

AFRICANIA

İNÖNÜ UNIVERSITY INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF AFRICAN STUDIES

Cilt/Volume:5 Sayı/Number:1



AFRICANIA

İNÖNÜ ÜNİVERSİTESİ ULUSLARARASI AFRIKA ARAŞTIRMALARI
DERGİSİ

*İNÖNÜ UNIVERSITY INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF AFRICAN
STUDIES*

Cilt / Volume: 5, Sayı / Issue: 1, (Ocak / January 2025)
(e-ISSN: 2757-8925)

Yayımcı | Publisher

**İNönü Üniversitesi Afrika Çalışmaları Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi
(İNÜAFAM)**

*İNönü University Center for African Studies
(INUAFAM)*

Yazı İşleri Müdürü | Managing Editor

Emin GİTMEZ

Mizanpaj – Tasarım Editörü | Layout – Design Editor

Beyza Betül EKİCİ

Africana, uluslararası hakemli bir dergidir. Altı ayda bir yayımlanır. Dergide yayımlanan yazıların bilimsel sorumluluğu yazarlarına aittir.

İletişim Adresi | Correspondence

İNönü Üniversitesi Afrika Çalışmaları Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi (İNÜAFAM)
Bulgurlu Mahallesi, İnönü Üniversitesi Merkez Kampüsü, 44210, Battalgazi /Malatya

Telefon: (0422) 377 49 01

E-Posta: africana@inonu.edu.tr

Web: <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/africana>

Çevrimiçi (Online) Yayın Tarih | Online Release Date

30 Ocak / January 2025

DERGİ HAKKINDA | ABOUT THE JOURNAL

Dergi Adı | The Name of the Journal: AFRICANIA

e-ISSN: 2757-8925

Yayın Aralığı | