspect, Dufferin wrote an interesting sentence: "The Valley of the Nile could not be administered from London as it would arouse the permanent hatred and suspicion of the Egyptians". (Mansfield - Pelham, 2010: 109)

<sup>5</sup>There are many reasons behind France's occupation of Algeria, but the direct reason is known as the hand fan incident as Hussein Pasha, Dey of Algiers, hit the French consul with a hand fan in response to a rude response from the French consul, who said to him: "The King and the people of France will not respond to your letters" when Hussein Pasha asked him about the answer for his letter asking France to pay its wheat's debts to Algeria. (Armaoğlu, 1997: 190)

### Military Regime:

The military regime ruled from the beginning of the 1830 occupation until the end of 1870. This period was marked by military rule, as a military administrator appointed by the Minister of War, governed Algeria. French officers on duty headed the Arab offices. Organizing people, collecting taxes and fines, managing the population, and general authority were under the supervision and control of French officers.

### Civil Regime:

This system started in 1871 with the French Third Republic, which witnessed a boost in colonial studies “sciences coloniales” (Duluçq, 2018: 5)<sup>6</sup>. The aim of which was to colonize in a scientific manner based on a useful study simulating the English experience in India and Egypt. According to the constitution of the Third Republic, legislative authority in Algeria was based on parliamentary decisions but was governed by ministerial decrees. Algerian affairs were included in the French ministries, and the Governor-General implemented the decisions of the French Minister of the Interior. The Constitution of the Second French Republic (1848) recognized Algeria as a French province and divided Algeria into 3 provinces in the north and a military district in the south. One of the most important signs of the period of civil rule of French colonialism in Algeria and in the history of French colonialism in Algeria, in general, is the “Native Law”, which was issued in 1871 at the beginning of the Third Republic, and which was later applied to all French colonies starting from 1889 until 1944 - 1947. Among the most important that the law stipulated was to make the indigenous population of Algeria subservient to the colonizers. The law also resulted in other consequences, namely the ownership of fertile agricultural lands to European colonizers (settlers) who came from France, Italy, Spain, and Malta. This law made Algerians work for landowners according to what is known locally as “the fifth,” which means that the Algerian only takes one-fifth of the produce from the land he serves. Even the movements of Algerians, who came to be called “natives,” became regulated and required licenses from the colonial authorities. (Gabriel, 2021) (Baroudi, 2018)

#### **3.1.2. French Colonial Cultural and Educational Policy in Algeria**

Colonial education policy in Algeria was based on three pillars: Francization, Christianization, and assimilation, in order to erase the Algerian national character and strike at its core elements (Islam-Arabism). In order to implement this purpose, the colonial authorities issued a decision on March 23, 1843, to confiscate Islamic endowments throughout Algeria and assign them to the management of French properties (Domain) (Gabriel, 2021). The Colonial administration deliberately

<sup>6</sup> Since the first days of France in Algeria, they promoted local scientific research in line with the cultural and political model of the “bureaux arabes” in Algeria, like the Arab Bureau in Cairo. In the 1840s, these administrative offices included Arabists who were assigned the task of gathering information on the native inhabitants (Duluçq, 2018: 5).

fought Arab and Islamic education, passing a 1904 law that prohibited Algerians from opening a school for Arabic and Qur'an education without permission from the administration, as well as exposing Algerians to the culture of France. French colonialists worked to establish and spread French colonial education to ensure integration into his religion (Makhloufi, 2023: 71). We can summarize the French colonial education in Algeria in some points, which can be generalized for all of Africa:

- A policy based on a clear distinction between European students and Algerian students.
- The colonial character of educational policy.
- Selectivity and social selection.
- Selectivity in enrollment in French education schools.
- Selectivity in school guidance policy (Abish, 2017: 130,131).

### **3.2. Tunisia**

The French occupation of Tunisia came as a result of the colonial fever that struck France after the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, as the French administration wanted to divert attention from Europe after the wound that France suffered at the hands of Germany<sup>7</sup>. Thus, after occupying Algeria, France wanted to expand its colonial empire, so it set its sights on Tunisia. In March 1881, under the pressure of military power, France succeeded in bringing Tunisia under its protection (Ashwaq - Aisha, 2014: 40). Thus, instead of abolishing the existing political system in Tunisia, France placed it at the disposal of the Resident General. France took power away from the Beys and allowed them to rule officially, perhaps following the British style in Egypt.

#### **3.2.1. French Administrative and Political Policy in Tunisia**

The first thing France did in Tunisia was to remove international restrictions. In fact, it tried to liquidate Tunisian debts and return loans to creditors in order to rule Tunisia unilaterally. France also moved to abolish the consular courts that existed before the protectorate (Shabika, 2019: 53). Following this, France established a new administrative system:

##### **General Financial Administration:**

As we mentioned previously, the most important goal of the French protectorate in Tunisia was economic control over Tunisia. Therefore, the Protectorate Authority assumed the responsibility of regulating Tunisian finances and abolishing the International Finance Committee. Thus, a French advisor supervised Tunisian finances. The Protectorate Authorities also abolished the consular courts. (Shabika, 2019: 54)

##### **French Resident General:**

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<sup>7</sup> All of Europe encouraged France to pursue this colonial policy, including Germany, because France was a large country with a population of 25 million, which was a large number in Europe at that time. Therefore, the European power saw that France's preoccupation with its African expansions would bring peace to the old continent. (Ramzy, 1948: 33).

The French Resident General placed the Bey on the throne on behalf of France under his protection. The Resident General, in his capacity as representative of the French government, exercised all the sovereign powers provided for in the treaties between the Bey and France. (Shabika, 2019: 56)

Secretary General of the Tunisian government:

It was recognized as a body to monitor the affairs of the Tunisian government and included the regional administration, the Shura Council, and the municipalities, but the central authority remained in the hands of the French Resident General. (Shabika, 2019: 58)

### **3.2.2. French Colonial Cultural and Educational Policy in Tunisia**

Education in Tunisia during the French protectorate was a tool of hegemony and control and a complement to other forms of intervention, whether economics, administration, or politics. The educational policy during this period didn't aim to create an educated Tunisian generation, rather its aim was to create a mid-level Tunisian elite that served its current and future interests, so its policy was limited, whether in the field or in the number of students. In summary, education became subject to French systems and French was formalized as the language of education (Shabika, 2019: 88).

## **3.3. Morocco**

French protectorate was imposed on Morocco on 30 March 1912, following the signing of the French Protectorate over Morocco by Sultan Abdul Hafiz, and the period of protectorate continued until Morocco gained its independence in 1956. The French protectorate included the central region of Morocco, controlled by France under the Treaty of Fez, according to which Morocco was divided into three protectorates: the northern region and the desert region under the Spanish protectorate, central Morocco under the French protectorate. The internationally protected city of Tangier between France, England, Germany and Spain. (Miller , 2013: 74)

### **3.3.1. French Administrative and Political Policy in Morocco**

France attempted to rule Morocco indirectly through traditional authority, keeping it in its functions, as it had done in Tunisia as the Makhzen state, headed by the Sultan, was preserved and reorganized. The Resident General was the chairman of this authority, which transferred power to the French. The new administrative and political control enabled the establishment of a legal framework that would facilitate economic colonialism, which was considered the ultimate goal of the protection system. (no author, 2004)

### **3.3.2. French Social and Cultural Policy in Morocco**

At the beginning of the occupation, Protectorate officials brought social transformation, but they were slow, however, their social transformation policy accelerated after three decades of occupation of Morocco, which led to the rise of a new country and a new society. Demographically, Morocco has witnessed a significant increase in the number of foreigners, creating a lucky few who dominate the economy and administration. Among the most important social transformations are changes in the field of education. As a matter of fact, there have been radical changes in the level of structures and goals of education. The education provided to Moroccans by the French protectorate was part of a policy complementary to the military intervention and was one of the tools that facilitated the exploitation of Morocco's wealth.

### **3.4. Mauritania**

Mauritania has been exposed to colonial action since the fourteenth century, following the political disintegration of the Maghreb, and since the late fifteenth century, during the period of geographical discovery, through occupation and exploration by the European powers of Spain, Portugal, England, the Netherlands, Belgium, and France. The French occupation in Mauritania, which started in 1902, had a different perspective than its existence in other Maghreb countries, which, is proved in the Coppelani Committee. The committee stated in March 1902 that the Mauritians were based on their cultural, intellectual, and moral level, religion, primitive traditions, and social status, as well as on the fact that the Mauritians had surpassed North Africa and the civilization of the ancestors of the Europeans in the middle ages. He presented a report explaining that they had a high civilization. According to this report, the committee recommended a peaceful and gradual occupation (Abbas, 2015: 56).

#### **3.4.1. Outlines of France's Political and Administrative Policy in Mauritania**

The French policy was designed based on Coppelani's recommendations, and we can summarize this program as follows:

- To respect the local social order prevailing in Mauritania.
- Implementation of the divide-and-rule policy among families competing and fighting for the leadership of Mauritania.
- Sending military campaigns to deter resistance groups.
- Consume the active social forces in society.
- Coppelani established a style of indirect rule and administration through the chiefs of major tribes such as Trazra, Brakna, and other Mauritanian tribes. (Abbas, 2015: 57)

### **3.4.2. Outlines of France's Educational and Cultural Policy in Mauritania**

French authorities in Mauritania had made tremendous efforts to open schools since the beginning of the occupation. At the same time, French authorities were only taking in little from the children of Mauritians due to many obstacles, including the opposition of the ulema to French education, the spread of Qur'an schools, and the view that foreign education was contrary to Islamic law. French cultural policy was based on three principles:

- Urbanization.
- Francization.
- Selectivity. (Abbas, 2015: 72,73)

## **4. France's Colonial Methods**

After examining one important study case for the French colonialism in Africa. We can deduce some important generalizations about whole Africa.

### **4.1. Assimilation and Francization**

After the French Revolution, the French character gained significant self-belief, and this actor was reflected in the French colonies. Indeed, the policy of assimilation as an approach had its origins in the French Revolution – equality, fraternity, and freedom should apply to all who are French. The first beneficiaries of this principle were the inhabitants of the cantons of Saint-Louis in Senegal in the 1790s. Assimilation was based on the assumption of the superiority of French culture and civilization. As part of France's "civilizing mission", when "barbarian" people were encountered, it was France's duty to civilize them and convert them into French. The French assimilation policy also rejected African culture, believing it to be non-existent or at least worthless. Rather, African society was seen as largely in a state of war and flux, without history or civilization. (Thomas, 2011: 15).

### **4.2. Education Policy**

One method linked to assimilation attempts is the French education policy. The French were trying to cultivate French culture and language wherever they went. In fact, the education policy established by the French occupation administration in Africa is the most distinctive feature of the French general policy, and another issue that reflects the philosophy of French colonialism is to subjugate the peoples and eliminate their components and social existence (Moradi - Cogneau, 2014).

#### **4.2.1. Features of French Education Policy in Africa**

- A clear distinction between European students and African students:



At a time when European schools were preparing their students for further education subjects to qualify them for scientific expertise, the schools that France created for Africans were more like literacy schools, in that they worked to prepare Africans to do marginal work, whether in the administration or in factories, and to do what the settlers commanded.

- *Colonial character of education policy:*

Especially in terms of language, French was the language of official education in the schools established by the French, and French was already used as the official language in all institutions. Language policy was one of the most important and unique features of French colonialism. Until today, French language policy is one of the current and critical problems in Africa, and this assimilation language policy of France is an important feature of post-colonialism and neo-colonialism.

- *Selectivity and social selection:*

A selective membership in French educational schools as the French administration did not allow all members of African communities to be admitted to its schools, only those who showed goodwill against the French occupation were accepted. (Abish, 2017: 130)

- *Aims of French Education Policy in Africa*

Subjugation and Control of African society. To bring the African society to full integration and assimilation. An economic goal represented in meeting the demands of the French market. The division of African societies. Francization of African societies. (Abish, 2017: 132)

### **4.3. Religious Policy**

The region includes Algeria and Tunisia, from today's Morocco state, where French Catholics carried out missionary activities, to the Tripoli State of the Ottoman Empire. Catholic missionaries there were expanding their areas of activity from north to south. Missionary activities aimed not only at Christianization but also at creating societies devoted to the service and satisfaction of white people in order to be good Christians. Thus, religious legitimacy was provided for the "master" status of white people. Language and cultural policy carried out together with missionary activities also constitute an important link of colonial activities. French colonial religious policy took a tougher stance in North Africa, especially in Algeria, where French colonialism fought the Islamic cultural resistance movement, such as the resistance movements led by Emir Abdelkader Aljazairi and Sheikh Abdelhamid Badis, which were based primarily on the concept of jihad. France implemented a religious policy that combined intimidation and provocation in order to Christianize Algerian Muslims. Mosques were converted into medical and administrative centres and stables, and

some were converted into churches. France also destroyed some large mosques, such as the mosque in the city of Algiers. France confiscated the assets of the Islamic foundations and also exiled and deported dissident imams and scholars such as Judge Muhammad bin Mahmud al-Annabi, Judge al-Maliki Abdel Aziz, and Mufti Mustafa Al-Kabbati. French colonial authority worked to encourage and facilitate the activities of missionaries and missionaries, such as the Jesuits and the White Fathers' Society (Bin Aida, 2008: 34).

#### **4.4. French Colonial Administrative Methods**

French colonialism is famous for its brutal methods, and those methods tell us about the pain experienced by France in Africa. France has also committed major human rights violations in countries where it has political influence. Generally, African societies were divided into 'cantons' (districts). Chiefs who were insufficiently efficient or non-subservient were often deposed and replaced, with little regard for traditional and indigenous status. The French colonizer divided the inhabitants of the colonies into two categories: 'Citoyen' and 'Sujet'. Indeed, a dual legal system was established: French law for whites, métis, Africans in Saint-Louis, and the few Africans naturalized as 'Citoyens' in West Africa. On the other hand, "Subjects", the Africans were subjected to a system called justice indigène (G. Mills, n.d.). As for working conditions, Africans had to provide labor, often had to migrate long distances for little money, and working conditions were often very poor as significant numbers of men died and families and local communities were disturbed. The taxation system was used by colonial administrations not only to generate revenue but as an important tool to achieve their goals: such as encouraging Africans to collect natural materials for export and forcing large numbers of Africans to provide labour. ("Coursehero", n.d.).

#### **Conclusion**

When we look in general at colonialism history, we must say that French Colonialism is unique, as on one hand, the traces of French colonialism continue until today, and we can easily notice France's strong relations with its former colonies and the great influence of France on its former colonies, especially in the countries in West Africa. For instance, even the currencies of some French former colonial countries are subject to the French Franc, and their gold reserves are even kept in the French Central Bank. On the other hand, France's ongoing cultural and political relations with its former colonies today bring to mind the question of how independent these countries are from France, especially when we notice France's role in many political change processes whether elections or coups in those countries. Thus, the question of the former French colonies was always a cornerstone of Post-Colonialism studies. By a detailed look at French colonial policy in North Africa, it's noticeable that French colonial policy there was pretty different from French

colonial policy in West Africa or sub-Sahara Africa, with an exception in Algeria of course. This is due to the difference in the demographic and cultural nature of that region from all of Africa, on the one hand, this region witnessed the concept of the state many centuries ago before colonialism. On the other hand, the Islamic heritage and the Arabic language were strong obstacles to Francization policies. Consequently, France in this region preferred to follow an indirect, orientalist colonial method by maintaining the existing authority and ruling through it.

As for the Algerian exception, compared to the situation in Algeria, French colonialism followed a softer attitude in Tunisia, Morocco, and Mauritania, because France did not want to relive and provoke the resistance and problems it encountered in Algeria, therefore it followed a more reasonable and indirect policy. There were many reasons for the French violent colonial policy in France. Firstly, Algeria's stubborn resistance from the first days led to aggressive reactions by France. Secondly, France's lack of experience in the colonial aspect, as Algeria was one of its first colonies, so when we compare to its policy in Tunisia, Morocco, and Mauritania we may find that France had gained a lot of experience in dealing with Muslim societies due to its gained experience in Algeria. From another perspective, France had benefitted from the British experience in Egypt, in its applications in Tunisia, Morocco, and Mauritania.

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# THE IMPLICATIONS OF ARTISANAL SMALL-SCALE MINING ON FOOD SECURITY IN ZIMBABWE\*

## ZİMBABVE'DE EL EMEĞİ İLE YÜRÜTÜLEN KÜÇÜK ÖLÇEKLI MADENCİLİĞİN GIDA GÜVENLİĞİ ÜZERİNDEKİ ETKİLERİ

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**Abstract:** This study investigates the nexus between artisanal small-scale mining and food security in Zimbabwe. While agriculture is traditionally the anchor of the rural economy, there has been a great shift towards artisanal small-scale mining sector. The number of people directly or indirectly involved in small-scale mining continue to increase especially in response to the economic meltdown. The rapid growth in artisanal and small-scale mining has both positive and negative implications for food smallholder farming and ultimately all the dimensions of food security. Different scholars and practitioners have presented different arguments as efforts to explain this phenomenon. Such arguments include agricultural poverty due to climate change, rising prices of minerals, and economic decline, among others. Using data from literature review, this essay, examines the link between artisanal and small-scale mining and food security. This paper is important as it generates knowledge with the potential to shape policies and decision-making processes. It aims to influence the enactment of policies and programs that strike a balance between food security and other economic activities that support livelihoods, specifically for vulnerable communities, in a sustainable manner.

**Keywords:** artisanal small-scale mining; climate change; entitlements; food security.

**Öz:** Bu çalışma, Zimbabwe'de küçük ölçekli madencilik ile gıda güvenliği arasındaki bağlantıyı araştırmaktadır. Tarım geleneksel olarak kırsal ekonominin temelini oluşturmasına rağmen, küçük ölçekli madencilik sektörüne doğru büyük bir kayma yaşanmaktadır. Doğrudan ya da dolaylı olarak küçük ölçekli madencilikle uğraşan insanların sayısı, özellikle ekonomideki çöküşe bağlı olarak artmaya devam etmektedir. Zanaatkar ve küçük ölçekli madencilikteki hızlı büyümenin, küçük ölçekli gıda çiftçiliği ve nihayetinde gıda güvenliğinin tüm boyutları üzerinde hem olumlu hem de olumsuz etkileri vardır. Bazı akademisyenler ve uzmanlar bu olguyu açıklamak için farklı argümanlar sunmuştur. Bu argümanlar arasında iklim değişikliğine bağlı tarımsal yoksulluk, artan maden fiyatları ve ekonomik gerileme yer almaktadır. Bu çalışma, literatür taramasından elde edilen verileri kullanarak, zanaatkar ve küçük ölçekli madencilik ile gıda güvenliği arasındaki bağlantıyı incelemektedir ve ortaya çıkan politikaları ve karar alma süreçlerini şekillendirme potansiyeline sahip bilginin üretilmesi bakımından önem taşımaktadır. Özellikle savunmasız toplulukların geçim kaynaklarını sürdürülebilir bir şekilde destekleyen gıda güvenliği ve diğerekonomik faaliyetler arasında bir denge kuran politika ve programların yürürlüğe girmesini etkilemek amaçlanmaktadır.

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## **Introduction**

For decades, Zimbabwe's economy has largely been agro-based. Like many sub-Saharan African countries, however, the country has witnessed unprecedented growth in artisanal and small-scale mining. Accordingly, agriculture and mining have become major economic activities for many outside the formal economy. In 2022, the World Food Program (2022), estimated that Zimbabwe had a total population of 15.6 million of which 63% live below the poverty line while 27% have stunted growth. Agriculture and artisanal small-scale dominate the economy of Zimbabwe. The World Bank (2019) noted that the smallholder agriculture sector employed roughly 70% of the country's economically active people and mining employs 7.1% (Chari, 2021:350). However, the nation faces serious food security challenges. The World Food Program (2022) added that in 2020, 7.7 million people were under food insecurity threat at the peak of the lean season due to erratic rainfall. Various theories have attempted to explain this phenomenon (increase in artisanal mining and increase in food insecurity) including agricultural poverty due to climate change; rising prices of minerals; and economic decline among others. Despite the dearth of literature specifically analyzing the relationship between small-scale mining and food security in Zimbabwe, there is anecdotal evidence that suggests that the rapid growth in artisanal and small-scale mining has both positive and negative implications on the various dimensions of food security (Mkodzongi-Spiegel, 2019). Moreover, issues around the impact of artisanal small-scale mining have usually been investigated from a broader economic perspective rather than its relationship to food security. Given the lack of research and the socio-economic significance of mining and agriculture, it is important to tackle the question: what is the relationship between artisanal mining and food security? To close the knowledge gap, I used a literature review to extract data. These secondary sources of knowledge comprised the examination of journal articles, organizational reports, and newspapers. From the literature reviewed, six key and common themes were identified which formed the foundation of this paper. This research thus fills the gap in the literature on the relationship between artisanal small-scale mining and food security. It specifically investigates the extent to which artisanal mining affect food security. It is the author's expectation that this piece will potentially contribute significantly to shaping policies that especially harmonize seemingly competing sustainable development goals, that is SDG 1(poverty reduction through mining) and SDG 2 (zero hunger through farming) enhance sustainable mining and food-secure communities.

### **Defining Artisanal Small-scale Mining.**

Artisanal and small-scale mining is the extraction or exploitation of mineral resources using rudimentary mechanization such as picks, shovels, wheelbarrows, and panning dishes among others, thus making it manual labor-intensive and less profitable to practice on a large scale (Hentschel vd., 2002; Zvarivadza, 2018). It

is a sector largely associated with a poverty-driven activity, typically practiced in the poorest and most remote rural areas of a country by a largely itinerant, poorly educated populace with few other employment alternatives (World Bank, 2013; Hilson, 2016). Dube vd., (2016) added that artisanal and small-scale mining is usually practiced in informal or illegal setups. It is however very important as more than 100 million people around the world are directly involved in artisanal small-scale mining (World Bank, 2013). In Sub-Saharan Africa, “the sector employs over 25 million people directly, as well as creates millions of additional economic opportunities in the interconnected downstream and upstream industries it spawns” (Hilson vd., 2021:1). It is estimated that by 2020, 500 000 citizens were directly involved in rudimentary mining while 7 million depend on the sector for livelihood (Mambrey vd., 2020). Thus, the sector has become a haven for those economically disenfranchised, among them the youths.

In Zimbabwe, artisanal and small-scale mining is both formal and informal with mining operations being mechanized and semi-mechanized and of varied sizes in terms of production, labor, and capitalization (Maponga, 2003). The industry usually operates in the absence of land rights, mining licenses, exploration, mining mineral exploration permits, or any legitimate documentation (Chari vd., 2021). Masiya vd., (2012) argued that artisanal mining was common even before the country’s independence in 1980. Gold has for years been the common mineral with others (Mambrey vd., 2020). However, its growth is generally attributed to Zimbabwe’s land reform program which was undertaken between 2000-2008 (Chari vd., 2021). The developments gave indigenous people access to and mobility on formerly enclosed and inaccessible farms leading to an upsurge in artisanal mining across the country (Mkodzongi, 2013; Mkodzongi-Spiegel, 2020). Added to that were the adverse impacts of the Economic Structural Adjustments which worsened the economic situation characterized by retrenchment leading to massive urban-to-rural migration (Hilson, 2016). The situation was further complicated by the growing impact of climate change which has rendered the agriculture sector unprofitable. It should also be noted that this period coincided with the global soaring mineral prices, especially gold and diamond (Nyamwe-Grant, 2012). Thus, forcing people into mining should also be factored in when tracing the proliferation of artisanal small-scale mining (Hilson-Garforth, 2012; Osufu vd., 2020). Researchers thus observed massive evidence of food availability decline from the agriculture sector with the two major farming regions, Natural Region 2 and 3 registering 49% and 19% productivity shrinkages (Manyeruke vd., 2013; Mugandani, 2012). On the other hand, the drier areas, Natural Regions 4 and 5 have expanded in size by at least 5.6% and 22.6% respectively due to climate change, increasing the area under arid conditions (Manyeruke vd., 2013).

In addition, the recent economic meltdown, artisanal small-scale mining popularly known as “chikorokoza” has grown to become an important economic activity and a copying strategy for peasants and the unemployed (Mkodzongi-Spiegel,

2020). This is especially accurate for the youths, 62% of whom are under the age of 25 (United Nations Population Fund, 2022). Others observed that the sector has flourished to involve even international players and mostly the Chinese who enjoy the political support of influential figures in government and business (Mkodzongi-Spiegel, 2020). The informal artisanal mining sector provides rents to politically influential figures who have allegedly derailed the efforts to formalize the sector (Garret, 2007; Hentschel vd., 2002). Thus, the sector has been transformed into a political establishment where political power is used to maintain the status quo since they benefit greatly from buying minerals from desperate miners at a bargain and very low prices (Garret, 2007; Hentschel vd., 2002). It is therefore not surprising that artisanal and small-scale mining remains largely illegal (Dube vd., 2016). However, it also remains politically protected and prioritized more than smallholder agriculture which weakens production entitlement (Sen, 1983) and increases vulnerability to food insecurity.

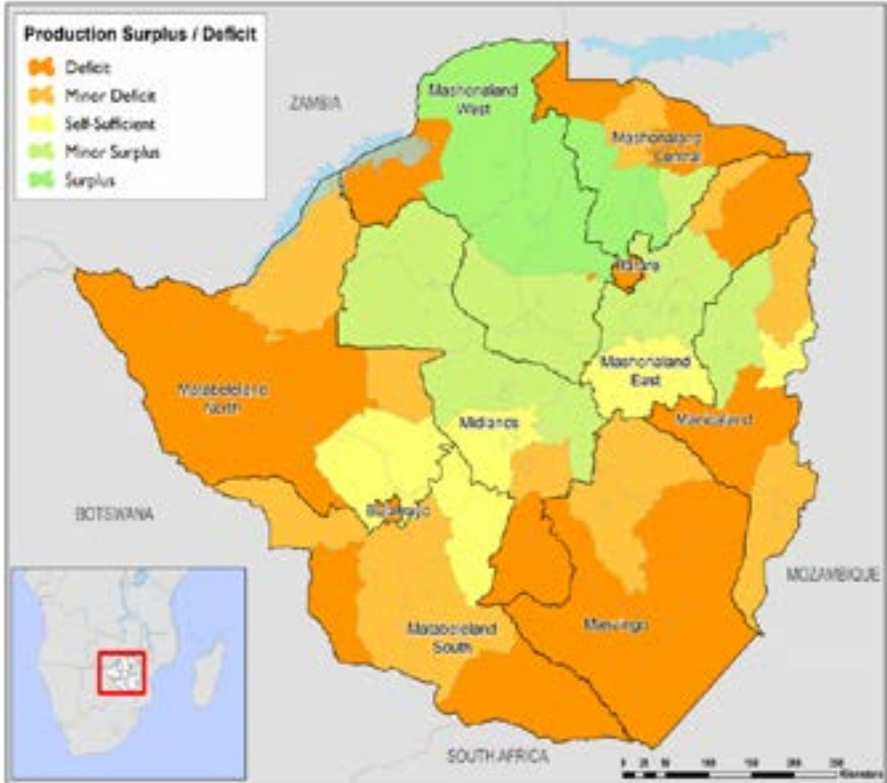
### **Food security**

The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) (2012) categorized food security as a situation when people at individual, household, and national levels, always have physical, social, and economic access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food to satisfy their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy lifestyle (Connolly-Boutin-Smit, 2016). Clapp vd. (2022) also brought in agency (degree of control over one's food) as well as sustainability, that is food system practices that contribute to the long-term regeneration of natural, social, and economic systems, ensuring the food needs of the present generations are met without compromising the food needs of future generations to the dynamic of food security. They summed up food security in terms of food availability, accessibility, utilization, stability, agency, and sustainability (Clapp vd., 2022). These aspects have a special connection to agriculture, hence the centrality of farming or food production in this discussion.

#### **Agriculture, farming and food production, and food security**

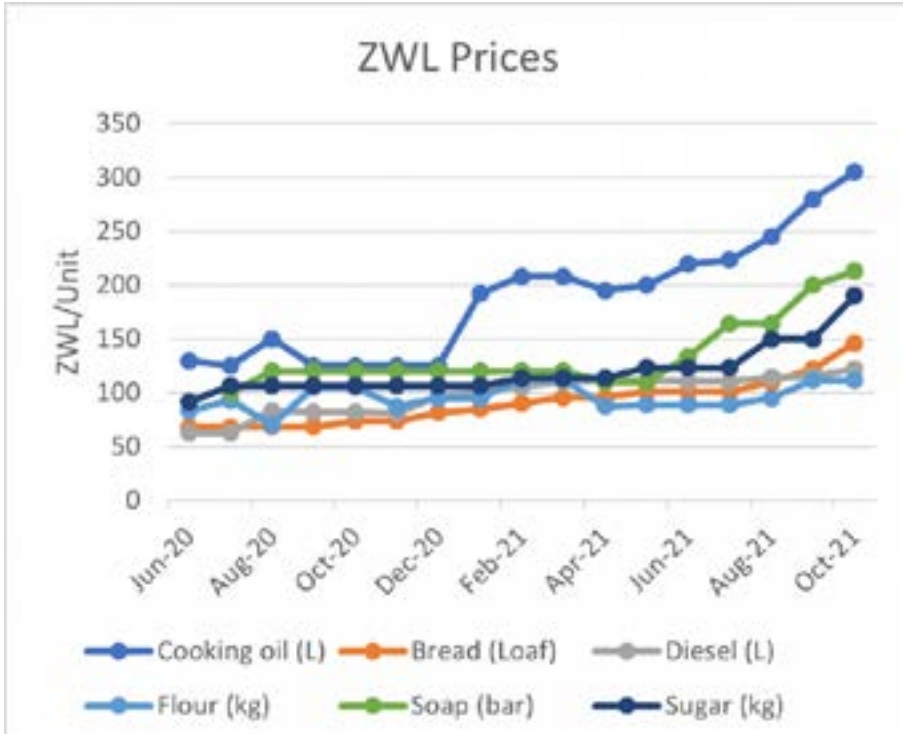
Agriculture is the art, science, and practice of farming, including cultivating the soil, growing crops, and raising livestock, as well as the preparation and sale of the resulting goods to varying degrees (Osufu vd., 2020). The African Center for Economic Transformation, Ford Foundation alludes to agriculture as the economic anchor of most African countries and the producer of most food products that contribute to food security (ACET, 2017b). A study showed that 65% of Africans are involved in agriculture (World Bank, 2019). Agriculture, therefore, forms the backbone of many African communities as food is available through production and strengthens agency and all three types of entitlement; own-production, market-based, and exchange which makes food accessible (Sen, 1982).

Figure 1: Shows the State of food availability in Zimbabwe.



Source: Famines Early Warning Systems Network (2022)

Figure 2: Food price inflation between June 2020 and October 2021 due to the food availability decline



Source: Famines Early Warning Systems Network (2022)

Based on the above images, most of the provinces experiencing a decline in food availability due to reduced production are also facing increased artisanal mining activities. From this background, connections can be made between food security and artisanal small-scale mining in Zimbabwe. The relationship, has, however, both positive and negative implications for food security hence the admission by the African Center for Economic Transformation that artisanal and small-scale mining and agriculture have complex and dynamic connections that are both synergistic and antagonistic (African Center for Economic Transformation, Ford Foundation, 2017). Nunoo vd. (2023) suggests that these complications stem from the background that these economic activities share and compete for factors of production including land, water, labor, and capital. They are further susceptible to the influence of external factors such as supply, demand, and commodity prices (African Center for Economic Transformation, Ford Foundation, 2017). To this end, it is reasonable to argue that the

extent to which mining has a positive or adverse impact on food security is determined by how the country or state views and legislates control over, and access to, its natural resources and the land on which they sit. In this section, I analyze the implications of increased artisanal small-scale mining on agriculture and ultimately food security.

### **The impact of Artisanal Small-scale Mining on Food Security.**

#### *Capital accumulation for smallholder agriculture.*

Artisanal small-scale mining has been a coping mechanism for many people living in societies with ailing economies. Thus, it plays an important role in supporting household food security. It was observed that communities in Mhondoro-Ngezi were involved in artisanal and small-scale gold mining to raise capital to support their small-scale farming projects and some other businesses that bring food to the table (Mkodzongi-Spiegel, 2019). This partly answers Cartier and Bürge's question on whether the sector plays a complementary or competing role in agriculture and food security (Cartier-Bürge, 2011). The argument also challenges earlier assertions that artisanal and small-scale mining is "depeasantization and deagrarianization" by injecting capital from the mining sector into farming, therefore, increasing the chances of production (Mkodzongi-Spiegel, 2020). This reduces a household's vulnerability to food insecurity through diversification. Given the disastrous impact of climate change on farming, profits from mining strengthen entitlements to access supplementary food commodities they cannot produce through markets and exchange platforms. Thus, mining through strengthening own-production entitlement (Sen, 1982) also improves mining households' food agency (Clapp, vd., 2022).

#### *A way out of seasonal hunger and food shortages.*

With many communities facing seasonal food shortages during the dry season, artisanal and small-scale mining provides a way to reduce this phenomenon. Vaitla vd., (2009) argue that most of the world's acute hunger and undernutrition occurs not in conflicts and natural disasters but in the annual "hunger season, the time of year when the previous year's harvest stocks have dwindled, food prices are high, and jobs are scarce. Because of the seasonality nature of artisanal mining in Zimbabwe, especially the farming regions (those that usually receive relatively high rainfall), smallholder farmers are participating in mining during the non-agricultural seasons broadening their income streams in the dry season. Maconachie vd., (2006) while analyzing the artisanal and small-scale mining sector patterns in Sierra Leone referred to this as "temporary migration" in household economic activities. This, therefore, lessens their susceptibility to seasonal hunger and food shortages common among households that are solely dependent on their own food production through farming. To this end, it is apt to argue that artisanal and small-scale mining helps bring stability to food supplies for households that produce inadequate food up until the next season.

### **Employment creation.**

Given the economic decline and rising unemployment rates in Zimbabwe's urban areas as observed by Mawowa (2013) and the devastating impacts of climate change on rain-fed agriculture (Zenda, 2022), artisanal and small-scale mining creates employment. Many would-be jobless economically active populations (Mawowa, 2013), mostly the youths who constitute the bulk of the country's total population pegged at 67% are directly involved in this sector (Gwasira, 2022). Mining has arguably become home to less educated people who cannot compete for formal jobs but who still need to put food on the table for their families. As stated, more than half a million people in Zimbabwe are informally employed in the sector and the income they earn is spent on more or better food, enhancing local or family food security (Dube *vd.*, 2016). Chigumira (2018) argued that artisanal mining gives rural people another employment option and a way to diversify their income streams. Artisanal and small-scale mining from this standpoint strengthens household market-based entitlements which enables them to have access to food from the markets.

Be that as it may, some contend that while mining activities have created alternative employment opportunities, they have also aggravated poverty among local farmers due to the loss of or shrinking farmland (Chari *vd.*, 2021). Accordingly, the sector has been described as destructive as it “competes antagonistically with agriculture” when it comes to all the factors of production (Osufu *vd.*, 2020). Others expanded this by stating that the heavy dependence on labor-intensive and unskilled labor in both agriculture and mining and the greater probability of opportunities for higher returns available in mining is resulting in a quick outflow of labor towards mining in what they dubbed the Dutch disease mechanism (Hilson-Laing, 2017). The labor migration to the lucrative mining sector is compounding an already complicated situation of low food production due to the low uptake of technology in farming and the small size of farmland (African Center for Economic Transformation, Ford Foundation, 2017a).

Given that farming/food production in rural areas depends on family labor mainly the youths, the labor migration to the mining sector creates a labor force vacuum in the farming sector causing underproduction. As more young people move into mining, the agriculture sector is left with an aging workforce which lowers output (Okoh-Hilson, 2011). This contributes to the food availability decline which exposes households to hunger and in extreme cases malnutrition. It takes away a household's agency and control over the food security situation (Clapp *vd.*, 2022; Sen, 1987).

While some would argue that the income from the mining sector should be used to buy food, however, evidence shows that the food that low-income households buy is usually the staples which are mainly basic carbohydrates with little to no fruits and vegetables needed for a balanced diet (Zhang *vd.*, 2020). Therefore, the food

would be far from being nutritious compared to that obtained through own-production entitlements.

### **Land use conflict**

The influx of artisanal and small-scale miners in Zimbabwe has caused in land use conflicts between miners and smallholder farmers some of which have turned violent. Farming and mining require vast tracts of land, which fuels conflicts over which economic activity to prioritize. Specifically, mining is usually associated with extensive land usage, and it precludes many other human uses or the non-use of that land (Luckeneder, 2021). With the greater probability for high returns in mining, farmers have converted traditionally fertile arable lands into mining spaces which compromises food production. In addition, the violent nature of miners has enabled the successful dislodging of smallholder farmers with no political or financial stamina from their productive farmlands (Adonteng-Kissi-Adonteng-Kissi, 2017; Chari, 2021). Additionally, the involvement of political and economic heavyweights means that poor smallholder farmers have limited chances to fight the miners legally or otherwise (Garret, 2007; Hentschel vd., 2002). The situation is worsened by the land tenure system that according to the Communal Lands Act (20:04), makes the President the sole custodian of and with authority over communal lands. The temptation to accumulate wealth superseding the protection of land-connected people is high. The land tenure system and policy inadequacies of the outdated and chaotic Mines and Minerals Act of 1961 (amended in 1966) (Musemwa, 2019) have been weaponized by politically backed miners to disempower communal and indigenous people. This violates the United Nations Declaration of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) (United Nations General Assembly, 2007) and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Peasants and Other People Working in Rural Areas (UNDROP) (United Nations General Assembly, 2018). For example, the displacements in Shurugwi and Insiza have occurred mainly because of weak state institutions, legislation, and lack of enforcement of mining and environmental rules and regulations (Musemwa, 2019).

In addition, the involvement of local and foreign economically and politically powerful players makes the enforcement of rules and regulations difficult (Mkodzongi-Spiegel, 2020). Such detrimental externalities from artisanal mining have had a direct and severe negative influence on agricultural production (Oxfam, 2013). Thus, the farmland invasions and the violence perpetrated by machete-wielding gangs in the Midlands and Mashonaland Central Provinces disturbed the peace and ultimately farming activities which in turn affected agricultural production (The Herald, September 2, 2020). Taking away the control of land from rural farmers under these circumstances means that they no longer have control over production, access, and stable supplies of food (Clapp vd., 2022; Servin-Moseley, 2022). This has the potential to cause localized cases of food shortages and child malnutrition even when other areas have food available.



### **Land and Water pollution (degradation)**

Miners in this sector rely on the use of harmful chemicals such as mercury which damages both the land and water as well as biodiversity (Magidi-Hlungwane, 2023). The situation is worsened by poor storage facilities and uncontrolled usage of such dangerous chemicals for gold cleaning processes, which then leach into the surrounding soil and water systems, threatening local agricultural production and food supply (Musemwa, 2019). In Zimbabwe, weak legislation governing mining dumps and waste disposal exacerbates the situation, Musemwa (2019). It is disposed into water bodies that contaminate water usually used downstream for smallholder irrigation (Eludoyin, 2017). In addition, wastewater from tailing dams usually finds its way into groundwater and farmlands making it unsafe for domestic or irrigation use (Watari vd., 2019). The Mazoe, Save, Mutare, and Odzi rivers have been contaminated and silted through unregulated and irresponsible gold panning which compromised water quality (Alrumman vd., 2016) for irrigation and the production of horticultural products such as vegetables that are grown along the major rivers. Biological evidence produced by Eludoyin (2017) shows that crop yields especially maize and cocoa in Ghana have drastically fallen owing to heavy metals in soil being absorbed by shallow-rooted plants which either wilt, stunt, or produce low-quality yields resulting in poor diet and malnutrition.

Figure 3: Picture of the heavily silted Mutare River due to unregulated gold panning



Source: Photo captured by the author

In addition, land degradation and water pollution linked to mining are reported as causes of the deteriorating quality of livestock and financial losses thereof in traditional livestock-producing areas of Gwanda and Insiza. The increased gold mining is shrinking grazing land due to deforestation and the burning of grasses (Chari vd., 2021). This imposes other financial costs on farmers who must supplement with expensive feedstock. The loss of natural pastures and the subsequent costs of feedstock leads to high livestock production which many rural farmers cannot afford. As a result, the quality of the meat they produce is low (The Standard, 20 June 2019). The same was also reported about fresh vegetables and fruits where farmers lamented that cities, especially Bulawayo now prefer imported fruits and vegetables to buying from local suppliers. It drives food prices up and weakens entitlements both own production and

market-based for middle and low-income households. It also means food all aspects of food security are undermined. For instance, a household traditionally dependent on vegetable or livestock production for sale loses both control over production and income which creates vulnerability to hunger and food shortages.

### **Rising costs of living.**

Due to influxes of non-local labor that create higher demand for current products, services, and infrastructure, operational mines have the potential to boost the cost of living. These factors contribute to supply and demand price increases, making it more difficult for low-income residents to buy decent quality food in sufficient quantities to feed themselves appropriately. Accordingly, mining areas increase demand for consumer goods, which can be satisfied by local agricultural production, and so contribute to market decentralization, or market migration away from traditional urban centers and toward rural peripheries (Cartier-Bürge, 2011). This would be an advantage to those that are economically active but a disadvantage to the poor rural people who must battle the high cost of living including expensive food as the boom in mining activities creates an artificial demand for consumables. Selling packaged and prepared foods exclusively at mining site markets is another way vendors respond to the needs of busy mining customers but given the relatively low levels of fruits, vegetables, and, in some cases, protein sources in these meals, these convenient meals do not necessarily represent healthy options at mining sites (Zhang *vd.*, 2020). It was observed that an increase in food expenditures on less nutritious foods such as premade foods, sugar, and beverages (Karamba, 2011).

### **The state of food security among artisanal and small-scale miners and mining communities**

In Zimbabwe, gold rushes create temporary settlements, disconnected from the usual ways of life. One characteristic of this setup is the absence of food production through farming. Through market and exchange entitlements, miners camped in remote areas to gain access to food. A mining site market offers an easily accessible opportunity for miners to grab a meal during their workday, but the selection of nutritious options is much more limited than at a larger market. However, as noted, the food utilization component of the food available is usually compromised due to a lack of nutritional content variety (Zhang *vd.*, 2020). There is high consumption of more packaged and ready-to-eat foods, more sugar and fat, and less fruit and vegetables as compared with residents in surrounding rural areas who rely more on locally grown food items (Zhang *vd.*, 2020). Miners usually have access to carbohydrates to get energy but lack other nutritional values. As such, miners are exposed to poor diet and health complications.

Poor hygiene is another challenge that characterizes the nexus between artisanal and small-scale mining and food security. Due to the remoteness of most of the mining hotspots, they lack access to clean water, and in access to electricity to power food storage and refrigeration facilities as noted by Zhang vd. (2020) hence fresh food is limited. Another concern is the absence of a waste disposal system at all markets poses potential health concerns due to the accumulation of food and plastic waste on the market grounds, as well as smoke fumes from burning waste. Health laws, government restrictions, and other established hygiene requirements that are widespread in high-income contexts are typically missing in artisanal small-scale mining operations (Donkor, 2023; Mkodzongi, 2013).

### **Policy Proposal**

Artisanal and small-scale mining as demonstrated in this essay plays a critical ensuring food security and the economy at large. However, because it's illegal and informal, it has negatively affected agriculture and the environment it depends on, hence the claim that the sector is destructive and unsustainable. This is mainly because of the weak institutions, policy inadequacies and lack of harmony and fragmentation of legal frameworks, poor enforcement of environmental and mining rules and regulations among others. To this end, it is reasonable to propose the formalization of artisanal and small-scale mining and its incorporation into the mainstream economy. This would enable miners to have access to land rights, mining licenses, exploration, mining mineral exploration permits, or any legitimate documentation that allows them to operate legally (Chari vd., 2021). It will confine miners to a specific location to protect smallholder farmers from violent farm invasions.

The enactment of modern, comprehensive, and harmonious agriculture, environmental, and mining legal frameworks that allow the coexistence between farming and mining sustainably is a viable option. This allows farmers and miners to work together on the condition of mutual agreement resulting in mining complimenting food production and strengthening food security. Given the political and economic interests of the powerful minority with the power to deliberately block any meaningful steps towards modernizing the economic sector, the task, therefore, requires the highest levels of political will. Belo Horizonte's famous Fome Zero (food security program) case study documented by Chappell (2018) can inspire how governments can deliberately embark on a policy to strengthen food security in sustainable ways.

### **Conclusion**

The evidence presented in this paper to some extent refutes the notion of painting artisanal small-scale mining as only an impediment to the attainment of food security due to its effects on farming. There is clear evidence that mining, if regulated and rules enforced, can result in households improving their economic status thereby

strengthening their command and control over food. Mining has been demonstrated to be an important quick income generation activity that enables vulnerable groups such as the rural, youths, and the unemployed to access food through the markets. This, therefore, helps to prevent episodes of localized shortages while food is plenty on the market. Artisanal mining strengthens entitlements to food hence it should be seen as a complementary economic activity to agriculture which helps families to reach food security status.

In the case of Zimbabwe, however, it is understandable for one to maintain that artisanal and small-scale mining negatively affect agriculture and food security. This is because the growth of this sector exerts unprecedented pressure on resources that traditionally aid the success of agriculture. Such resources include land, capital, labor, and water which are also extensively required for mining. It has been linked with several cases of environmental degradation which leaves the land unsuitable for farming both crop production and livestock husbandry. Rivers have been heavily silted due to mining on the banks and beds which disturbs the natural flow of water. The harmful chemicals used in the gold cleaning processes are solely responsible for contaminating large water bodies and compromising water quality for irrigation and other domestic purposes. Aquatic life has been put at high risk, including fish which is a major source of fatty acids and other nutrients.

With food security sharing huge connections with health and well-being, artisanal and small-scale mining due to its association with poor health and safety and violence exposed the economically active youth to diseases most respiratory ones leading to weakened abilities to work in agriculture or the same sector (Martinez, 2023). In extreme cases, harmful-chemical-related deaths in the small-scale mining sector cannot come as a surprise. Once an active family member gets crippled or dies, the household's vulnerability to hunger and chronic food shortages increases as there will be limited avenues of accessing and making food available for that household. From this angle artisanal and small-scale mining threats to food security and their health-related and life-threatening implications increase food security vulnerabilities (Otamonga-Pote, 2020).

It is also justifiable to argue that the weaknesses in the governance and political systems are deliberately failing to address the competing interest between artisanal mining and food production or farming leading to food availability declines in mining communities. The claim by de Waal (2018) that human behavior and actions such as poor governance and bad political decisions are responsible for creating episodes of hunger and food shortages rather than natural events is therefore vindicated. The paper demonstrated how political figures who should be spearheading legal reforms to protect farmers and allow for co-existence between farmers and miners, reduce land ownership, and land use disputes are at the forefront of fueling violent farmland invasions and environmentally unsustainable mining. To this end, artisanal mining

although capable of earning a few lots of money and strengthening their market-based entitlements, leaves much of the population dependent on small-scale farming and susceptible to food shortages as they lose their land which compromises the state of food security.

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# INDIGENOUS PEOPLE AND HUMAN SECURITY: THE CASE OF OGIEK COMMUNITY IN KENYA\*

## *YERLİ HALKLAR VE İNSANİ GÜVENLİK: KENYA'DAKİ OGIEK TOPLULUĞU ÖRNEĞİ*

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**Abstract:** One of Kenya's indigenous people, the Ogieks have a long history of struggle and resistance to preserve their land, means of subsistence, identity, and cultural distinctiveness. Ogieks were able to protect their land rights through the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights in 2017. In this regard, this article examines the Ogiek's case, providing a brief overview of its historical background, the judicial procedures, and a critical analysis utilizing a human security perspective based on global governance. Consequently, the purpose of this study is to respond to the question, "how does the application of a human security approach within global governance contribute to our understanding of the challenges faced by indigenous communities in the chosen case?". As such, the Ogiek case aims to serve as a lens through which to examine the applicability of human security strategies in preserving the rights and general welfare of indigenous populations.

**Key words:** Ogiek, human security, indigenous rights, land rights

**Öz:** Kenya'nın yerli halklarından olan Ogiekler, topraklarını, geçim kaynaklarını, kimliklerini ve kültürel özgünlüklerini koruma mücadelesi ve direniş geçmişine sahiptir. Ogiekler, toprak haklarını 2017'de Afrika İnsan ve Halkların Hakları Mahkemesi aracılığıyla koruyabildiler. Bu kapsamda, bu makale Ogiek vakasını inceleyerek, tarihsel arka planını, yargı süreçlerini ve küresel yönetim temelli bir insan güvenliği perspektifinden yapılmış eleştirel bir analizi sunmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın amacı, "küresel yönetim içinde insan güvenliği yaklaşımının, seçilen vakadaki yerli toplulukların karşılaştığı zorlukları anlamamıza nasıl katkı sağladığı?" sorusuna yanıt vermektedir. Bu sebeple, Ogiek vakası, insan haklarını ve yerli nüfusun genel refahını korumada insan güvenliği stratejilerinin uygulanabilirliğini incelemek için bir lens olarak hizmet etmeyi amaçlamaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Ogiek, insani güvenlik, yerli hakları, toprak hakları

### **1. Introduction**

Ogieks are one of the indigenous communities in Kenya that have a long history of resistance and struggle aimed at sustaining their land, livelihoods, identity and cultural distinction. Within this framework, in 2017, Ogieks managed to secure their land rights via African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights. In this regard, this essay will examine the Ogiek's legal case, briefly covering its historical context, the legal proceedings, and a critical analysis using a human security approach. Thus, this paper aims to answer "how does the application of a human security approach

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contribute to our understanding of the challenges faced by indigenous communities in the chosen case?” Within this framework, first, this essay will give a brief overview of the historical background of the indigenous people and then address the Ogiek community. Then, this essay will provide the concept of human security along with explaining global governance. Lastly, Ogiek’s case study will then be discussed through the lens of the human security approach with five identified characteristics.

## **2.Methodology**

In this paper, a qualitative analysis highlights the connection between indigenous people’s land rights and human security. Employing the UNDP’s 1994 Human Development Report (HDR) as an analytical framework, the study categorizes its outputs into five distinct variables, applying them to illuminate the Ogiek case. Besides, the analytical framework does not prioritize any specific characteristics within the human security paradigm and therefore it uses nominal variables to construct a more inclusive understanding. This study, which is positioned as descriptive research, highlights the need of investigating various social organization and political decision-making processes beyond the authority of the state. Overall, this article claims that the understanding of the many dynamics present in case studies requires the adoption of a human security perspective, which enhances comprehension of both subnational and supranational concerns.

## **3.Historical Background: Indigenous People in Kenya**

Kenya’s past is characterized by colonization, when the British Empire took over in the late 1800s (Hornsby, 2013). Following its 1963 declaration of independence from British Empire, Kenya has faced opportunities as well as challenges in a number of areas, including government, the economy, and human rights (Hornsby, 2013). Especially land ownership and resource distribution witnessed substantial changes during the colonial era, which had long-lasting effects on Kenya’s indigenous populations (Hornsby, 2013: 757). While there is not a formal list of ethnic groups in Kenya, the number of ethnic categories and subcategories included in the nation’s population has varied over time, rising from 42 in 1969 to over 120 in 2019 (International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs [IWGIA], 2022: 7). Many pastoralist and hunter-gatherer societies among them claim to be indigenous peoples (IWGIA, 2022: 7). Kenya’s population is primarily rural, with sizable concentrations found along the coast around Mombasa and in the Highlands and Rift Valley surrounding the towns of Nairobi and Kisumu (IWGIA, 2022: 7). Kenya’s indigenous population include pastoralists like Endorois, Turkana, Maasai, and Samburu, as well as hunter-gatherers like Ogiek, Sengwer, Yaaku Waata, and Sanya. A quarter of the country’s population is thought to be pastoralists, and there are about 79,000 individual hunter-gatherers in the biggest group (IWGIA, 2022: 7). The majority of hunter-gatherer communities are found around rivers and lakes, in the coastal regions, and in the wooded Highlands (IWGIA, 2022). They used to hunt, fish, gather honey and other forest items (IWGIA,

2022: 1). Pastoralist communities are found in arid and semi-arid lands, which make approximately 84% of the country's geographical area (IWGIA, 2022: 1). Their sizes, cultures, and identities are different (IWGIA, 2022: 6). Because of their past experiences with marginalization and discrimination, indigenous peoples continue to face economic marginalization and socio-political exclusion (IWGIA, 2022: 6). Land dispossession is another long-standing issue facing indigenous peoples (IWGIA, 2022: 9). The reasons for this dispossession include development, agriculture, preservation of the environment, military goals, and the perception by policymakers that the indigenous ways of life were archaic and detrimental to the environment (IWGIA, 2022: 9). The Ogieks<sup>1</sup> are one of the indigenous communities who experience these dispossessions, finding themselves endangered in terms of their survival and human security in the pursuit of economic development and prosperity (Koech and Simiyu, 2023: 305). In this regard, the Mau Forest and the role of Ogieks will be examined in the next section.

#### **4.Mau Forest**

The Mau Forest, which covers 900 km<sup>2</sup>, is made up of six distinct satellite forests and sixteen connected forests (Klopp and Sang, 2011: 125). They comprise the biggest remaining indigenous forest in East Africa and together they form a single ecosystem (Klopp and Sang, 2011: 125). The Mau Forest complex is extremely significant because it acts as a reservoir for rivers west of the Great Rift Valley, even though less is known about it compared to many other East African forests (Klopp and Sang, 2011: 125). Critical ecosystem services are supplied by the Mau Forest to both Kenya and the surrounding region (Klopp and Sang, 2011: 125-126). These include of controlling river flow, preventing floods, storing water, decreasing soil erosion, promoting biodiversity, sequestering carbon, creating a carbon reservoir, and controlling microclimates (Klopp and Sang, 2011: 133). The Ogiek people, who have been hunting and gathering in the forest since long before colonization, also call the Mau home (Kimaiyo, 2004). The nearby populations also depend on the forest for their food, medicine, grazing grounds, water, and firewood. The forest is vital to Kenya's tea, tourism, and energy sectors, according to the Kenyan government and the United Nations Environment Programme (Force, 2009: 16). According to one estimate, the eco-services of the Mau provide about 35,000 employments in the tea industry alone, supporting the livelihoods of 50,000 small farmers and their 430,000 dependents (Force, 2009: 15-16). Accordingly, there would be profound cultural, social, and economic repercussions if the Mau were destroyed (Klopp and Sang, 2011: 126). The nearby populations also depend on the forest for their food, medicine, grazing grounds, water, and firewood. Accordingly, there would be profound cultural, social, and economic repercussions if the Mau were destroyed (Klopp and Sang, 2011: 126).

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<sup>1</sup>Some resources also refer it as "Okiek", in this essay the term "Ogiek" will be used for this community.

## 5. Ogiek People in Kenya

The Ogieks<sup>2</sup> are a tribe of at least 33 indigenous groups who live in Kenya's highland forests, notably Mou forest (Blackburn, 1982: 285). They are mostly wild fruit and root gatherers who also engage in traditional beekeeping, game hunting, and honey gathering (Claridge, 2017: 3). Besides, in Kenya, the Ogieks are the guardians of the ecosystem that sustains them and have lived in Kenya's Mau Forest since the beginning of time (Claridge, 2017: 3). Their distinct style of living is particularly suited to the wilderness (Claridge, 2017: 3). According to them, the Mau Forest serves as the community's home, place of education, cultural identity, and way of life, giving it a feeling of pride and purpose (Claridge, 2017: 3). Although the Ogieks have traditionally relied on the Mou forest for their livelihood, they have long faced difficulties asserting their land rights (Claridge, 2017: 3). Thus, the Ogiek people have experienced persistent denials and disregards about their rights to their traditionally held lands (Claridge, 2017: 3). The Kenyan government has frequently forced the Ogiek from their ancestral land without consulting or compensation since the country's independence, and even before (Claridge, 2017: 3). Without giving the Ogiek any share in the profits, the government has given land to other companies, including political supporters, and allowed substantial commercial logging to occur (Claridge, 2017: 3). The combination of these activities has threatened the Ogiek people's basic existence by preventing them from living according to their traditional hunter-gatherer lifestyle (Claridge, 2017: 3). Within this framework, the Ogieks have been unable to carry out their traditional religious and cultural rituals since they were driven from their ancestral homeland and denied entry to their home (Claridge, 2017: 3). The Ogiek have filed numerous lawsuits against the Kenyan government in the last 50 years, claiming that they have been treated unfairly and, most importantly, that their property has been illegally taken from them. (Kimaiyo, 2004). In this regard, October 2009 was a turning point for Ogieks because Ogieks and other settlers in the Mau Forest were given a 30-day notice to evacuate the area by the Kenyan government, acting through the Kenya Forestry Service. (Claridge, 2017: 4). After numerous national legal actions and advocacy campaigns failed to address the historical land injustices already experienced, the Ogiek people decided to file a case against their government to the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights with the support of two non-governmental organizations, the Center for Minority Rights Development, and Minority Rights Group International (Claridge, 2017: 3-4).

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<sup>2</sup> According to some sources, the Ogiek are mostly referred to in literature as the "Dorobo," a general term that comes from the Swahili word "Wandorobo," which is derived from the Maasai word "Il Toroboni," which refers to a person who is so impoverished that the individual has no cattle and must therefore survive on wild meat (Blackburn, 1982: 283). Thus, the Maasai, early Swahili traders, and later Europeans used the phrase indiscriminately (Blackburn, 1982, p. 283). On the other hand, the word "Ogiek" means "caretaker of all plants and wild animals" (Claridge, 2017: 3).

## **6.Ogiek vs Kenyan Government: African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights**

In this section, Ogiek people's court process will be explored. Prior to that, a brief explanation of African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights, the concepts of indigenous people and land rights will be provided.

### **6.1. African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights**

In 1986, the African Commission<sup>3</sup> was established and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights came into effect, establishing the African human rights system (Rösch, 2017: 244). The institutional structure has gotten bigger and bigger ever since (Rösch, 2017: 244). The Additional Protocol on the establishment of the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights came into effect in 2004 after other Protocols had been signed (Rösch, 2017: 244). There are many claims that are deemed inadmissible before the African Court due to the rather convoluted connection between the African Commission and the African Court (Rösch, 2017: 244). The African Commission is quasi-judicial body that has the authority to hear "other complaints" including complaints from the government (Rösch, 2017: 244). Every member state of the African Union (AU) acknowledges the Commission's competence (Rösch, 2017: 244). Because just thirty of them have ratified the Protocol on the formation of the African Court, the African Court is not as recognized (Rösch, 2017: 244). The Protocol provides that communications from the African Commission, member states, and African intergovernmental organizations may be received by the African Court (Rösch, 2017: 244). Furthermore, nations may submit a declaration permitting individual and non-governmental organization complaints in accordance with Articles 5(3) and 35(6) of the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Establishment of the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights (Rösch, 2017: 244).

On the other hand, there is an essential point on the African court to be addressed (Open Society Justice Initiative [OSJI], 2023). Following the formation of the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights, member states falling under its authority are required to abide by the Court's rulings in any case in which they are parties, within the time frame specified by the Court. Ensuring that the Court's rulings are carried out is another duty of the states. In accordance with Article 31 of the Protocol, if a State does not comply, this noncompliance is reported in the Court's report to the Assembly

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<sup>3</sup> "The Commission began operating in 1987 with a broad mandate, including the promotion and protection of human rights, the interpretation of the Charter and any other task entrusted to it by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. In terms of its promotional mandate, the Commission has the power to collect documents, undertake studies and research, organize seminars, symposia and conferences, disseminate information, encourage national and local institutions concerned with human and peoples' rights and, should the case arise, give its views or make recommendations to governments. It also has the power to formulate and lay down principles and rules aimed at solving legal problems relating to human and peoples' rights and fundamental freedoms and to cooperate with other African and international institutions concerned with the promotion and protection of human and peoples' rights" (Bekker, 2007: 156).

(OSJI, 2023).

The Protocol creating the African Court has been approved by most States, however the rulings of the African Court are not widely enforced. States have frequently postponed implementing court-ordered remedies for human rights violations. The political authorities of the African Union have not taken sufficient initiative to guarantee that State acts rapidly implement, binding in nature, court rulings. In response to the Court's decisions, a few States withdrew their declarations. In response to the Court's decisions, a few States withdrew their declarations; Rwanda in 2016, Tanzania in 2019, and Benin and Cote d'Ivoire in 2020. For the people in question who were denied access to a legal remedy that they had already been given, as well as for the preservation of human rights throughout the continent, these developments to the Court itself represent serious setbacks (Why the African Court, 2023).

## **6.2. Concept of Indigenous People in Africa**

Given that the transnational indigenous movement began in the Americas and that African experiences have long been neglected, the idea of being indigenous is more contentious in Africa than it is in other parts of the world (Ndahinda, 2011: 59). Indigenous rights were gradually introduced to Africa by local African communities and non-governmental organizations starting in the late 1980s, which helped to establish their acceptance at the national and regional levels (Rösch, 2017: 246). The African Commission formerly opposed the need for a legal protection system for indigenous populations, reflecting the tendency of many African nations to reject the concept of indigenous rights (Davis, 2008: 18). Their main concern is that the idea would favor some ethnic groups over others and encourage secession. Nonetheless, various scholars and communities disagree with the idea, arguing that it perpetuates colonial prejudices and is an "artificial construction" of Africa (African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, 2005: 86). The African Commission's Working Group on the Situation of Indigenous Populations/Communities in Africa was founded in 2003 in response to the continuing discussions around indigenism (Rösch, 2017: 246). It takes on three roles: developing an African definition of indigenism, investigating how the African Charter affects indigenous peoples, and formulating suggestions for the monitoring and protection of indigenous peoples' rights (Rösch, 2017: 246). As a result, it is central to the discussion of indigenous rights within the African human rights framework and actively engages in partnerships with non-governmental organizations and indigenous groups (Mukundi Wachira/Karjala, 2011: 401).

## **6.3. Right to Land in Africa**

Land assumed a central role in the Ogiek case. While the indigenous right to land is recognized by International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention 169 and

the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), the African Charter does not explicitly contain a right to land, neither individually nor collectively (Rösch, 2017: 251). In the African human rights system, it has been derived in three different ways: from the right to property (Article 14), the right to practice religion (Article 8) and the right to culture (Article 17) (Rösch, 2017: 251). The African Court discussed it mainly as a derivative of the right to property (Article 14), but different aspects of the right to land also reappeared in relation to other rights (Rösch, 2017: 251). Thus, it is thus not very surprising that the African Court aligned itself to the African Commission's position (Rösch, 2017: 253). It derived a communal right to land from the right to property by interpreting the African Charter in the light of the UNDRIP. (Rösch, 2017, p. 253). Article 14 can thus be both an individual and a collective right (Rösch, 2017: 253). Restrictions are only allowed in the public interest or in the interest of the community and in conformity with national legislation (Rösch, 2017: 253)

#### **6.4.Ogieks vs Kenyan Government**

The Ogieks have been fighting for their land since the 1960s (Rösch, 2017: 245). In October 2009, the Kenyan Government issued a 30-day evacuation notice to the Ogiek community for forest protection reasons, further exacerbating the situation (Rösch, 2017: 245). In the next month, two non-governmental organizations (NGOs) representing the Ogiek community in the Mau Forest, the Centre for Minority Rights Developments (CEMIRIDE) and Minority Rights Group International (MRGI), filed a complaint to the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (Rösch, 2017: 245). In 2012, the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights transferred the case to the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights in accordance with Article 84 of the Rules of the African Commission because the Kenyan government disregarded the African Commission's directive for provisional measures (Rösch, 2017: 245). The eviction was severe enough to potentially violate the Ogiek people's rights to property and development, among other things, and the African Court issued an order of provisional measures in 2013 in response to a directive from the Kenyan government amending the country's land legislation against the Ogieks (Rösch, 2017: 245). Nothing came of the Court's Protocol's Article 9's peaceful resolution procedure (Rösch, 2017: 245). Later, in May 2017, The African Court declared that there had been violations of the following rights: the right to property (Article 14), the right to culture (Article 17(2) and (3)), the right to development (Article 22), the freedom to profess religion (Article 8), the right to non-discrimination (Article 2), and the right to natural resources (Article 23) (Rösch, 2017: 245). As a result, the Kenyan government has to take the necessary action (Rösch, 2017: 245). In July 2020, during the COVID-19 pandemic, the Kenyan government evacuated Ogiek people from Eastern Mau, notwithstanding the victory (Chebet, 2023). This move received harsh condemnation from both domestic and international groups (Chebet, 2023). Two years later, The African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights declared on June 23, 2022,

that the Kenyan government must acknowledge the Ogiek's indigeneity, assist them in obtaining legal rights to their ancestral lands, and compensate them 157,850,000 shillings for decades of material and moral losses (Lee, 2022).

## **7.Human Security Approach**

### **7.1.Review of Human Security**

The concept of "human security" states that the primary goal of both domestic and international security strategies should be ensuring the safety of human lives (Bajpai, 2003). It stands in contrast to and developed from growing discontent with the state-centered conception of security as a conceptual framework for comprehending contemporary human vulnerabilities and military actions as well as suitable responses to them. (Bajpai, 2003).

Utilization of the idea has expanded since the mid-1990s. (Gasper 2010). Although it was first mostly used in relation to state policies and the search for new international security and development agendas following the end of the Cold War, civil society organizations are increasingly using it to advocate for policies on a wider range of current issues, such as migration, climate change, and civil war (O'Brien et al, 2010; Gasper 2010). Research and degree programs in human security have been developed by academic institutions (e.g., University of Massachusetts Boston and University of Tokyo). However, the concept of human security is problematic. Its concept has been given many different forms, and there have been several attempts to develop related international agendas. There have been disagreements over attempts to institutionalize human security at the UN and advance it as a foreign policy tool for governments (Parr and Messineo, 2012: 2). A substantial body of literature has been produced that either explains, defends, or challenges the concept's meaning. It allows for new perspectives and offers voice to new actors. Its emphasis on people and integration of non-military methods as security measures adds value to the security domain (Parr and Messineo, 2012: 3). For instance, *Common Security: A Blueprint for Survival*, published in 1982 by the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues under the direction of Olof Palme, discussed how security entails not only military but also economic and political cooperation (Rothschild, 1995). Numerous actors have proposed the broad formulation, including the 1994 HDR, the European Council and the Barcelona Group, the Commission on Human Security, the Government of Japan, and academics like Thomas (2000), Chen and Narasimhan (2003), King and Murray (2001), Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy (2007) and Beebe and Kaldor (2008). Some adopt a more reductionist approach, focusing only on threats from disease and natural disasters (King and Murray 2001). Additionally, the UN's Human Security Network, the yearly Human Security Reports, and scholars like MacFarlane and Khong employ the narrowed definition, which concentrates on threats of violence, especially organized political violence (MacFarlane and Khong, 2006: 245). Human security is defined as "freedom from organized violence," which

is defined as follows: (1) the violence is perpetrated by a known offender; (2) it is not random but rather is arranged in a way that “makes that violence potent” (MacFarlane and Khong, 2006: 245). Besides, many international affairs practitioners in the areas of development and security are skeptical about its applicability in real-world situations and political significance and criticize it for being unclear and open to interpretation (whether it is a norm or a term) (Paris, 2001).

It is challenging to provide a precise definition of human security because, “like other fundamental concepts, such as human freedom, human security is more easily identified through its absence than its presence, and most people instinctively understand what security means,” according to HDR 1994 (UNDP 1994), which is frequently cited as the origin of the term’s modern broad usage. Overall, the two pillars of the UN charter, freedom from want and freedom from fear, which serve as the cornerstones of human rights instruments, are frequently described as integrating human security in UN texts and discussions (Ogata 1998, Thakur 1997, Frechette 1999, Annan 2000). The broad definition is closely related to the conceptions of human rights and capabilities, representing their intellectual underpinnings (Parr and Messineo, 2012: 7). Despite the debate, the core normative principles of the human security notion have been embedded in UN policy documents on Post-Cold War shared global security objectives since the 1990s (Parr and Messineo, 2012: 9).

## **7.2.Human Security Framework**

In the case of Ogieks, gaining their land rights is equivalent to protecting their human rights. In this regard, despite being theoretically separate, human security and human rights are inextricably connected (Andersen-Rodgers and Crawford, 2022: 75). Within this framework, this section will aim to examine Ogiek’s case via human security approach. First the main characteristics of human security approach will be provided. It is important to note that, as addressed above, there is no standard definition of human security. In this paper, HDR will be used as the basis for human security within the framework of global governance. Before addressing UNHDP’s conceptual framework, this paper will briefly mention about the development of human security.

Today’s world has global issues (e.g., humanitarian crises, military conflicts between and within states, climate change, terrorism, the drug trade, AIDS, and economic instability) that pose severe challenges to human security in countries (Jang et al., 2016: 1-2). These issues have grown too complex for a single state to handle on its own, and thus it creates global interdependencies (Jang et al., 2016: 1; Rosenau, 1992: 3). In this regard, “in a world where authority is undergoing continuous relocation – both outward toward supranational entities and inward toward subnational groups - it becomes increasingly imperative to probe how governance can occur in the absence of government” (Rosenau, 1992: 2). Within this scope, global governance emerged as a relatively new concept, theory and tool that is developed by both academics and policy-makers in order to provide a comprehensive understanding



of the changing world system, its issues and potential pathways for addressing them (Jang et al., 2016; Dingwerth and Pattberg, 2006). Hence, global governance with its various processes, mechanisms, and structures emerged for solving these new global issues. However, global governance cannot be addressed clearly due to the complex nature of these global problems and gaps within international order (Jang et al., 2016). Besides, global issues in all sectors (e.g., health, food, environment, humanitarian) are not isolated from the political and socio-economic dynamics of communities. Hence, in order to assess and/or provide global solutions to the challenges that exist in the field of global governance, it is not enough to recognize global issues evidently. At any scale, this process is challenging. Even the most appropriate global solutions may not be implemented because it is one of the most difficult policy areas to understand and in which to operate. In this regard, it is important to examine distinct features of global governance.

The main reason for the formation of these new four structures is the involvement of new types of agencies, actors and governors in global politics in addition to national governments (Jang et al., 2016; Avant et al., 2010). Hence, global governance includes not only states but also international organizations, nongovernmental organizations, transnational corporations, norm entrepreneurs, scientific experts, civil society groups, networks, partnerships, activists, business associations, professional associations, private military and security companies, as well as transnational criminal and drug-trafficking networks (Jang et al., 2016: 2; Dingwerth and Pattberg, 2006). Since a large number of these new actors define and influence the existing global governance framework, these are active agents that seek new structures and rules (Jang et al., 2016: 2; Avant et al., 2010). They are therefore not just considered as actors but also as governors<sup>4</sup>, authorities that wield power across boundaries in order to influence policy (e.g., EU<sup>5</sup>) (Avant et al., 2010: 2). The concept of global governance also attributes an equal role to actors/governors rather than establishing a hierarchy among them (Dingwerth and Pattberg, 2006: 192). For instance, both the Belgian government and Greenpeace are considered actors in international governance (Dingwerth and Pattberg, 2006: 192). “Governors thus create issues, set agendas, establish and implement rules and programs, and/or adjudicate outcomes” (Avant et al., 2010: 2).

Within this framework, the new human security approach is among the main concepts introduced by global governance. One of the main reasons is that since the release of the 1994 HDR, there is notable change in the concept of security, notably a change from national security to human security. In this regard, first, there is a focus shift from traditional state-centered security (especially from nuclear security) to a people-centric approach (people’s wellbeing) (Andersen-Rodgers and Crawford, 2022). Second, the report identified seven dimensions of human security, including

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<sup>4</sup> There are five bases of authority for governors: institutional, delegated, expert, principled, and capacity-based (Avant et al., 2010: 11-13).

<sup>5</sup> “Global governance is, in this perspective, frequently conceived as a long-term project of global integration, for which the evolution of the European Union can be considered a model” (Dingwerth and Pattberg, 2006: 195).

economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political security (UNDP, 1994). Thus, the different aspects of security that have an impact on people and communities are acknowledged by this multidimensional approach. Third, human security encompasses a wider range of actors than traditional national security, which is mainly dependent on states, state agencies, and alliances (Andersen-Rodgers and Crawford, 2022). Human security includes states, local and state-level agencies, international law, treaties, agreements, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), civil society, and individual citizens (Andersen-Rodgers and Crawford, 2022). The report highlights the role that different actors play in promoting human security when there is a lack of governmental security actors (United Nations Development Program [UNDP], 1994). Fourth, in line with this evolving perspective, human security is generally defined as the freedom from want and the freedom from fear. Fifth, due to the expansion of scope and actors, it represents all three generational rights: first generational (civil and political rights as the earliest human rights), second generational (basic needs such as food, shelter, education, and employment are met and they are able and empowered to participate in society to the fullest extent) and third generational rights (cultural heritage, minority rights, children's rights, women's rights, and environmental rights, among others) (Andersen-Rodgers and Crawford, 2022: 85). Hence, human security emphasizes the complexity of security and the engagement of multiple actors in securing the rights and well-being of individuals and communities, representing a substantial shift towards the way people perceive and address security issues. As a result, HDR's human security approach in the political realm is considered as "larging people's choices" (UNDP, 1994).



Figure 1. Characteristics of human security

### 8.Ogieks through the Lens of Human Security

First of all, it is apparent from the examination of Ogieks from a human security perspective that the Ogiek case is people-centric, concentrating on the survival and well-being of an indigenous group. Beyond simple geography, the Ogiek people have a deep bond with their ancestral territories, especially the Mau Forest. It includes a way of life that has been carried out for centuries, as well as their cultural identity and livelihood. The Ogiek's fight for human rights and land emphasizes how crucial it is to acknowledge indigenous groups as essential to the human security framework and how their well-being is linked to the well-being of society as a whole.

Secondly, the Ogiek case covers all seven dimensions (economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political security) of human security and therefore provide an example of the multifaceted nature of human security. Ogieks have strong linkages to food and economic security because of their reliance on the

Mau Forest for hunting and gathering. Since they are forced from their ancestral lands, their loss of livelihoods has a major impact on their capacity to maintain a stable economic situation. It also puts their food security in jeopardy since it makes traditional hunting and gathering methods unattainable. On the health side, Ogiek people's forced removal from the Mau Forest disrupts their long-standing health practices, knowledge, and resources. Hence, the Ogiek people lose access to the healing methods and supplies that have historically kept them alive when they are forced from their ancestral territories. The lack of these services can put community members' health at risk, particularly if they depend on these conventional treatments for a range of illnesses. Ogiek's evacuation caused a loss of cultural identity and social cohesiveness, which may have had psychological challenges on community members. Regarding the environmental dimensions, the eviction of the Ogieks poses a threat to the environmental security of the entire region because their presence in the forest has traditionally helped preserve the ecosystem. This illustrates how indigenous cultures and environmental sustainability are interdependent. Furthermore, the Ogiek people face cultural dislocation and displacement as a result of their forced removal, which raises concerns about personal and communal security. As they challenge the policies of the government and interact with the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights to protect their land rights, political security becomes crucial. The interdependence of these elements highlights the complex nature of human security and the necessity of addressing several aspects in order to ensure the well-being of indigenous populations.

Third, the engagement of various actors in human security is demonstrated by Ogiek's capacity to secure land rights and seek compensation through the African Court of Human and People's Rights. With NGOs' assistance, the Ogiek community was able to file a complaint against their government with an international court. Besides, a regional authority, African Court of Human and People's Rights, played a pivotal role in recognizing and affirming their rights. Before that another regional authority, the African Commission, transferred the case to the African Court. This shows how marginalized groups are able to stand to defend their rights and secure their well-being. It also emphasizes the need of having legal mechanisms available to individuals and the function of international organizations in preserving human security.

Fourth, the struggle of the Ogiek people embodies the two fundamental tenets of the human security framework: freedom from want and freedom from fear. In an effort to end poverty and economic instability, they want access to their ancestral lands and means of subsistence in order to achieve their goal of freedom from want. Their dependence on their lands extends across the seven dimensions of security (the second part of the human security approach) and makes their human security particularly vulnerable to external interventions/influences. As a result, the Ogiek people also seek freedom from fear. Considering both freedom from want and fear highlights the holistic nature of the challenges faced by Ogiek people, emphasizing

the interdependence between economic stability, land rights and broader dimensions of security.

Fifth, since the Ogiek case acknowledges that the effects of their battle go beyond the current generation, it also exemplifies the idea of generational rights in human security. They safeguard the rights of future generations to their cultural legacy, economic stability, and environmental sustainability by protecting their lands and customs. This long-term view emphasizes how crucial it is to defend indigenous rights within the scope of human security.

Human Security	Ogiek People
Security Shift from National to Human	Ogiek case is people-centric, concentrating on the survival and well-being of an indigenous group
New Seven Dimensions	Ogiek case covers all seven dimensions (economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political security) of human security and therefore provide an example of the multifaceted nature of human security
Involvement of New Actors	Involvement of local groups, NGOs and regional actors and state authorities
Freedom from want and freedom from fear	Ogiek case is about accessing to their ancestral lands and means of subsistence in order to achieve their goal of freedom from want and also is about freedom from fear to ensure their rights to not subjected to eviction or other external interventions
Three generational rights	Ogiek case exemplifies securing the rights of future generations to their cultural legacy, economic stability, and environmental sustainability by protecting their lands and customs

Table 1. Evaluation of Ogiek Case through human security

Overall, the case of Ogieks is applicable in human security concept and it matches with its five characteristics. Securing the land rights of the Ogiek people, when considered from the broad perspective of human security, can increase the security of both individuals and communities, ensure their survival, and provide them with greater control. This includes human security elements such as justice, security,

cultural identity and environmental sustainability.

In addition to above mentioned facts, a study examines the challenges that Ogieks confront due to the eviction via using questionnaires 465 respondents<sup>6</sup> (Koech and Simiyu, 2023: 305). The results are provided in the below table.

Challenge	Agree	Disagree	Don't know
Integration challenges	100%	0%	0%
Psychological challenges	100%	0%	0%
Communication challenges	100%	0%	0%
Cultural preservation challenges	100%	0%	0%
Governance and administrative challenges	100%	0%	0%
Financial challenges	99 %	1%	0%
Educational and health challenges	99 %	1%	0%
Cultural challenges	98%	2%	0%
Legal challenges	98 %	1%	1%
Social challenges	98 %	1%	1%

Table 2. Challenges faced by the Ogiek as a Result of Evictions (Koech and Simiyu, 2023: 305)

Consequently, this study highlights the relevance of human security across several sectors and supports the concept that these issues pose a danger to Ogieks' capacity to achieve basic human needs and may have long-term damaging implications for their well-being.

### Conclusion

This essay examines the Ogiek case, taking into account its foundation in history, its legal implications, and its connection to the concept of human security in broad. First, this essay provides a brief overview of the indigenous people's historical past before focusing on the Ogiek community. After that, this study looks at the legal system in Africa while delivering data on land rights and indigenous status. Finally, Ogiek's case study is examined using the five characteristics of the human security

6 "384 household heads, 1 county commissioner, 2 deputy county commissioners, 7 chiefs, 14 village elders, 1 county police commander, 2 sub-county police commanders, 5 conservationist organizations, 5 environmentalist groups, 1 United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) officer, 1 UN Habitat officer, 1 officer from the ministry of environment, 10 officers from Kenya Forest Service (KFS), 10 officers from Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS), 5 officers from non-governmental organizations (NGOs), 1 officer from the National Environment Management Authority (NEMA), 15 heads of NGOs, and Community-Based Organizations" (Koech and Simiyu, 2023: 305).

approach as a framework. Within this scope, the Ogiek case can demonstrate how the complex structure of human security fits into this context. This can be important because human security is something that can never be ensured (as can be seen that after the Ogiek's victory, they have been evacuated again), there will always be security problems at different scales in different sectors. In this regard, in order to understand human security issues comprehensively, it is important to consider different dimensions and angles of the issue. Hence, reflecting on experiences such as the Ogiek case can be informative in terms of filling the gap in the literature, especially within the global governance literature, and seeing which practices in human security work under what conditions. Therefore, reflecting on these experiences may shed light on future interventions. As a result, the Ogiek case is not about only Ogieks, but also about the concerns of many indigenous tribes about land rights and general well-being.

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# AFRİKA'DA İKLİM DEĞİŞİKLİĞİNİN ETKİLERİ: İKLİM ADALETİ VE GÖÇ\*

## CLIMATE CHANGE EFFECTS IN AFRICA: CLIMATE JUSTICE AND MIGRATION

Saliha METİN\*\*

**Öz:** İklim değışikliği antropojenik kaynaklı küresel bir sorundur. Bu sorunun ortaya çıkmasında endüstriyel büyüme ve onun net sonucu olan Dünya'nın soğurma kapasitenin çok üzerinde sera gazı emisyonu yapılması etkilidir. Sera gazı emisyonlarındaki artış ve karbon salınımının kontrol edilememesi beraberinde iklim değışikliğini doğurmuş bu da "iklim adaleti" kavramını küresel literatüre kazandırmıştır. Zira, antropojenik etkilerde en az payı bulunan ülkeler iklim değışikliğinden en çok etkilenenlerdir. Refahın ve risklerin eşitsiz dağılımını inceleyen "İklim adaleti", sera gazı emisyonlarında sorumluluğu bulunan gelişmiş sanayi ülkelerini geliştirmekte olan yoksul ülkelere karşı ekolojik bir borçluluğunu da savunmaktadır. Sera gazı emisyonlarının oldukça düşük bir bölümünden sorumlu olmasına rağmen iklim adaletsizliğinin en bariz görüldüğü bölgelerden biri Afrika Kıtası'dır. İklim değışikliği Afrika'da gıda ve suya erişim sıkıntısı, geçim kaynaklarının kaybedilmesi, bulaşıcı hastalıkların yayılması, hijyen sorunu, göç ve kültürel kayıplar gibi problemlere neden olmaktadır. Bu çalışma, "iklim adaleti" kavramının Afrika özelinde göç ile ilişkisini incelemektedir. Çalışmada literatür taraması tekniği kullanılarak Afrika'da iklim değışikliği kaynaklı göçlerin nedenleri ve sonuçları irdelenmiş ve ortaya çıkan adaletsizliklerden bahsedilmiştir. Özellikle uluslararası alanda iklim göçmenlerine ilişkin net bir hukuki çerçeve bulunmaması, insan haklarını koruma konusunda zorluklara neden olmaktadır. Betimleyici metodoloji ile kaleme alınan bu makale iklim adaletini sağlamak için ortaya çıkan finansal yardımların yeterliliğini de tartışmaktadır. Afrika'nın iklim değışikliği bağlamında karşılaştığı olumsuzluklar ve riskler, iklim göçmenlerini de içine alan adil yaklaşımların benimsenmesi ihtiyacını göstermektedir. Bu nedenle hem iklim adaletini sağlamak hem de gelecek nesillerin yaşamını sürdürülebilir kılmak açısından maddi yardımlarla kısıtlanmayan, daha kapsayıcı küresel politikalar geliştirmek önemlidir. Formun Üstü

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** İklim değışikliği, iklim adaleti, Afrika, göç

**Abstract:** Climate change is a global problem of emanating from anthropogenic factors. The reason behind the emergence of this problem is industrialisation, and its net reflections is seen on the degrading of earth's absorptive capacity. The increase in greenhouse gas emissions and the inability to control carbon emissions have led to climate change, which has inevitably brought forth the concept of "climate justice" to the literature. Because, there is uneven consequences of climate changes, as some countries with the least share in anthropogenic impacts are most affected. From this background, "climate justice" examines the unequal distribution of wealth and risks, also advocates an ecological debt of developed industrial countries, which are responsible for greenhouse gas emissions to poor developing countries. Although Africa causes the least greenhouse gas emissions, the continent faces the severe consequences of such influence. At best, climate change causes problems in Africa such as lack of access to food and water, loss of livelihoods, spread of infectious diseases, hygiene problems, migration and cultural losses. This study examines the concept of "climate justice" by looking at

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the case of Africa in relation to migration. This study examines the relationship of the concept of “climate justice” with migration in Africa. In the study, using the literature review technique, the causes and consequences of climate change-induced migration in Africa were examined and the resulting injustices were mentioned. The lack of a clear legal framework regarding climate migrants, especially internationally, causes difficulties in protecting human rights. This article, written with a descriptive methodology, also discusses the adequacy of financial aid to ensure climate justice. The negativities and risks that Africa faces in the context of climate change show the need to adopt fair approaches that include climate migrants. Therefore, it is important to develop more inclusive global policies that are not limited to financial aid, both to ensure climate justice and to make the lives of future generations sustainable.

**Key Words:** Climate change, climate justice, Africa, migration

## Giriş

İklim değişikliği, modern kapitalist dünyanın doğanın kendi kendini yenileme gücünü tahrip etmesi sonucu meydana gelen antropojenik kaynaklı küresel bir sorundur. İklim değişikliği dünyanın birçok farklı bölgesinde aşırı hava olaylarına yol açmakta; kuraklık, deniz seviyesinin yükselmesi, canlıların neslinin tükenme tehlikesiyle birlikte biyoçeşitliliğin kaybı, fırtına ve seller gibi bugünü ve geleceği etkisi altına alan sorunlara neden olmaktadır. Dünyanın ısısının giderek artması; toprağın nemini kaybetmesiyle tarımsal faaliyetlerin verimsizleşmesine, göllerin ve nehirlerin kurumasına yol açmaktadır. İklim değişikliği küresel boyutta bir gıda ve su krizi tehdidi oluşturur. Ancak her ülke ya da bölgenin mevcut koşulları iklim değişikliğine karşı avantajlı ya da dezavantajlı konumlarında belirleyicidir (Akkuş, 2021).

İklim değişikliği ülkelerin ya da toplulukların bulunduğu coğrafi konum, sosyo-ekonomik gelişmişlik düzeyi, idari ve hukuksal yapı ve kültürel faktörlere bağlı olarak farklı düzeylerde etkili olmaktadır. Bu durum iklim adaleti tartışmalarının temelini oluşturur. Özellikle iklim değişikliğinin meydana gelmesinde daha az sorumluluğa sahip ülkelerin daha fazla etkilenmesi, iklim adaleti kavramını ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Günümüzün gelişmiş sanayi ülkeleri sera gazı emisyonları üzerine kurdukları kapitalist zenginlikle gelişimlerini sağlamıştır. Ancak Afrika gelişmekte olan bir bölge olarak küresel sera gazı emisyonunun %2-3’ünden sorumlu olmasına karşılık iklim değişikliğinden en çok zarar gören bölgelerden biridir (WMO, 2022: 34). İklim adaleti kavramı iklim değişikliğinin yalnızca fiziki ve ekonomik çıktıları olan bir durum değil, tüm dünyayı ve gelecek kuşakları kapsayan etik bir problem olduğuna işaret etmektedir.

Afrika’nın tarihsel olarak çok parçalı toplumsal ve kültürel yapısını etkileyen sömürgeci devletler, bugün sera gazı salınımları ile gelişme çabalarını da sekteye uğratan iklim krizinden sorumlu gözükmektedir. Bunların bir çıktısı olarak Afrika’da iklim değişikliği; su kıtlığı, gıda güvencesizliği, geçim kaynaklarının azalması gibi problemlere yol açarak insan hareketliliğine de ivme kazandırmaktadır. Farklı

dinamiklerle artış gösteren insan hareketliliğinin tanımı, bulanıklığını korumakla birlikte Afrika'daki milyonlarca insanın iklim kaynaklı (WMO,2022; OXFAM, 2023), içe veya dışa doğru gerçekleştirdiği hareketlilikte göç, göçmen, yerinden edilme ve mültecilik gibi kavramlar da bir o kadar tartışmalı gözükmektedir. Bu terminolojik sorunun yaşanmasındaki temel hususlardan biri, insan hareketliliğinin gönüllü ya da zorunlu olarak gerçekleşmesidir (Çağlar, 2018). Bununla birlikte Afrika'daki durum, biraz daha farklıdır. Ekolojik sistemdeki bozulmalar insanların ekonomik, sosyal ve hayati birçok açıdan sorun yaşamalarına yol açmakta ve göçe gönüllü olunmasa da bahsi geçen faktörler insanları, doğrudan göçe zorunlu kılmaktadır.

Afrika, iklim krizinin yaşanmasında en az payı bulunan bölgelerden biri olmasına rağmen insanların ve diğer canlıların yaşamını tehdit edecek boyutta bir tehlike ile karşı karşıyadır. Afrika'nın iklim değişikliği konusunda ne gibi sorunlarla karşılaştığı ve iklim adaleti açısından Afrika'nın maruz kaldığı durumun nasıl değerlendirildiği yanıtlanması gereken sorular arasında yerini almaktadır. Bu bağlamda makalede iklim değişikliğinin sonuçlarından biri olan iklim göçüne odaklanılmıştır. Araştırmanın amacı Afrika'da iklim krizinin doğrudan ya da dolaylı sonucu olarak ortaya çıkan göçlerin; sosyal, siyasi, ekonomik ve kültürel boyutlardaki toplumsal etkilerini iklim adaleti çerçevesinde değerlendirmektir. Aynı zamanda, iklim göçmenlerinin haklarının korunması ve uluslararası toplumun sorumluluklarının ne olduğu gibi konular da araştırma kapsamında yer almaktadır. Çalışmada nitel araştırma yöntemlerinden literatür taraması tekniği kullanılmıştır. Araştırmada alan yazınla birlikte Birleşmiş Milletler (UN), Dünya Gıda ve Tarım Örgütü (FAO), Dünya Meteoroloji Örgütü (WMO) gibi uluslararası kuruluşların açıklamaları ve veritabanlarından yararlanılmıştır. Elde edilen veriler doküman analizi tekniği ile değerlendirilmiştir. Makale kapsamında öncelikle iklim değişikliğinin insan kaynaklı olduğu iddiası ele alınmış ve iklim adaleti, kavramsal olarak tanımlanarak iklim adaletinin kapsamına ilişkin genel bir çerçeve çizilmiştir. Afrika'da iklim değişikliğinin etkileri çok boyutlu biçimde incelenerek hem hayati, ekonomik ve sosyal sonuçlar hem de göç boyutu veriler ışığında değerlendirilmiştir. Sonuç kısmında ise Afrika'da yaşanan göçler, sosyo-ekonomik ve kültürel kayıplar, canlıların yaşamlarında oluşan tehditler iklim adaleti açısından tartışılmıştır.

## İklim Değişikliği

Crutzen ve Stoermer (2000) insanın ekolojik sistem üzerindeki etkisinin jeolojik ve morfolojik bir güce dönüşerek Holosen Çağı'nı bitirdiğini söylemekte ve yeni çağı Antroposen olarak adlandırmaktadır. Antroposen kavramı, insanın dünya üzerindeki dönüştürücü gücünü anlatmak amacıyla *anthropos* insan ve jeolojik bir dönemi ifade etmek için kullanılan *cene* kelimelerinin birleşiminden oluşmaktadır. İnsan faaliyetleri gezegenin jeolojik yapısını ve ekolojik sistemlerini kalıcı biçimde değiştirerek doğal olarak gelişen süreçlerin dışına çıkılmasına neden olmuştur. Son iki

yüz yılda insan nüfusunda büyük bir artış yaşanmakta, kentleşme ve endüstrileşmeyle birlikte hem insan eliyle dönüştürülen doğal alan miktarı genişlemiş hem de yoğun karbon salınımı yaşanmıştır (Bekaroğlu, 2022: 1138). İnsanlığın verimlilik, ilerleme ve gelişme ekseninde gerçekleştirdiği faaliyetler doğal dengenin bozulmasına yol açmıştır (Gündoğdu, 2021). Beck'in (2011) Risk Toplumu'nda vurguladığı gibi refah toplumlarının inşasında yer alan sanayileşme ve modern toplum sistemi artık kendi varlığını tehdit eden krizler yaratmaktadır.

İklim değişikliği, özellikle sanayileşme, yaygın sera gazı emisyonları, teknolojik ilerleme ve tüketim kalıpları sonucu durmaksızın büyüyen kapitalist sistemleri meydana getiren insan faaliyetleriyle doğrudan bağlantılıdır. 18. yüzyılın sonlarında sanayileşmenin ortaya çıkışı, ulusların fosil yakıtlara dayalı üretim süreçlerini benimsemesi atmosferdeki sera gazı emisyonlarını artırmış, ormansızlaşma ve atıkların kontrolsüzlüğü sonucu doğal çevre tahrip edilmiştir. Kar maksimizasyonu ve piyasa odaklı büyümeyi merkeze alan kapitalizm, çevresel ve iklimsel bozulmalar pahasına verimliliğe ve üretkenliğe öncelik vermektedir. Teknolojideki ilerlemeler ise hem ekonomik büyümeye katkıda bulunmakta hem de insanlığın doğayı kontrol altına almasını ve kaynak olarak kullanmasını kolaylaştırmaktadır.

Endüstriyel üretim ve gelişme son yüzyılda fosil yakıt kullanımındaki yoğunluğu ve karbon salınımını artırarak sera gazlarının atmosferde olağan durumdan fazla birikmesine neden olmuştur (Özerdem - Barlas, 2021; Türkes, 2008). Doğal koşullarda dünya üzerindeki denizler ve ormanlar sera gazı salınımlarını absorbe etme kabiliyetine sahiptir. Ancak sanayileşmeden günümüze insan kaynaklı sera gazı emisyonlarında yaşanan artış dünyanın soğurabileceği karbon kapasitesinin aşmasına ve karbonun atmosfere karışarak küresel ısıyı artırmasına neden olmaktadır (WMO, 2022: 34). Dünya ısındıkça ekosistemin doğal süreçlerinin dışında ve aşırı iklimsel olaylar meydana gelmektedir. Küresel ısınma iklimi kalıcı biçimde değişikliğe uğratmaktadır. Birleşmiş Milletler İklim Değişikliği Çerçeve Sözleşmesi'nde (1994) iklim değişikliği "*...karşılaştırılabilir zaman dilimlerinde gözlenen doğal iklim değişikliğine ek olarak, doğrudan veya dolaylı olarak küresel atmosferin bileşimini bozan insan faaliyetleri sonucunda iklimde oluşan bir değişiklik*" olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Özellikle bu sözleşmeye taraf olan ülkeler insan faaliyetlerinin doğal sistemi bozduğunu ve iklim değişikliğinin insan yaşamı tehdit eden ortak bir kaygı haline geldiğini kabul etmektedir. Böylece çevresel yıkımın insanların ya da toplumların dışında ve onlardan bağımsız olaylar olmadığı küresel olarak onaylanmıştır.

Kapitalist sistemin rekabet ve kâr öncelikli ekonomik faydaya indirgenmiş bakış açısı doğal kaynakların sınırsızca sömürülmesine neden olmuştur. Bilimsel ve teknolojik gelişmeler, insanın doğa üzerindeki hâkimiyetini artırarak biyofiziksel çevreyi tamamıyla kontrol edebileceği insan üstün bir bakış açısının yerleşmesinde etkilidir. Doğa insanın arzuları, amaçları ve ihtiyaçları için kullanılan bir kaynak deposu

olarak görülmektedir (Catton-Dunlap, 1978). Ancak doğa bu yükü kaldıramamış ve kendi kendini yenileme gücünü kaybetmiştir. Roma Kulübü tarafından 1972'de yayınlanan Büyümenin Sınırları Rapor'u sınırlı kaynaklarla üretimini ve büyümesini devamlı kılmak isteyen üreticilerin ve toplumların aynı şekilde üretmeye ve tüketmeye devam etmeleri halinde dünyada yaşamsal faaliyetlerimizi karşılayacak temiz havanın, hammaddelerin ve toprağın kalmayacağına dikkat çekmektedir (Meadows-Meadows vd.,1972). Aşırı hava olaylarının giderek artan sıklığı ve yoğunluğu mahsul verimi, hayvancılık yönetimi ve tedarik zincirlerini olumsuz etkileyerek gıda ihtiyacının karşılanabilirliğini zorlaştırmaktadır. İklim değişikliği çiftçilik, balıkçılık, hayvan yetiştiriciliği gibi iş kollarında geçim kaynaklarını tehdit etmekte ve gelecek yıllarda potansiyel bir gıda kıtlığı yaşanması öngörülmektedir (Hanna-Olivia, 2016). İklim değişikliği, insan refahı açısından kayıplar verilmesine ve yaşamsal sürdürülebilirlik için gerekli unsurların bozulması veya yok olması gibi çok boyutlu sorunlara neden olmaktadır. Bu nedenle çevre krizi yalnızca ekolojik bir sorun değil, küresel anlamda insan yaşamını tehdit eden bir krizdir.

İklim değişikliği ve küresel ısınma, iş birliğine dayalı olarak küresel düzeyde tüm paydaşların ortak çabaları ve katkıları aracılığıyla çözüm geliştirilmesi gereken hayati sorunlardır. 2015 yılında Paris Anlaşmasıyla küresel sıcaklık artışının endüstriyelleşme öncesi döneme kıyasla 2°C'nin altında tutulması ve buna yönelik politikaların geliştirilmesine karar verilmiştir (United Nations, 2015). Dünya Meteoroloji Örgütü'nün raporuna göre dünya sanayileşmeden önceki döneme kıyasla 1,15°C ısınmış durumdadır (WMO,2023: 7). Sıcaklığın artışına neden olan karbon emisyonları kontrol altında tutulmalı ve sıcaklığı 1,5°C sabitlemek için tüm dünyanın gerekli politikaları hızlı şekilde uygulaması beklenmektedir.

İklim değişikliğinin gözle görülür etkileri; aşırı hava olayları, orman yangınları, kuraklık, deniz seviyesinin yükselmesi, su baskınları, fırtınalar gibi yıkıcı olaylarla günlük yaşamda kendini göstermektedir (Türkeş, 2008; Yıldırımçakar-Saydan, 2022). İklim istikrarsızlığı ve yıkıcı hava olayları, öncelikli olarak tarımsal faaliyetleri ve doğal çevreye dayalı tüm üretim tekniklerini ve tüketim unsurlarını sekteye uğratmakta; gıda güvenliği, ekonomik istikrar ve genel toplumsal refah açısından ciddi sonuçlara yol açmaktadır. İklim değişikliğinin, özellikle kapitalizm, sanayileşme ve aşırı tüketim çerçevesinde insan faaliyetleriyle bağlantılı olması, bu çevresel zorlukları etkili bir şekilde ele almak için kapsamlı sistemik değişikliklere olan ihtiyacı göstermektedir. İklim değişikliğini hafifletmeyi amaçlayan girişimler, sürdürülebilir ve dirençli bir gelecek sağlamak için yalnızca politika düzenlemelerini değil aynı zamanda ekonomik yapılarıdaki ve sosyal davranışlardaki temel değişiklikleri de kapsamalıdır. Bu nedenle insan faaliyetlerinin ekolojik sistem üzerindeki baskısını azaltacak ve önleyecek kararlar almak, bu kararları uygulayacak ve denetleyecek mekanizmalar geliştirmek insan türünün, ekolojik dengenin ve diğer tüm canlıların yaşamlarını devam ettirebilmeleri için gereklidir.

## İklim Adaleti

Beck (2011) insan eliyle üretilmiş risklerin eşitsiz biçimde dağıldığını ifade eder. İklim adaleti tartışmaları, sera gazı salınımında öncü olan gelişmiş ülkelerin hem doğal sisteme olan etkisi oldukça az bulunan ülke ve topluluklara karşı hem de gelecek nesillere karşı ekolojik olarak borçlu oldukları etik bir problemi vurgulamaktadır (Akkuş, 2021). Gelişmişlik düzeyi yüksek olan ülkeler gelirleri, teknolojiye erişimleri ve idari yapılarıyla iklim değişikliğine dirençli toplumsal yaşam inşa etme hususunda daha fazla olanağa sahiptir. Ayrıca bu ülkelerin gelişimlerinin temelinde bulunan sanayi unsurları dünyadaki sera gazı salınımlarından ciddi miktarda sorumludur (Glaab,2017; Newell,2022). Afrika ise küresel alanda sera gazı emisyonlarının %2-3'ünden sorumludur (WMO, 2022: 34). Ancak doğa üzerindeki antropojenik etkilerde en az payı bulunan ülkeler iklim değişikliğinden en çok etkilenenlerdir. Bu bağlamda iklim krizi yalnızca jeofiziksel bir gerçeklik değil, eşitsizlikler çerçevesinde değerlendirilmesi gereken bir etik ve adalet sorunudur.

1972 yılında Stocholm'da gerçekleşen Birleşmiş Milletler İnsan Çevresi Konferansı, çevre hakkı tartışmaları için temel teşkil eder. Bildirgede “İnsanlar onurlu ve iyi bir yaşama olanak verecek kalitede bir çevreden, elverişli yaşam koşulları, eşitlik ve özgürlük temel haklarına sahiptirler” cümlesi yer alır (United Nations, 1972). Çevre hakkı 3. Kuşak Haklar olarak temel insan hakların içerisinde kabul edilmektedir. Çevre hakkı iklim adaletine ilişkin problemlerin hukuki zeminde karşılık bulması açısından oldukça önemlidir. Glaab (2017) sanayileşmeden günümüze kadar sera gazı emisyonlarının büyük bölümünden sorumlu olan ülkelerin tarihsel bir sorumluluk taşıdığını söylemektedir. Hem doğal kaynakları hem toplulukları sömürerek modern kapitalist toplumlarını inşa eden ülkeler (Newell, 2022: 916) sebep oldukları doğal yıkım ve iklimsel dalgalanmalarla mücadele eden toplulukların haklarını ihlal etmişlerdir.

Akkuş (2021) iklim adaletinin mekânsal kırılma, ekonomik ve sosyal faktörlere dayalı olarak gelişmişlik düzeyi ve gelecek kuşakların yaşam hakları olmak üzere üç boyutta ele almaktadır. Mekânsal kırılma, mevcut coğrafi koşullar nedeniyle iklim kaynaklı problemlerden daha fazla etkilenmeyi içermektedir. Örneğin küresel ısınma ile eriyen buzullar sonucu deniz seviyesinin yükselmesi beklenmekte ve kıyı yerleşimlerinin zarar görmesi nedeniyle uzun vadede bazı ada ülkelerinin denize gömülmesi tehlikesini doğurmaktadır (Özerdem-Barlas, 2021; Türkeş, 2008). Benzer şekilde kurak veya yarı kurak bölgelerdeki ülkelerde değişen yağış düzeni ve artan buharlaşma nedeniyle daha şiddetli kuraklıklar ve su kıtlığı yaşanması ön görülmektedir. Sudan ve Çad gibi Sahra Altı Afrika ülkeleri bu duruma örnek olarak gösterilebilir.

Sosyal ve ekonomik gelişmişlik düzeyi toplumların iklim değişikliğine uyum sağlama ve zararları karşılama konusunda sahip oldukları kaynakları ve bu kaynakları

kullanabilme kabiliyetlerini etkiler (Schlosberg-Collins, 2014; HopeSr, 2009). Gelişmişlik düzeyi yüksek olan ülkeler, yüksek gayri safi milli hâsıllarını iklim değişikliğinin neden olduğu zararları karşılamak ve önleyici mekanizmalar kurmak için kullanma konusunda avantajlara sahiptir. Aynı zamanda gelişmiş ülkelerin teknolojiye erişim ve teknolojiyi kullanma kapasiteleri iklimsel dalgalanmaların daha önceden tespiti ve geleceğe ilişkin projeksiyonların kurulmasıyla ekonomik ve sosyal unsurların dönüşümünü kolaylaştırmaktadır. Gelişmekte olan ülkelerin sosyal, ekonomik ve teknolojik gelişim düzeyleri, iklim değişikliğiyle uyumlu bir toplum inşa etmede dezavantajlı bir konumda olmalarına sebep olmaktadır. Yoksul veya gelişmekte olan ülkeler ise iklim değişikliğiyle mücadelede sınırlı kaynaklara ve zayıf altyapıya sahip oldukları için daha büyük zorluklarla karşılaşır. Bu durum sosyo-ekonomik farklılıklar temelinde yaşanan adaletsizlikleri ve eşitsizliği ortaya koymaktadır.

Birleşmiş Milletler'in 1987'de yayınladığı Ortak Geleceğimiz Raporu'nda (Brundtland Raporu) sürdürülebilir kalkınmadan "Bugünün gereksinimlerini gelecek kuşakların gereksinimlerini karşılama yeteneğinden ödün vermeden karşılayan kalkınma" olarak bahsedilmiştir (United Nations, 1987). Bu tanımlama genç kuşakların yaşanılabilir bir dünyaya erişim konusunda yaşayacakları sorunlara işaret ederek çevresel adaletin merkezine "nesillerarası adalet" anlayışının yerleşmesinde etkili olmuştur. İklim değişikliği zamansal ve mekânsal olarak sınırlanamamaktadır. Geçmişin ve bugünün doğa üzerinde bıraktığı izler, gelecek kuşakların çevresel, ekonomik ve sosyal sorunlarla karşılaşmasında belirleyici olacaktır.

İklim değişikliğinin tüm dünyayı etkisi altına alan bir sorun olması nedeniyle insanlığın ortak çözüm yolları üretmesi ve birlikte hareket etmesi gerekmektedir. Ancak ülkeler iklim değişikliğini farklı düzeylerde etkilemekte ve ondan farklı düzeylerde etkilenmektedirler. İklim değişikliğinin antropojenik kaynaklı bir sorun olduğunun anlaşılması ve uluslararası sözleşmelerle kabul edilmesi, 'ortak ancak farklılaştırılmış sorumluluk ilkesi'nin geliştirilmesini sağlamıştır. Ortak ancak farklılaştırılmış sorumluluk ilkesi, iklim değişikliğinden sorumlu olanlar ve etkilenenler arasında adil bir paylaşımın söz etmektedir. Adil paylaşım, iklim değişikliğinden en çok etkilenenlerin karşılaştıkları zararların tafafisi ve uyum çabalarının maliyeti konusunda, kirlenmede yüksek paylara sahip olanların sorumluluklarını kabul ederek buna uygun hareket etmelerini içerir (Akkuş,2021). Bu çabada küresel alanda sera gazı emisyonlarının azaltılması önceliklidir (Kaya,2017). Örneğin farklı bölgelerdeki eşitsizlikleri azaltmak amacıyla gelişmiş ülkelerin gelişmekte olan ülkelere azaltım, adaptasyon ve iklim değişikliği kaynaklı zararların maliyetini karşılayan Yeşil İklim Fonu gibi fonlar geliştirilmiştir (Johannessen, 2013:42). Yüksek gelirli ülkeler daha az zengin ülkeler için 2020 yılına kadar 100 milyar değerinde iklim finansmanı aktarmayı taahhüt etmiş ancak bu finansman 24 milyar dolarla sınırlı kalmıştır (OXFAM, 2023:14)



Glaab (2017) bunlara ek olarak toplum içindeki yaş, cinsiyet ve sınıfsal konum gibi eşitsizliklerin iklim kaynaklı etkilerle birlikte derinleştiğine ve toplumdaki kırılgan grupların iklim değişikliğinin etkilerine karşı daha savunmasız olduğuna dikkat çeker. Hem ulusal hem de uluslararası alanda iklim değişikliği eşitsizliklerin şiddetini artıran bir rol oynamaktadır. İklim değişikliğini ele alırken çeşitli toplumsal grupların iklim değişikliği karşısında farklı duyarlılık düzeylerine sahip olduklarını göz önünde bulundurmak ve iklim adaleti kavramının bu farklılıklara uygun biçimde kapsayıcı olmasını sağlamak önemlidir. Örneğin uzun kuraklık dönemleri yaşanan Afrika'da geçim sıkıntısı yaşayan aileler kız çocuklarını okuldan almakta ve kadınlar su toplamak için her gün yaklaşık 6 kilometrelik mesafe kat etmektedir (OXFAM,2023:10). Aynı zamanda kadınlar kısıtlı gıda stoğunun hane içerisinde dağıtımını konusunda genellikle en son sırada yer almakta çocuklarının ve diğer hane üyelerinin beslenmesine öncelik vermektedir. Toplumsal cinsiyet bağlamında ele alındığında iklim değişikliği kadınların ve kız çocuklarının daha fazla zorlukla karşılaşmasına ve haklarından mahrum kalmalarına neden olmaktadır (Akkuş,2021:212). Bu kapsamda iklim adaleti çerçevesinde kadınlar ve kız çocukları gibi toplumun farklı kırılgan kesimlerinin ihtiyaçlarına uygun çözümler üretilmesi gerekmektedir.

İklim adaleti tartışmalarında ele alınan bir diğer konu ise insan merkezli bakış açısından kaynaklı olarak doğanın sömürülmesi ve ekolojik sistemde yer alan diğer canlıların yaşam haklarının ihmal edilmesidir. İnsan doğa ilişkisinin daha adil ve doğanın kendi başına bir değeri olduğunu kabul eden biçimde gerçekleşmesi ekolojik adaleti oluşturmaktadır (Kaya,2017). İklim adaletinin temelinde küresel ölçekte adil ve sürdürülebilir bir gelecek kurma çabaları yer alır. Toplumların üzerine düşen yalnızca sera gazı emisyonlarının azaltılması değil aynı zamanda iklim değişikliğinin etkilerine karşı özellikle hassas olan topluluklara yardım edilmesini ve ekolojik sistemin korunmasına yönelik önlemlerin uygulanmasıdır. İklim adaleti, çevresel hakları gelişmiş ülkelerin faaliyetleri sonucu ihlal edilen diğer toplumlar için adil bir çerçeve sunarak uluslararası alanda ahlaki ve etik bir taahhüt oluşturma çabasını ifade eder. Kavram, hem sosyal hem de ekolojik boyutları ele alarak, insanların ve doğal çevrenin karşılıklı bağımlılığını kabul eden uyumlu bir denge yaratmayı amaçlamaktadır. Toplumların iklim değişikliğinin ortaya çıkardığı çok yönlü zorluklarla mücadele edebilmesi ve eşitlikçi bir küresel gelecek için iklim adaletinin sağlanması ve yaygınlaşması bir zorunluluk haline gelmiştir.

### **Afrika'da İklim Değişikliği Etkileri**

Doğal iklimsel yapısı nedeniyle su stresi yaşayan Afrika, antropojenik kaynaklı iklim değişikliğiyle birlikte hava sıcaklığının daha da artması ve yağışların giderek azalması gibi problemlerle karşı karşıyadır. Su stresi, belirli bir coğrafi bölgede veya toplumda suyun yetersiz olduğu veya su kaynaklarının kullanımının su talebini karşılamakta zorlandığı durumları tanımlar. Örneğin; Sahel Bölgesi'nde uzun yıllardır

devam eden şiddetli kuraklık, milyonlarca insanın göç etmek ve kamplarda yaşamak zorunda kalmasına neden olmuştur; ayrıca bu kuraklık Sahel'de gün geçtikçe artan bir şiddette devam etmektedir (WMO, 2022:24). İklim değişikliğiyle birlikte derinleşen kuraklık, daha fazla canlının yok olma tehlikesiyle karşılaşmasına, insanların suya ve gıdaya erişimde sıkıntı yaşamasına neden olmaktadır. Gıda ve Tarım Örgütü'nün acil uyarısıyla yayınladığı rapora göre (FAO, 2022) yağış sezonlarının üst üste yetersiz düzeyde gerçekleşmesi sonucu Somali'de her üç hayvandan birinin telef olduğu bildirilirken, Kenya'da 1,5 milyon, Etiyopya'da 3,1 milyon canlının öldüğü tahmin edilmektedir.

Afrika'da her yıl giderek yükselen hava sıcaklıkları, yetersiz yağışlar ve afetler doğal kaynaklara bağımlı ekonominin, gıda ve su arzının olumsuz etkilenmesine neden olmaktadır. Birleşmiş Milletler tarafından düzenlenen Hükümetler Arası İklim Değişikliği Zirvesi'nde (UNFCCC,2022) sunulan raporlarda iklim değişikliğinin tarımsal üretimi savunmasız hale getirdiği ve gıda arzında yaşanan düşüşün özellikle sanayileşmemiş ülkelerde kıtlığa neden olduğu (Hanna-Olivia, 2016:122) gelecekte ise küresel çapta gıdaya ve suya erişimde sorunlar yaşanacağı vurgulanmıştır. Kuraklık nedeniyle toprak nemini kaybederek verimsizleşmekte, su kaynakları azalmakta ve kalan su kaynakları ise atmosferdeki yoğun karbon baskısını emerek kalitesizleşmektedir (Yıldırımçakar - Saydan, 2022:6). Kuraklık ve seller tarımsal üretimde elde edilen mahsullerin azalmasına ve çıkan ürünün besleyiciliğini yitirmesine neden olmaktadır. Afrika'da iklim şokları gıdaya erişim sıkıntısı oluşturmakta ve halklar açlıkla mücadele etmektedir. Bunların sonucu olarak Etiyopya, Güney Sudan, Kenya ve Somali'de 31,5 milyon insan akut açlıkla karşı karşıyadır (OXFAM, 2023:2).

İklim değişikliği Afrika'da insan yaşamını doğrudan tehdit eden bir unsur haline gelmiştir. Dünya Meteoroloji Örgütü'nün raporunda da konuya ilişkin olarak Afrika'da birçok aşırı hava olayı kayda geçirilmiştir. Bunlar şiddetli yağışların getirdiği seller, kasırgalar, sıcak hava dalgaları, yangınlar ve kum fırtınaları şeklinde sıralanabilir (WMO,2022; UNICEF,2023; OXFAM,2023). Afetlerin yıkıcılığı karşısında hayatta kalan insanlar açlık ya da su kıtlığıyla karşılaşmaktadır. Afrika'nın büyük çoğunluğu tarım, hayvancılık ve balıkçılık gibi doğal kaynaklara bağımlı olan işlerde geçimlerini sağlamaktadır (OXFAM, 2023:5). Bu nedenle doğal dengenin bozulması geçim kaynaklarının kaybedilmesine yol açarak bir yoksulluk döngüsü yaratmaktadır. Deniz seviyesindeki yükselme ve suların ısınması denizlerdeki biyolojik çeşitliliğin yok olması ve balıkçılık sektöründe gelirin azalması gibi sonuçlar doğururken kıyı şeridindeki yerleşimler için risk oluşturmaktadır (Johannessen, 2013:37). Tarım sektöründe ise afetler tarımsal arazileri tahribata uğratmış ve verimliliğini kaybeden topraklardaki mahsullerin azalması ürünlerin fiyatlarının artmasıyla sonuçlanmıştır (WMO,2022; IPCC,2023). Gıda arzının azalması sonucu artan fiyatlar gıdaya erişim sorununu ve gıda güncesizliğini büyötmektedir.

IPCC (2023) raporuna göre iklim değışikliđi, gıda ve suya ulaşamama kaynaklı hijyen yoksunluğu ve bulaşıcı hastalık riski gibi faktörlerle birleşerek insan sağlığını tehdit etmektedir. Afrika'da birçok insan sağlıklı koşullarda yaşamak zorunda kalmakta ve sağlık hizmetlerinden yararlanamamaktadır (Johannessen,2013:39). Yaşanan su krizi, topluluklarda elde edilen suyun içilebilirlik kalitesi göz önünde bulundurulmadan kullanılmasına neden olmaktadır. Örneđin; Nijerya'da 2021 yılında yaşanan sel felaketi sonrası atık yönetimindeki başarısızlık ve kirli su tüketimi sonucu kolera salgını başlamış ve yaklaşık 90 bin insan hastalanarak hayatını kaybetmiştir (WMO, 2022:31). HIV gibi bulaşıcı hastalıklar hijyen yetersizlikleriyle yayılmaya devam etmekte ve sıcak hava dalgaları arttıkça sıtmanın artış göstermesi beklenmektedir (OXFAM, 2023, s.9). Yetersiz beslenme ise hamilelerde düşüklüklerin ve erken doğum risklerinin artmasına, çocukların bağışıklığının düşmesine ve hastalıklara karşı dirençsiz hale gelmelerine neden olmaktadır (WHO -UNICEF -UNFPA,2023).

Diđer taraftan insan merkezci bakış açısının yaygınlığına karşın Afrika'da insan - doğa ikiliđi anlayışından uzak doğanın canlılığını ve kendine ait bir değeri olduğunu kabul eden bir anlayış da olduğu belirtilmelidir (Öztürk-Şahin, 2023, s.170). Örneđin, kimi yerel topluluklar tarafından bazı ormanlar ve doğal bölgeler kutsal kabul edilmektedir (Brooks-Clarke vd., 2020, s.307). Bu nedenle Afrika'da iklim krizini ve sonuçlarını değerlendirirken insan-çevre etkileşiminin kültürel boyutta nasıl geliştiđini incelemek önemlidir. Afrika'da doğa insan etkileşimi ahlaki kurallarla çevrenmektedir. Örneđin yerli topluluklarda doğanın ihtiyaç olduğu kadar kullanılması ahlaki bir kuraldır (Öztürk- Şahin, 2023:169). Doğal kutsal bölgelerin zarar görmesi ekonomik zararların ötesinde belli bir alana ilişkin ritüellerin, deneyimlerin ve değerklerin kaybedilmesine yol açmaktadır. IPCC (2023) raporunda da iklim değışikliđinin kültürel kayıplara neden olduğu vurgulanmaktadır. Bu bağlamda iklim değışikliđi Afrika toplulukları açısından kültürel kökleri tehdit eden bir unsura dönüşmektedir.

İklim değışikliđi gıda güvenliği ve geçim kaynakları açısından önemli bir sosyo-ekonomik sorun meydana getirmekle birlikte ikincil bir sorun olarak tarihsel ve toplumsal hafıza için de tehdit oluşturmaktadır. Yerliler için kutsal kabul edilen ormanların, bitkilerin, hayvanların ve cođrafi bölgelerin zarar görmesi, arkeolojik kalıntıların sular altında kalması ve somut olmayan mirasın aktarılamaması gibi riskler kültürel yapının karşışlaşmakta olduğu olumsuz durumlardır (Brooks- Clarke vd, 2020). Örneđin Senegal'li balıkçıların çođu nesillerdir aktarılan bir çalışma biçimi olarak balıkçılıđı ailelerinden öğrendiklerini ve çocuklarına öğrettiklerini söylemektedirler (Uwazauriuke, 2023:74). Bir başka örnek ise hayvancılıktan yeterli gelir elde edemeyen pastoralist grupların mahsul çiftçiliđine yönelmesidir (Brooks-Clarke vd,2020:309). Pastoral hayvancılık yalnızca ekonomik geçim kaynađı değil bir yaşam tarzıdır. Bu örneklerde görüldüğü gibi iklim değışikliđi toplumsal grupların kimliğinin bir parçası haline gelmiş çalışma biçimlerinin ve nesillerdir aktarılan

deneyimlerin kaybedilmesine tehlikesine de neden olmaktadır.

ABD küresel karbon emisyonlarının %40'ından AB ülkeleri %29'undan sorumluyken, Sudan ve Somali'nin küresel emisyon içindeki payı %0,14'ten azdır (OXFAM,2023:.8). Afrika'daki sera gazı emisyonlarının düşüklüğü endüstriyel faaliyetlerin daha az gerçekleştiğini ortaya koyan göstergelerden biridir (Hope Sr, 2009: 452 ). Çevresel bozulma ve iklimde yaşanan dengesizlikler Afrika'nın sosyal ve ekonomik kalkınma sürecine ilişkin hedeflerini yavaşlatmaktadır. Sosyo-ekonomik gelişmişliğini sağlamış sanayi ülkelerine karşılık Afrika ülkeleri endüstrileşmeyi ve ekonominin doğal unsurlara olan bağımlılığını azaltmak için çabalamaktadır. Ancak iklim değişikliğini yavaşlatmak amacıyla küresel karbon emisyonu düşürme planları Afrika ülkeleri gibi gelişmekte olan ülkelerin gelişimleri için gerekli sanayileşme faaliyetleri açısından kısıtlayıcıdır. Afrika uzun yıllar sömürgeleşme faaliyetleri etkisinde kaldıktan sonra bağımsızlığını ilan etmiş ülkelerin sanayileşme ve kalkınma çabaları yine sömürge devletlerinin neden olduğu iklim krizi nedeniyle zarar görmektedir.

### **Afrika'da İklim Kaynaklı Göçler**

Göç, insanların birçok farklı nedenle kendi rızası ya da zorlayıcı unsurların baskısı altında yaşadığı yerden geçici ya da kalıcı olarak ayrılıp başka bir yere yerleşmesi sürecidir (Çağlar, 2018). Göçün ekonomik, sosyal, siyasi, coğrafi, iklimsel birçok nedeni olabilir. İklim değişikliği kaynaklı göç, bireylerin ya da grupların yaşadıkları yerdeki çevresel bozulmalar nedeniyle yaşamlarının sürdürülemez hale gelmesi veya yaşam alanlarının kaybolması nedeniyle başka bölgelere yönelmeleri sonucu ortaya çıkmaktadır (Yörük, 2023: 227). Uluslararası Göç Örgütü (IOM) iklim değişikliğinden kaynaklanan göçleri, çevresel göç olarak ele almakta ve “*çevrede meydana gelen ve yaşam koşullarını olumsuz etkileyen ani ya da aşamalı değişiklikler nedeniyle yaşadıkları yeri terk ederek sürekli ya da geçici olarak, ulus içi ya da ulus aşırı hareket eden kişi veya kişiler*” şeklinde tanımlamaktadır (IOM, 2015: 2). Uluslararası örgütlerin bazıları ise iklim değişikliği kaynaklı göçleri yerinden olma veya yerinden edilme gibi kavramlarla ele almaktadır (UNICEF,2023; WMO,2022; IPCC,2023). İklim kaynaklı göçlere ilişkin net bir kavramsal tanımlama ve uluslararası alanda hukuki bir çerçeve bulunmamaktadır. Bu durum iklim ve çevre koşulları nedeniyle ulus aşırı göç etmek zorunda kalan insanların diğer devletler tarafından korunma sorumluluğunu tartışmalı hale getirmektedir (Balcılar,2022: 120). Çünkü mültecilik uluslararası sözleşmeler çerçevesinde ırk, din, siyasi düşünceler ve belli bir gruba mensup olma nedenleriyle zulme uğrama tehlikesiyle karşılaşan kişileri kapsamaktadır (UNHCR, 1951).

İklim değişikliği kaynaklı göçlerin sosyal, siyasi ve ekonomik etkenlerden ayrıştırmanın zorluğu, göçe iten temel etken olarak iklim değişikliğini ele almayı güçleştirmektedir (IOM, 2015: .2). İnsanların ve toplulukların yaşamını tehdit

eden unsur olarak değerlendirilebilen iklim değişikliği, bu yönüyle mültecilik kavramı içerisinde ele alınabilmektedir. Ancak hareketliliğe neden olan koşulların bölgelere göre farklılaşması ve mültecilik tanımının sınırları, iklim kaynaklı insan hareketliliklerini kavramsal olarak belirsiz hale getirmektedir. İklim değişikliği ya da çevresel bozulmalar nedeniyle ortaya çıkan insan hareketliliğini anlamak ve tanımlamak için terminolojik bir açıklığa ihtiyaç vardır. Terminolojik açıklığın giderilmesi iklim kaynaklı hareketlilik karşısında mağduriyetleri azaltmak ve koruma mekanizmaları geliştirmek için gerekli hukuki zeminin oluşturulmasına aracılık edecektir (Yılmaz-Navruz, 2019: 266).

Ioane Teitiota'nın Yeni Zelanda'daki davası, uluslararası insan hakları bağlamında iklim göçlerine dair ortaya çıkan tartışmaların önemli bir örneğidir. Teitiota, Kiribati vatandaşı olarak, anavatanı Kiribati'deki çevresel bozulma ve deniz seviyesindeki yükselmeler sonucu yaşam alanının yaşanılmaz hale gelmesi iddiasıyla Yeni Zelanda'ya sığınma talebinde bulunmuştur (Akçay,2022: 64). Yeni Zelanda mahkemeleri tarafından Teitiota'nın talebi reddedilmiştir. Birleşmiş Milletler İnsan Hakları Komitesi'nin davaya ilişkin kararında, Teitiota'ya mülteci statüsü verilmesi dahi iklim değişikliğinin yaşam hakkını tehdit eden etkileri ve bireylerin refahı üzerindeki olumsuz sonuçları kabul edilerek insan hakları ihlallerine yol açabileceği vurgulanmıştır (Safi, 2020: 531). Teitiota davası, iklim kaynaklı göçlere ilişkin kapsayıcı bir yasal çerçeveye ve politik kararlara duyulan ihtiyacı göstermektedir. Bu ihtiyaca ilişkin olarak Nansen Girişimi, hükümetler, uluslararası kuruluşlar, bilim insanları ve sivil toplum olmak üzere tüm paydaşların ortaklığıyla iklim ve çevre kaynaklı zorluklar sebebiyle ülkelerini terk eden insanları koruma konusunda normatif bir çerçeve geliştirmeyi amaçlamıştır. Nansen Girişimi, hem doğal afetler nedeniyle ulus aşırı göç eden bireylerin korunması için gerekli uygulamalara dikkat çekmekte hem de yerinden edilmeleri önleyici uyum politikalarının geliştirilmesine odaklanmaktadır (Needham,2015). Bir diğer örnek ise 2009 yılında Afrika Birliği üye devletleri tarafından kabul edilen Kampala Sözleşmesi'dir. Kampala Sözleşmesi, iklim değişikliğinin bireylerin ve toplulukların yerinden edilmesine yol açtığını kabul ederek, özellikle Afrika kıtasında ülke içinde yerinden edilmiş kişilerin (ÜİYOK)ler içinde bulunduğu olumsuz koşulların düzenlenmesine ilişkin kararları içermektedir (African Union, 2009). Teitiota örneği ve diğer girişimler, çevresel değişimlerden etkilenen toplulukların hassasiyetlerini tanıma aciliyetinin altını çizmekte ve iklim göçmenlerinin haklarını içeren, kapsayıcı bir iklim adaleti yaklaşımının gerekliliğini göstermektedir.

Birleşmiş Milletler, iklim değişikliğini bir 'tehdit çarpanı' (threat multiplier) olarak nitelendirerek; yoksulluk, kaynak yönetimi, sosyal çatışmalar, bilgi ve kaynaklara erişimdeki eşitsizlikler gibi tehditlerin yoğunlaştığı toplumlarda iklim kaynaklı problemlerin güvencesizliği artırmasına dikkat çekmektedir (Yıldız Karakoç-Kovancı, 2019: 350). Örneğin ekolojik sorunlar, kitleler ve liderler arasındaki gerilimi şiddetlendirmekte ve çatışmaların artmasına neden olarak (Nkrumah, 2021) politik

istikrarsızlığa da yol açabilmektedir. İklimsel dalgalanmalar ve afetler toplulukların dirençliliğini kırmakta ve toplumsal gruplar arasındaki çatışmaların şiddetlenmesine neden olmaktadır. Örneğin Çad Gölü'nün %90 oranında küçülmesi göle bağımlı olan Kamerun'da iç çatışmaların artmasına ve 2021 yılında 30 bin kişinin ülkeden kaçmasına yol açmıştır (WMO, 2022: 30). Aynı zamanda Çad Gölü'ne bağlı olarak tarım ve hayvancılıkla geçinen Nijer, Nijerya, Kamerun ve Çad ülkelerinde gelir kaynaklarını kaybeden ve gıdaya erişim sorunu yaşayan insanlar göç etmek zorunda kalmıştır (Yılmaz – Navruz, 2019: 267). Nijerya'da bulunan 2.5 milyon insan gölün kuruması nedeniyle diğer ülkelere doğru göç etmiştir (Özdem – Barlas, 2020: 281). Kaynaklardaki kıtlık ve çevre kaynaklı gerilimler göç eden kitlelerin genişlemesine yol açmaktadır.

İklim değişikliğinin doğrudan yol açtığı kuraklık ve seller Afrika kıtasında; gıda güvencesizliği, konut ve altyapıların tahrip olması, temiz suya erişememe ve sağlık hizmetlerinden yararlanamamak gibi dolaylı etkiler oluşturarak nüfusun yer değişimini hızlandırmaktadır (WHO - UNICEF - UNFPA, 2023: 3). Somali ve Etiyopya'da 1 milyondan fazla insan iklim kaynaklı afetler, açlık ve susuzluk nedeniyle göç etmek zorunda kalmıştır (FAO, 2022: 1). Afrika'da gıda ve su krizi milyonlarca insanın hayatını riske atan bir güvenlik problemi oluşturmaktadır. Bu nedenle insanlar gıdaya ve suya erişebilecekleri ve geçimlerini sağlayacak istihdam fırsatlarına sahip olduklarını düşündükleri bölgelere göç etmektedir.

Su kıtlığı nedeniyle milyonlarca insan kırsal kesimden kentlere doğru göç ettiği bir örnek olarak Somali karşımıza çıkmaktadır (OXFAM, 2023: 7). Ülke içerisinde yerinden edilen kişiler hem gıda ve su stresi yaşayan hem de sosyal gerginliklerin olduğu Mogadişu ve Baidoa kentlerine akın etmiştir (World Bank, 2023, Ocak). Afrika'nın birçok noktasında yaşanan kaynak kıtlığı, gıda ve su açıkları düşünüldüğünde göçler Afrika'ya özel bir başka problem yaratmaktadır. Göç etmek zorunda kalan kitlelerin gittikleri bölgelerde kaynakların üzerinde baskı oluşturması ve su, gıda dağıtımını konusunda çatışmaların yaşanması göçün tahmin edilen diğer sonuçları arasında bulunmaktadır (Yılmaz- Navruz, 2019: 267). Ayrıca yerliler ve göç edenler arasında etnik çatışmaların yaşanması, ekonomik alanda iş arayan nüfusun genişlemesi ve istihdamın yetersiz kalması gibi sosyal ve ekonomik diğer güvenlik sorunları da insan hareketliliğinin sonuçları arasında yer alır (Özdem - Barlas, 2021: 282).

Çoğunlukla daha iyi yaşam koşuluna sahip olma motivasyonu taşıyan göç; gönüllü ya da zorunlu, kısa ya da uzun mesafeli, ulus içi veya ulus ötesi olmak üzere birçok farklı şekilde gerçekleşebilir (Akçay, 2022). İklim değişikliği nedeniyle güvenilir ve dengeli çevre, ekonomi ve sosyal yaşam arayışında olan göçmenler tehlikeli ve ölümcül yolculuklar yapmaktadır (Balcılar, 2022). Göçün bir sınır güvenliği meselesi olarak ele alınması ve iklim kaynaklı göçün kabul görmemesi, göçmen kaçakçılık ağlarının genişlemesinde etkili olmaktadır. Özellikle ekonomik

sebeplerle Afrika'dan Avrupa ülkelerine ve Kanarya Adaları'na ulaşmaya çalışan çok sayıda kaçak göçmenin gemilerin batması nedeniyle hayatını kaybettiği bilinmektedir (Uwazauriuke, 2023: 71). Afrika kıtasında yetersiz kalan kaynaklar ve insancıl yaşam şartlarından uzak sağlıksız ortam, göçün yoğunlaşmasıyla sonuçlanmaktadır. Geleceğe ilişkin projeksiyonlarda küresel ısınmasının bu şekilde devam etmesi sonucunda 2050 yılına kadar Sahraaltı Afrika'da 17 ile 40 milyon arasında insanın iklim değişikliğinin doğrudan ya da dolaylı etkileri nedeniyle göç etmek zorunda kalacağı belirtilmektedir (OXFAM, 2023: 9).

Göçün olumsuz etki ve sonuçları olmakla birlikte, insan hareketlilikleri yalnızca negatif değerlendirmelerle ele alınamayacak kadar çok boyutlu bir sosyal olgudur. Çevresel bozulmalar ve iklim değişikliği nedeniyle ortaya çıkan göç, bir hayatta kalma stratejisi ve iklim değişikliğine karşı uyum çabası niteliği taşımaktadır (Yörük, 2023:226). Göç, insanların yaşam koşullarını iyileştirme, daha geniş iş fırsatlarına ulaşma ve ailelerini ekonomik olarak destekleme amacı taşıyabilir. Uluslararası Göç Örgütü, özellikle ulus aşırı göç durumunda göçmenlerin geride kalanlara gönderdiği dövizlerin, alternatif bir gelir kaynağı oluşturmanın yanı sıra ekonomide döngüsel bir etki yaratıp kalkınmaya katkıda bulunabileceğini belirtmektedir. (IOM, 2015). Bu nedenle göç yalnızca olumsuz sonuçları olan bir durum değil aynı zamanda pozitif etkiler de doğurabilen bir olgudur.

## Sonuç

İklim adaleti bağlamında Afrika birçok açıdan hak kayıplarıyla ve eşitsizlikle karşı karşıyadır. Afrika'da yaşanan çevresel kriz, yalnızca temiz ve sağlıklı bir çevrede yaşama hakkının karşılanmamasıyla sınırlı kalmamakta, aynı zamanda temel yaşam haklarının aşınmasına yol açmaktadır. Afrika'da milyonlarca insan iklim kaynaklı sorunlar nedeniyle hayatını kaybetmektedir. Birçok çocuk, hastalıklarla mücadele etmekte ve ailelerde geçim sıkıntısından kaynaklanan stres ve şiddet olayları meydana gelmektedir (WHO- UNICEF - UNFPA, 2023). Dolayısıyla, iklim adaleti bağlamında Afrika'nın karşılaştığı bu zorluklar hem mevcut nesillerin yaşam hakkını hem de gelecek nesillerin sürdürülebilir bir çevrede yaşama hakkını tehlikeye atmaktadır.

İklim değişikliğinin meydana gelmesinde Afrika'nın etkisi oldukça düşük olmasına karşılık coğrafi şartları, doğaya bağımlılık ve yoksulluk gibi sosyo-ekonomik koşulları sebebiyle uyum kapasitesini geliştirememektedir. Gelişmiş ülkeler, Yeşil İklim Fonu (Johannessen, 2013: 42) ve çeşitli projelere dayalı olarak aktarılan yardımlarla (World Bank, 2023,Ocak; OXFAM, 2023) sorumluluklarını üstlendiklerini göstermektedir. İklim adaleti çerçevesinde geliştirilen fonlar çevresel, ekonomik ve hayati sürdürülebilirliği sağlayabilmek için iklime dirençli büyümeyi ve adaptasyon süreçlerini hedeflemelidir (Hope Sr, 2009). Buna karşılık belirlenen fonlar, Afrika ve diğer gelişmekte olan bölgelerin karşılaştıkları zararları telafi etmek ve ihtiyaçlarını gidermek için yeterli değildir (OXFAM, 2023, s. 14). İklim adaleti

çerçevesinde yapılan yardımlar tarihsel olarak emisyonlardan sorumlu olanların kirleten öder anlayışıyla iklim değişikliğinde payı olmayanlara karşı ekolojik borcunun ifadesidir (Kaya, 2017, s.91). Ancak “kirleten öder” anlayışı gelişmiş sanayi ülkelerinin yarattığı çevresel yıkımı, maddi çıktılarla örtme çabasına ve küresel emisyonların devam etmesine meşru bir zemin oluşturma potansiyeli taşımaktadır. Afrika kıtasında yaşanan sosyal, ekonomik ve insani sonuçlar maddi yardımlarla telafi edilemeyecek düzeydedir.

Afrika çok boyutlu biçimde iklim değişikliği etkilerine maruz kalmaktadır. Bu etkiler nedeniyle milyonlarca insanın temel yaşam gereksinimlerini karşılama kabiliyetleri azaltmakta hatta yok olmaktadır. Suların yükselmesi ve denizlerin ısınması balıkçılık faaliyetlerini olumsuz etkilerken; kuraklık, toprak mahsullerinin azalması ve hayvan ölümleriyle birlikte gıdaların kalitesizleşmesiyle sonuçlanmaktadır. Doğal unsurlara bağımlı olan geçim kaynaklarının azalması büyük ekonomik kayıplara neden olmakla kalmayıp insan hareketliliğini tetiklemektedir. Bu nüfus hareketleri kültürel çatışmalar ve politik istikrarsızlık gibi kıtada var olan sorunların daha da derinleşmesi ihtimalini ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Etnik gruplar ve kabileler arasında tarihsel olarak süren gerilimlerin yanında iklim kaynaklı göçler kıta içerisinde aralarında gerginlik bulunan toplulukların zorunlu olarak bir araya gelmelerine yol açabilmektedir. Tarihsel ve kültürel bir arka plana dayanan bu şiddet eylemleri kıt kaynakların dağıtımını sorunuyla birleştğinde çatışmaların giderek derinleşmesi tehlikesini barındırmaktadır.

Gelecek yıllarda iklim kaynaklı göçlerin giderek artması beklenmektedir. Ancak iklim göçmenlerine ilişkin uluslararası alanda kabul edilmiş hukuki bir çerçeve bulunmamakta ve hukuki statüleri belirsiz kalmaktadır. Bu durum kuşkusuz özellikle Afrika kıtasında ekolojik dengesizlik nedeniyle mağdur edilmiş insanları haklarını koruyabilecekleri süreçlerden yoksun bırakacaktır. Göçün bir sınır güvenliği problemi olarak kabul edilmesi (Balcılar, 2022:128) ve coğrafi sınırlarını keskinleştiren ülkeler göçmen kaçakçılığı riskini artırmaktadır. İklim kaynaklı insan hareketliliklerine ilişkin uluslararası bir çerçeve sağlanması, küresel politikaların oluşturulmasında ve afet yardımları ve iklim finansmanlarının sağlanması konusunda daha adil ve etkili bir yaklaşım benimsenmesine yardımcı olacaktır.

Dünyanın kirleticileri olan modern kapitalist ülkeler hem ekolojik sistemin dengesini bozmuş hem de bir kısmı Afrika'yı sömürgeleştirerek ekonomik gelişmelerini kısıtlamış ve sosyal karışıklıklar meydana getirmiştir. Ekonomik kalkınmayı sağlamak ve refah toplumlarını inşa etmek isteyen Afrika toplumları günümüzde gelişmelerini engelleyen çevre sorunlarıyla mücadele etmektedir. Afrika sosyo-ekonomik koşulları nedeniyle iklim krizine karşı dirençli değildir. Bu durum Afrika'nın ilerleme hedeflerini yavaşlatmakta ve sosyo-ekonomik açıdan ciddi kayıplar yaşamasına neden olmaktadır. Afrika'nın yaşadığı sosyal, ekonomik ve insani kayıpların neredeyse tamamı hem sömürge devletlerinin hem de diğer gelişmiş sanayi ülkelerinin insanlığa



ve doğaya müdahalelerinin sonucudur. İklim değişikliğinin neden olduğu en önemli kayıplardan biri de kültürel kayıplardır. Çevre-insan etkileşiminin değerlerden ve ahlaki kurallardan etkilendiği Afrika’da doğal alanların tahrip olması ya da yok olması somut ve somut olmayan mirasın aktarımını engellemektedir. Tarihsel ve toplumsal hafızada yaşanan kayıplar Afrika’da medeniyetlerin korunmasını da iklim adaleti çerçevesine dâhil etmektedir.

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### EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Climate change is a global problem of anthropogenic origin that has emerged as a result of the modern capitalist world changing its power to change itself. Climate change leads to severe weather events in different parts of the world, triggered by present and future factors like drought, rising sea levels, the loss of biodiversity, endangering various species, and events such as storms and floods. Climate change threatens a food and water crisis of global proportions. The climatic conditions of countries are influenced by their geographical features, levels of socio-economic development, and administrative and political structures, determining whether they are in an advantaged or disadvantaged position in the face of climate change.

The beginning of the Anthropocene era dates back to the industrial revolution. Human activities have led to a disruption of the natural balance by creating a geomorphological pressure on it. However, countries with the least contribution to anthropogenic impacts on nature are the ones most affected by climate changes. This economic climate crisis is not just a geophysical reality but an ethical and justice issue that needs to be evaluated within the framework of inequalities. Countries responsible for greenhouse gas emissions have violated the right of other societies to live in a healthy and balanced environment. Climate justice evaluates the consequences of climate change in terms of rights and inequalities.

In Africa, lives are claimed by famine and dehydration resulting from climatic conditions. The majority of people living on the continent earn their income from livelihoods that depend on natural elements such as agriculture, animal husbandry and fishing. However, extreme weather events have led to the loss of their livelihoods and the experience of food insecurity. Many people lack access to clean water, proper hygiene, and essential health services. Many social, economic, vital problems and cultural losses are experienced in Africa due to climate change. The African continent continues to face multidimensional injustices as a consequence of climate change.

The aim of the article is to evaluate climate crisis-induced displacement in Africa in terms of climate justice. Literature review technique was used in the study. Databases of international organizations were used. First of all, conceptual definitions of climate change and climate justice are made. The effects of climate change in Africa were examined in a multidimensional manner and both vital, economic and social consequences and the migration dimension were evaluated together with the data. In the conclusion, migrations in Africa, socio-economic and cultural losses, and threats to the lives of living things are discussed in terms of climate justice.

Climate change is causing migration in Africa. However, there is no legal framework addressing those who migrate due to climate reasons. The uncertainty of the legal

products of climate migrants prevents them from being included in the scope of protection. Perceiving immigration as a border security problem encourages immigrants to migrate through dangerous routes and increases human smuggling. Developed countries provide various financial aid to compensate for losses in Africa and support adaptation efforts. However, there is a possibility that the ‘polluter pays’ approach will offer a legitimate basis for the continuity of global emissions. African countries, which have lived under the pressure of colonial states for years, are experiencing an injustice where contemporary climate changes, development goals are present and cultural elements are at risk of being lost.

## KİTAP İNCELEMESİ / BOOK REVIEW

### “STORIA DELLA REPUBBLICA DI VENEZIA. LA SERENISSIMA DALLE ORIGINI ALLA CADUTA”, MONDADORI: MILANO\*

(*Riccardo Calimani*)

Emre KAYMAKÇI\*\*

Riccardo Calimani, the author of the book that is being introduced and evaluated, is known especially with his writing on especially Jewish History after graduated from the department of Electronic Engineering at the Università di Padua and the department of Philosophy of Science at the Università Ca'Foscari. He has written to those books about Jewry: Storia del ghetto di Venezia (Mondadori 2000), Gesu ebreo (Mondadori 2001) and Storia dell'ebreo errante (Mondadori 2002). He was awarded the Ministry of Culture in 1986 and the European Award in 1997 as well as his numerous books and articles. Also, he has written three novels on Venice.

In the first chapter (7-59p) of Riccardo Calimani's book “Storia della Repubblica di Venezia”, entitled Origins: Myths and Facts, which consists of ten chapters, appendices, chronology, list of doges, notes and bibliography, various historians' descriptions of Venice are given. The most exciting of them Paolo Paruta's Citta fortunata, che i suoi cittadini fanno senza mura, fortissima e sicura (p.7) (the lucky city that makes its citizens strong and safe without walls) and Domenico Morosini's Le istituzioni, i suoi ordinamenti, non la difendono, posizione geografica: non le mura, ma le istituzioni la proteggono (p.7) are quotations that indicate that Venice is protected by its institutions, not by the protected walls or geographical location. The author remarks the names which given to Venice by the Romans and diocese Diacono after he gave to the historians' and monks' observation on Venice. After the definitions of Venice, he examines to how the first Venetians settled to here by posing questions whether the Venetians came after Trojan War, fleeing the barbarian invasions or were they in an ancient Roman settlement by starting from Roman historian Titus Livy. It is mentioned the informations given by the historians, biographers and geographers such as Cornelius Nepos, Polybios and Strabon. After that it is given the informations about the founding of Venice by making quotations from Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos and diocese Giovanni.

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The author emphasizes that Venice, which has been living with the salt industry and fishing since its establishment, especially helped the eunuch Narses in the aim of recapturing the Italian Peninsula of Byzantium. Venice is connected to the Exarchate of Ravenna by the Byzantine emperor Herakleios after it aided to Narses and the Longobard invasion. While the author is telling the first centuries of Venice, he indicates the cronicler Cassiodorus, in his *Variae*, states that the Venetians were subject to Constantinople, but other writers, first to the ruler of Italy and then to Constantinople. After the Longobard raids, Venice elected a person known as a dux and then a doge in AD 697 according to some chronicles, and in AD 713-716 according to others. The authors gives the connection Doge Orso (726-737) with the Byzantine after these progress. While Calimani is telling to the first centuries of Venice, he points out how the state of lagoon gradually develop by giving quootations from both the modern and contemporary sources. Just as the political and commercial relations of Venice were important in this process, it was equally valuable that the body of St. Marcus was brought to Venice by two merchants and made it the patron Saint of the state. The author also tells how this myth was createdd by making use of the chronicles. In the first chapter, the author continues his book by explaining that after the internal struggles, Venice together with Pietro Orseolo II, had a strong position in both commercial and political relations in the Byzantine Empire and the Adriatic Sea since 992, and that the doge received the title *dux Veneticorum et Dalmaticorum*. The author finished the first chapter by quoting the historian Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, stating that the cult of St. Marcus and the doge is very important to all Venetians, the great development of Venice came to an end with the death of Pietro Orseolo in 1009.

The second chapter (59-78p) “Conquests and Sovereignty” starts with the doge Ottone Orseolo (1009-1026) who take the lead after the death of his father Pietro Orseolo II. It is indicated much more the internal troubles of Venice and the relationship between the Church of San Marco and the Doge of Venice became closer with the election of Domenico Selvo (1071-1084) at the beginning of this chapter. It is stated that during the reign of Domenico Selvo, there was a rapprochement with the Byzantine Emperor Alexios Komnenos I due to the threat of Norman Robert Guiscard. The testimony of the course of the war is shown by quoting Anna Komnena, the daughter of Alexios Komnenos I, one of the most important witnesses of the relations between the Normans, Venetians and Byzantines. In addition to the war, it is explained by using the work of Anna Comnena that Venice obtained privileges by Byzantine Empire and got a well position in the commercial sense in Constantinople. The second chapter is concluded by mentioning the First Crusade organized by the Christians against the Muslims in the Holy Land and the role of Venice in the First Crusade.

The third chapter (78-129p) entitled 12th Century The Rise and Development of a Empire begins with the construction of the Arsenal on the orders of Doge Ordelafo Falier (1102-1108), which the most important factor in the background of Venice’s great success in the Eastern Mediterranean and the other regions. It is mentioned to

fire and with the aid of the Crusade organized in 1110, Venice gained in privileges in Acre after the details and descriptions about the Arsenal. Although receiving privileges from Emperor Enrico IV and Alexios Komnenos I, Ordelaffo Falier who had to battle with the Hungarians, ended his reign with his death in Zara in 1118. During the period of Domenico Michiel (1118-1130) who was elected doge after Ordelaffo Falier, even though Venice had problems with the Byzantine Emperor John Komnenos II's failure to renew Venice's old privileges, but Venice's expansion in the Aegean Sea began when she attacked the Aegean Islands, which was her move against it. Moreover, it can be said that the overseas state, which will continue for many years, had been seen after these developments. At the same time Domenico Michiel created an office for Venice, the Signori di Notte, to prevent illegal work happening at night. Doge Pietro Polani (1130-1148), who was elected after Domenico Michiel, acted as an intermediary between the West and the East and ensured peace and made Venice a Commune by establishing institutions such as the Assembly of Sapientes. The third chapter is concluded by explaining the effect of Venice on the Fourth Crusade and how Doge Enrico Dandolo turned Venice into an empire after this process.

The Fourth chapter (129-176p) entitled 13th Century Serenissima's Arrogance starts with Doge Pietro Ziani (1205-1229) who was newly elected and reached many titles and continues by discussing from the difficulty of protecting the expanding territory of the republic. Indeed, the Venetian Republic, together with Pietro Ziani, had its largest colony, Crete and it was important to protect to this island. After Pietro Ziani, Jacopo Tiepolo who was a duke in the Kingdom of Candia and a podesta in Constantinople, was elected doge in Venice. The statutes he made (*Novae constitutiones sive leges*) also was discussed in the fourth chapter. Most probably the most important aspect of these laws was their maritime aspects, which Venice benefited from while colonizing the Eastern Mediterranean and the Adriatic Sea. Regarding the laws created by Jacopo Tiepolo, the author quotes another important historian, Roberto Cessi: "Tiepolo's laws were inspired by Byzantine law for the maritime part, while using Roman law for the legal part". The fourth chapter is concluded with an arrangement made in the Republic, namely Serrata. This arrangement was generally related to the elections in the Great Assembly.

The fifth chapter (176-230p) is named 14th Century The Oligarchy and Conspiracies. At the beginning of the chapter it is revealed how advanced the Duchy of Venice was in the 14th century by quoting from Martin da Canal, Gabriele Dandolo and Giacomo Bertaldo. It is especially mentioned the development of the Rialto and San Marco. The most notable part of this chapter is the parts where the change of technology in the naval wars in the Mediterranean in the 14th century and the innovations of the Republic of Venice such as large merchant galleys, new firearms and bombs suitable for his technology are explained. It is mentioned to Venice's struggle with Genoa especially for Tenedos in the territory of Byzantine Empire and the Eastern Mediterranean and the peace of Turin which was made after the war of



Chioggia in 1381 after the developments of the Republic of Venice in the seas. Then, the chapter is concluded by emphasizing that Venice increased its colonies by taking places such as Mykonos, Tinos, Peloponnese, Corfu and Durazzo in the Adriatic and Aegean Sea.

The sixth chapter (230-305p) 15th Century Between East and West: A Fragile and Fertile Balance begins again by stressing the victories of the Republic of Venice in the Adriatic and Aegean Sea, and the enlargement of the Venetian Arsenal under the name Darsena Nuovissima. It is the most interesting part of chapter mentioning football and racquet sports in Venice after emphasizing the size of Arsenal and Venice's relations with the Italian city-states. In this chapter it has been also placed the special topics like Venetian-Hungary relations and the Ottoman-Venetian relations by giving example the first war between two states in 1416 from the diaries of Marino Sanudo as well as it is mentioned that Venice was turbulent religiously, politically and commercially in the 15th century. Moreover, one of the factors mentioned in the sixth chapter is the religious and social schools in Venice under the name of "confraternite". This chapter is concluded by referring the wars between Venice and Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II and Venice became one of the three most important cities in Europe.

The seventh chapter (305-420p) entitled 16th Century Prosperity begins by dealing the discover of America, the walking around of Africa and as the balances in the Mediterranean changed, Venice faced a new situation and needed to cope with it. Then, by giving information about the balances in the Levant, the situation of countries such as France and Spain, it is mentioned that the situation of Venice, which is aware of the French pressure in Lombardy and the support of Spain against the Ottomans, is critical. However, the most important factor for Venice is the emphasis that the Rialto is still alive, despite the fact that trade is endangered by the change of sea routes. In the continuation of the chapter, it is referred that Venice, which gives much important to trade in the international relations and was the intermediary between the East and the West, lost to its dominance in the seas and trade in this century. It is noteworthy that the war Lepanto which was fought against the Ottomans and Venice participated effectively, even with seventy ships, is given in detail. The seventh chapter ends with a detailed description of the ceremony held on behalf of Doge Marino Grimani and his wife, Dogeressa, after they ascended the throne.

The eight chapter (420-487p) named 17th Century Glory and Decline starts by stating the first warnings of the decline of Venetian Republic. The first sentence of the chapter is related to the fact that although it was the most prosperous period of the state, which was also considered for the period of the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman I, the decline began gradually. Although Venice was experiencing its most prosperous period like the Ottoman Empire, it was on the way to collapse. The most important reason of the decline is the weakening of the economy of Europe, including Venice, due to many wars, and the dominance of England and the Netherlands in the Mediterranean. This

economic collapse experienced by Venice was also added to the plague in the early 1600s, which caused great difficulties towards the end of the Republic. Venetians constructed by the decision of the Senate the ghetto which was a new quarantine place named "il Ghetto Novissimo", after they lived this plague. The most critical decline period of Venetian Republic in 17th century was probably the Cretan Wars which lived with the Ottoman Empire between 1645-1669. The loss of Crete, Venice's most valuable colony since 1204, is described in much more detail with quotations from the war of Lepanto in "La Guerra di Candia"-it was called Candia because the duchy's capital was Heraklion. Venice lost its control in Mediterranean with the seizure of Crete after Cyprus. The chapter ends by mentioning some of the wars with the Turks after the Cretan War and the fact that England and the Netherlands were the only "super" Powers in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean.

The ninth chapter (487-553p) entitled 18th Century The Collapse begins by mentioning that after the long and costly wars with the Turks from 1684 to 1699, the Treaty of Karlowitz which guaranteed the Peloponnese was made, but that it did not benefit Venice much. Although Venice still dominates the Adriatic Sea, it has begun to weaken commercially. The fact that the Republic of Venice had a population of 2 million 800 thousand in an area of approximately 50 thousand kilometers in Terra (Land), Mar (Sea) and Duchy in the 18th century made it difficult to battle with countries such as France and Spain, their rivals at that time. The Venetian Republic which remaining neutral between the struggles of the "super" powers in Europe, lost to its dominance in the Peloponnese since the Ottoman Empire captured territories such as Tinos, Aegina, Argo, Naupflia, Koroni and Methoni in 1715. With the Treaty of Passarowitz signed in 1718, it became official that the Republic of Venice lost the islands of Peloponnese, Tinos and Aegina, but protected Imoschi in Dalmatia. It is mentioned that the Republic of Venice and the Ottoman Empire remained enemies to each other, but the worst wars were left behind after the Treaty of Pasarofca. Then, it is emphasized that the Venetian Terraferma was under siege by the Austrians and that the Venetian port was still important but no longer of great importance in Mediterranean trade. This chapter which is mostly emphasized the neutrality of Venice in 18th century, ends with Venetian festivals and carnivals.

The tenth chapter (553-576p) named the Fall 1789-1797 starts by stressing the struggles between Austria, Prussia and Sardenia and the rebellions in Europe and the silence of Venice. The author gave an example to the neutrality of Venice was the rejection of the Senate when Spain joined a union in 1792. The Republic of Venice had refused one more time to seek alliances with Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, the Netherlands, Spain and Sardenia in 1793. The chapter naturally ends with the narrative of the end of the Republic of Venice. The author concludes to his book by giving place to the speeches in the Great Assembly, the disorder that dominates every institution in Venice, and that the French captured the city on May 16, 1797 in this disorder in this part.

The Republic of Venice, lived from AD 400 to AD 1797 and gained the independence from Byzantine Empire in 800's, became a great power by taking privileges firstly Byzantine Empire and then the European State and Turks in the Mediterranean and the Adriatic Sea. The Republic of Venice which assumed the role of intermediary between the East and the West, made important contributions not only to itself but also to other states around it. The author has tried to write a comprehensive book by dealing with the entire history of this state, which has survived for many years. Although the book focuses on the political history and bilateral relations of the Republic of Venice in general, information about Venice's institutions, population, sport games, festivals and socio-economic situation are also very well interspersed in the book. The most striking factor in Calimani's book is the deepening and support of the subject, especially by quoting from the sources of the period.

Although Riccardo Calimani mentions almost every aspect related to Venice in his book, some topics are missing. It is a handicap of such books that some points are missing when the entire history of a state is told. Calimani does not mention the Seljuks-Venetian relations, the two states made a treaty in 1220. This treaty was important for the commercial presence of Venice and Seljuks in the Mediterranean. Even though the Venetians and Seljuks did not interact much, the author's failure to mention the relations between the later Turkish Western Anatolian Principalities such as Aydinoglus and Menteshoglus and Venice is an important loss in terms of understanding the colonization process of Venice in the Mediterranean and Aegean Islands. These principalities were so crucial that the Venetians even became the pioneers of the union (Lega) against them. Also Venetians made treaties with them via Duca di Candia. In this sense, another deficiency of the book is that it does not mention the Duca di Candia, which was of great importance in Venice's colonization in the Mediterranean, and the Venetian system there.

In addition, while the wars between the Ottomans and Venice are mentioned, the wars won by the Turks are briefly explained, while the wars in which the Venetians were also involved and won are explained in detail. Objectivity is important in using sources in historiography. In this sense, it is a lack that the author does not use any Turkish copyrighted books or archive sources even though he mentions about the Ottomans. It is acceptable to some extent that Ottoman sources cannot be read due to the language. However, the author could have benefited from Ottoman historians such as Halil Inalcik and Suraiya Faroqhi, whose many writings on Ottoman History are available in English. At the same time, books by authors like Zinkeisen and Joseph Von Hammer who wrote about the Ottoman Empire and included Ottoman-Venetian relations in their books, could be used. Besides, the Republic of Venice made so many wars at the sea against the other states but the Serenissima's aim was always to improve its maritime trade in the Mediterranean, Aegean Islands and Black Sea. In this sense, the author could deal much more with Venice's maritime trade in Mediterranean and Black Sea. Also, it is not mentioned to trade between Venice and the Islamic state

such as Mamluks, Aydınoglus and Menteseoglus. It would have been better to touch on Venice's trade rather than political and military events.



## KİTAP İNCELEMESİ / BOOK REVIEW

### A POSTCOLONIAL REVIEW ON JAMAICA KINCAID’S NOVELLA “LUCY”\*

*JAMAICA KINCAID’IN KISA ROMANI “LUCY” ÜZERİNE BİR POSTKOLONYAL  
İNCELEME*

*Jamaica Kincaid (1990), Lucy, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux*

**Kanan AGHASIYEV\*\***

**Abstract:** This paper examines Jamaica Kincaid’s novel “Lucy” within the context of postcolonial literature, exploring the profound impact of colonial legacies on the main character, Lucy, and her experiences in a postcolonial world. Written by Jamaica Kincaid, a native of Antigua, the novel delves into the complexities of postcolonial identity, juxtaposing the concepts of independence and freedom. Antigua, as one of the last countries to gain independence in 1981, serves as a backdrop, illustrating the stark contrast between the author’s newly adopted home in the United States and her memories of Antigua, marked by a history of suppression and oppression. Lucy, the novel’s central character, carries the weight of her colonial past, a burden manifested through her constant reflection on her homeland. As a character who has never resided in a white-dominated society, she grapples with navigating a world replete with stereotypes about individuals of black and brown ethnicity. This essay aims to critically analyse Lucy from a postcolonial perspective, providing specific examples from the novel to illuminate the enduring impact of colonialism on the protagonist’s identity and her journey towards self-discovery in a complex postcolonial landscape.

**Keywords:** *Lucy, Jamaica Kincaid, Postcolonial Literature, Caribbean*

**Öz:** Bu makale, Jamaica Kincaid’ın “Lucy” adlı kısa romanını postkolonyal edebiyat bağlamında inceleyerek, ana karakter Lucy’nin üzerindeki kolonyal mirasın postkolonyal bir dünyada deneyimleri üzerindeki derin etkisini araştırmaktadır. Antigua doğumlu olan yazar Jamaica Kincaid tarafından yazılan roman, postkolonyal kimliğin karmaşıklıklarına derinlemesine iner ve bağımsızlık ve özgürlük kavramlarını karşılaştırır. 1981’de bağımsızlığını kazanan Antigua, yazarın yeni benimsediği Amerika Birleşik Devletleri ile Antigua’nın baskı ve zulmün tarihine işaret eden anıları arasındaki keskin kontrastı ortaya koyar. Romanın merkezi karakteri Lucy, kolonyal geçmişinin ağırlığını taşıyor ve vatanına olan sürekli düşünceleri aracılığıyla bu yükü açığa çıkarır. Beyaz egemen bir toplumda hiç yaşamamış bir karakter olarak, siyah ve kahverengi etnik kökenli bireylerle ilgili kalıplarla dolu bir dünyada gezinmeye çalışırken, kendi kimliği üzerindeki kolonyalizmin etkileriyle mücadele eder. Bu makale, “Lucy”yi postkolonyal bir perspektiften eleştirel bir şekilde analiz etmeyi amaçlayarak, romanın içinden örnekler sunarak protagonistin kimliği üzerindeki kolonyalizmin uzun süreli etkilerini ve karmaşık bir postkolonyal manzara içindeki öz keşif yolunu aydınlatmayı hedeflemektedir. **Anahtar Kelimeler:** Lucy, Jamaica Kincaid, Postkolonyal Edebiyat, Karayip

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### **Introduction on Jamaica Kincaid and Her Novella *Lucy***

Jamaica Kincaid was born in 1949 in Antigua. Her given name was initially Elaine Potter Richardson. When she started writing short stories, she changed her name to Jamaica Kincaid. Her desire for anonymity was motivated in large part by the fact that all of her publications in Antigua dealt with patriarchal, colonial, and gender concerns. She was afraid that if she had used her own name, she would have been discovered. She was also afraid that if her writings failed, her own people, the Antiguan, would mock her. Nobody would be able to make fun of her because Antiguan readers would be unfamiliar with her pen name [which happens to be her passport name at the moment]. She is known as an Antiguan American or Caribbean American writer since she was compelled to immigrate to the United States when she was 16 and has lived there ever since. Her writings typically address mother-daughter relationships, gender roles, women's rights, female identity, queer identity, and colonialism in Antigua. After spending her childhood and adolescence in Antigua with a huge family, she travelled to America to work as an au pair in order to feed and support her relatives there. She claimed in an interview at the 25th Chicago Humanities Festival that she had no choice but to go to America, work as a servant, and support her family because she was the oldest child in her family. In the same interview, she expresses her dissatisfaction with the prospect of being a servant and states unequivocally that she does not want to be one. As a result, she began looking for a new job and began working as a photographer in New York. Kincaid began writing for the New York Times after changing her name in 1973. She later became a full-time journalist for the New York Times in 1976.

Her home nation, Antigua and Barbuda [also known as Antigua], has a lengthy history of colonialism. It was a part of the Spanish colony since Christopher Columbus discovered it in 1493. It became a part of the British Empire in 1632. During the colonial period, however, it was often occupied and ravaged by the French. The island gained independence from the British Empire in 1981 and joined the Commonwealth of Nations. Antigua and Barbuda was one of the last British colonies to gain independence. Even in her interview at the 25th Chicago Humanities Festival, she jokes that people in Antigua were unaware that India had gained independence so that they might claim theirs.

Kincaid wrote *Lucy* in 1990 after her bestseller *Annie John* got popularity. The novel, *Lucy*, has many elements of postmodern literature. While reading, readers might think that they are inside the speaker's mind. This leads us to the technique of stream of consciousness that was started to be used by Joseph Conrad in his *The Heart of Darkness*, the very first modern and postcolonial literary work. Jamaica Kincaid uses first person point of view in the novel. The speaker speaks as if she is talking without any interruptions and does not even care if the readers understand her

properly. Furthermore, Kincaid uses historiographic-metafictions and just metafiction techniques in the novel in order to show the readers that she is the owner of her writing. For example, only at the last chapter of the book, she introduces herself while the book has five different chapters each talking about her experiences as an au pair, her memories, her colonial and postcolonial background, her mother's life, the family that she lives in etc. Another postmodern technique in the novel is the usage of intertextuality. Many times, she refers to her previous book, *Annie John*. This novel brought her a lot of fame. Thus, she wrote *Lucy*, her second novel, as a continuation of *Annie John*, however, as a different story and a different book.

Since the novel was written by a writer from a previously colonized country, Antigua, the novel is considered to be a part of postcolonial literature. The novel's main character's name is same as the title of the book, *Lucy*. She has a colonial past and always she is being haunted by her memories from her colonized country. Her country, Antigua was one of the last countries to get independence in 1981. Thus, while she lives in America, in a previously colonized country, she can see a huge difference between independence and freedom in the USA and suppression and oppression in Antigua. Also, another challenge she faces is that she had never lived in a white dominated society. But now, she has to live in a society that has a lot of stereotypes about black and brown people. At the same time, the novel has a heroine instead of a hero. That is why it is also considered to be a part of postcolonial feminist literature. Yet, this essay's point is to analyse the work from the postcolonial perspective by giving specific examples from the novel.

### **On the Summary of the Novel**

*Lucy* is Jamaica Kincaid's one of the novels that made her popular after she became known for her first short story *Girl*. The novel takes place in New York. The main character and the heroine of the novel, Lucy works as an au pair in a family with four kids and seemingly happy wife, Mariah and husband Lewis. Lucy is the only coloured person in the house considering the fact that the family members all are blonde. Readers see the racial difference between the heroine and the family when Lucy describes the pictures of the family that are hanging on the walls of the entire house. She describes the family to be yellow-haired and all alike. Since she was from Antigua and Barbuda, a country in the Caribbean, she had not seen a lot of blonde people. Also, the family is always happy and always finds everything to be wonderful and nice (Kincaid, 1990: 13). At first, it is difficult for her to adapt and even from time to time, she feels homesick even though she does not want to admit it. (Kincaid, 1990: 9). However, slowly she makes friends and while she makes friends and adapts her life in New York, she starts to hate her life back in home in Antigua. Mostly, she hates her parents, particularly her father, giving the reason that her father is way older than her mother. And she is angry with her mother because she had married an old man who is as old as her father (Lucy's grandfather).



As the time passes, she makes friends and discovers vibrant life of New York. Her first friend is Peggy. Peggy is another au pair in the novel; however, she does not have a central power in the story apart from being Lucy's friend. (Kincaid, 1990: 40). Peggy helps Annie to discover the city and do activities that Lucy could not do alone. Also, she makes Lucy meet several people. One of the people that Peggy makes Lucy meet is Paul. He and Lucy for several time meet, and they make love each time. Thus, one could say that they become friends-in-benefits. After working as an au pair for several months, Lucy understands that she wants to do something different than just taking care of children and household. Thus, she quits. She gets a camera and starts taking photos of interesting things. Later, she starts working in an office for a photographer. At the same time, even though she does not make enough money as an assistant of a photographer, she rents an apartment with Peggy and moves out from Marian and Lewi's house.

During the time that she lives with Marian and Lewis's, she gets a lot of letters from her mother in Antigua. However, Lucy, does not answer any of the letters from her mother. Later, Marion tells Lucy that Lucy's father passed away. And the reason that Marion told it to Lucy was because Lucy herself never wanted to read her mother's emails. At the end, she learns such bad news from her employer. She, desperately, sends all her savings to her mother. However, while sending, she writes a letter to her mother saying that she is angry with her for all the things that happened when she was a child and all the things that happened even before she was born. Thus, she understands that she will never talk her mother again. However, as a response, her mother writes back that she will never forget her, she will always be her mother. And their home will always be Lucy's home.

Time passes, Lucy starts getting used to her new life with her housemate Peggy. From time to time, she meets Paul just for love making. However, unfortunately, at the end of the novel, readers learn that both of her friends, Paul and Peggy disappear at the same hours, which means that Annie's friend Peggy starts meeting Paul. This is where Annie understands that she is alone and lonely, and she is just a brown girl from a colonized country almost nowhere in the Caribbean see that not many people know. She takes a notebook and writes her name. She wants to write more; however, she cannot continue as her eyes starts tearing. Sadly, she only writes down that she wishes she had someone that she would love much and die from her love. And this is where the novel ends. (Kincaid, 1990: 102).

### **Discussion on the Postcolonial Elements in the Novel**

The novel starts as a biography as if the writer tries to talk about her daily life and activities. However, slowly, when reading between the lines, it is not very difficult to see the colonial and postcolonial messages, and memories that she tries to illustrate. Jamaica Kincaid, in codes, perfectly depicts how a female figure from

a colonized country can feel when moving to another country. At first, we can see Lucy's nostalgias regarding her mother and her homeland even though she does not directly love any of them. Then, readers can see how Kincaid reflects on the topics regarding sugarcane plantations, slavery, self-identity, discrimination, stereotypes, generalization, and many more. Let's have a look at them in detailed forms.

Lucy, as a young woman in her adolescence who is around 19 years old, portrays a person that suffers from her colonial background and nostalgias that hunt her. At the very first page, readers understand that her family back in home in Antigua is not rich enough, even to afford a fridge. Later, she describes and adds that even the elevator, the apartment, and everything she is living in is much more different and so much better than back in Antigua. (Kincaid, 1990: 1). Thus, her new life in America is better and easier than her life in Antigua. Here, we can see how a third world country, a country that was formerly colonized could be like. While people in an independent and free country like America can live as they want with all the modern technology, her people who still suffered from colonialism lived in the poorest condition. Furthermore, another important detail is shown itself when Annie talks about seasons and mentions the fact that she likes the weather more when it is sunny since it reminds of her homeland and makes her less homesick (Kincaid, 1990: 2-3). Later, she explains that she wrote letters to her mother and relatives back in home. All those letters contained beautiful and flower words so that people in home could not feel that she was homesick, or she was unhappy. Thus, though she is unhappy, she tries to mask her unhappiness with fake words. (Kincaid, 1990: 5). At the beginning of the novel, Kincaid tries to prepare readers for upcoming colonial images by giving such simple examples. She tries to drag people's attention to the fact that there was no job in Antigua because of the colonial factor, and therefore, our Lucy tries to make money and cope with all the nostalgic homesickness in a far and alien land.

Slowly, the novel deepens and gives more examples of colonialism. Lucy talks about one of the letters that she receives from her mother in which her mother warns her daughter to be careful in the metro. She says that once she heard that someone had cut an immigrant girl's throat [probably black or brawn girl] (Kincaid, 1990: 17). This part of the novel shows readers how racist a society could be even though they themselves are the reason for that immigrant to be live in their country. Perhaps, if colonialism had not existed, that girl, and thousands of people did not have to move to America. They could have stayed in their own countries. However, the reality is different. Many countries got colonized by the British Empire and their last hope after the collapse was finding a new life in New York and London. As a result, they ended up with killings and murders that committed by the colonizer themselves. Again, the colonized suffered in a non-colonized society. Kincaid tries to drag readers attention to the victims of racism and colonialism.

Later, Kincaid talks about the language influence of colonialism. In page 58,

she talks about her mother, using French and English. Her country Antigua was a British colony until 1981. It was one of the last countries to get independence from the British. Just for the note, it is necessary to say that most of the colonized countries got independence after the second world war, however, her country stayed under the British rule almost until the end of 20<sup>th</sup> century. And before being under the British, they were controlled by the French. Her island, back and forth, was controlled by either British or French. Therefore, the local language in the island slowly started to turn into French and English. People started to use both languages and forget their own languages. In his part of the novel, Kincaid illustrates language deformation and adaptation of the colonizers' languages.

Apart the linguistic colonization, Kincaid shows how colonization was being controlled through sugarcane fields and how people were being brainwashed with the songs for the so-called British patriotism and heroism. Kincaid's heroine, Lucy talks about a fisherman back in home, Mr Mathew. He was an orphan child and her parents died in the sugarcane fields. (Kincaid, 1990: 65). Possibly, his parents were slaves, and they were brought from Africa like many others who worked in the sugar fields. Later, she continues with an anthem that she was forced to sing as a child at school but did not want to; *Rule, Britannia! Britannia, rule the waves; Britons never, never shall be slaves*. She adds that she was not Briton, but she had to sing this song as her island was a part of British Empire. (Kincaid, 1990: 85). This part of the novel shows us a brainwashing technique that is used on children to code them for the possible future colonization. At the same time, it is important to mention the fact that such national and patriot activities create low self-esteem and identity crisis. Growing in such society, people do not understand to which culture and environment they belong. In the song, it says; *Britons will never be slaves*. This part of the song is extremely ironical because British empire colonized almost on third of the world and enslaved millions of people and occupied many countries and territories. Thus, technically enslaved the whole world. While praising their own nation, they disgrace the whole nations that they colonized. Plus, they force people, who are colonized to sing such songs and make them believe that they are part of the British society, while they are not really.

At the last chapter of the novel, closer to the end, Lucy talks about herself and her entire life. There, for the first time, we learn her full name and other details about her parents and her people in Antigua. Ironically, in traditional writings, readers would expect that such introduction about the protagonist would be done in the first pages. However, Kincaid does it in purpose in order to show her artistic licence as a writer. Furthermore, it is one of the examples of postmodern literature. Postmodern writers and poets are free to do anything with their texts since they believe that text belongs to them, and they can write as they please. When we learn her name, we see that she has three names; *Lucy Josephine Potter* (Kincaid, 1990: 95). Later, she continues that she does not like any of these names because all of them are linked to some colonial

past. She says that she was named Josephine after her uncle Joseph who became rich thanks to sugarcane money that he had made in Cuba. Later she talks about her other name, Potter. She says that the reason why she did not like this name is because it a white name, an English name who controlled and enslaved her people. Yet, her parents were so naïve to understand the possible colonial background of the name. On the other hand, she was left only with one name to be called: Lucy. She says that she does not like this name, however, that was the only option she had left. (Kincaid, 1990: 95). However, one can say that not only Josephine, but all three names have colonial backgrounds because none of them are Afro-Caribbean while she is from Antigua which is populated with Afro-Caribbean people. Thus, all her names hunt her with their colonial identity. Now, she has the burden of carrying her colonial past with all these three names. Even though she wants to escape from her colonial past, she cannot because her identity is colonial.

Almost in the middle of the novel, Kincaid introduces the level of education in Antigua through giving examples regarding museums in Antigua. Our protagonist, Lucy, says that she likes to go to museums unlike her friend Peggy. Later she adds that she likes to visit museums because her country had no museums. (Kincaid, 1990: 65) Here, the author, Kincaid, tries to send readers a message that England did not care if its colonies had good education or not. Having a museum shows cultural and historical intelligence of the society. And Antiguans were robbed from their cultural and historical pasts. Besides, if there was a museum, what kind of history would it present? Since still Antigua was still under the British rule, museum could not show the horrible sides of colonialism. Thus, they would show only fake and flowery sides of colonialism (if there was any). Or perhaps they would teach fake patriotism as they did at schools like the song of '*Rule Britannia*.'

The novel also shows discrimination and generalization which came from the concept of 'exotic other' by Homi Bhabha and Edward Said. According to them, the colonizer uses certain images of the colonized to show them less privileged and less important. In the novel, Mariah's friend Dinah asks Lucy saying that she is from the islands. (Kincaid, 1990: 38). Of course, by saying islands, Dinah wanted to mention the colonized states that were still controlled by the British. Yes, there were many islands in the Caribbean Sea and Antigua was one of them. However, no matter the size, it was a land of many people and many people like Lucy called it their homes. However, for people like Dinah, it did not really matter because from her behaviour towards Lucy, we can understand that she is pro colonial. She sees Lucy a subaltern character. She believes that she is just a girl from the Caribbean as she says later in the novel. Thus, readers can see colonial discrimination and generalization. Interestingly, it is the same concept today when people do not know the names of countries in Africa and call them just 'African countries, an African country, or simply, a country in Africa.' On the other hand, it would have mattered so much to Lucy if she just had mentioned her country's name rather than calling it an island. We can see how important it is for Lucy

when she says that she liked Hugh, Dinah's husband, because he simply asked where she was from in the West Indies (another name of the Caribbean) (Kincaid, 1990: 43). As we can see, Hugh does not have pro colonial ideas unlike his wife Dinah.

At the beginning of the novel, Mariah, Lucy's employer tells Lucy a bit of herself. She says that she has an Indian root as she is very good at hunting birds, roasting corn, and catching fish. (Kincaid, 1990: 28). Although, she does not look Indian at all, she claims it as a fact that she has Indian blood. In the previous pages, Lucy describes Mariah to be blonde, not brown like Indian people. Furthermore, even though all the things she mentioned are good and essential things (catching fish, hunting, roasting corn), they are primitive things. People in New York never did such things and if they heard someone doing such an activity, they would underestimate that person because they are simply used to buy everything from the supermarket. Also, the writer does not forget to mention all the struggle and massacres that native Indians in America had faced. She says that all the Indians are not alive today (Kincaid, 1990: 29). Lastly, it is important to mention that Lucy being in America for work is another example of colonialism. If her country had a good condition, and if the colonizer, which is England, had given all the chances and opportunities to Antiguans as they give to their own people in England, she would not have left her country and go far away to work almost as a servant by looking after someone's kids.

## Conclusion

Kincaid's novel *Lucy* was published in 1990, following the success of her previous bestseller *Annie John*. *Lucy* combines several postmodern literary elements. Readers may feel as if they are absorbed in the protagonist's thoughts as they progress through the story. Stream of consciousness is a method that can be traced back to Joseph Conrad's pioneering use of it in his work *The Heart of Darkness*, which is considered one of the earliest instances of modern and postcolonial literature. Jamaica Kincaid uses a first-person point of view in *Lucy*, allowing the speaker to express herself freely and repeatedly, seemingly indifferent about whether or not the readers fully understand her. In addition, Kincaid employs historiographic-metafictions and simple metafiction tactics throughout the novel to demonstrate to readers that she is the sole author of her work. For example, she only introduces herself in the final chapter of the book, despite the fact that the book is divided into five chapters, each of which discusses her experiences as an au pair, her recollections, her colonial and postcolonial background, her mother's life, the family she lives in, and so on. Intertextuality is another postmodern method used in the novel. She frequently references her prior book, *Annie John*. This book catapulted her to popularity. As a result, she wrote *Lucy*, her second novel, as a continuation of *Annie John*, but with a different tale and book.

The novel is regarded as a piece of postcolonial literature because it was

produced by an author from the former colony of Antigua. The title of the book and the name of the main character in the story are both Lucy. She has a colonial past and is constantly being tormented by thoughts of her former colony. One of the last nations to get independence was her own, Antigua (1981). She is able to notice the stark contrast between freedom and independence in the USA and repression and persecution in Antigua since she lives in America, a former colony. She also has to contend with the fact that she has never lived in a culture where white people predominate. She now has to live in a world where there are many negative prejudices about black and physically strong individuals. In spite of the fact that the book includes a heroine rather than a hero, it is nevertheless regarded as postcolonial feminist literature. However, the purpose of this essay was to analyse the piece from a postcolonial standpoint by using examples from the novel.

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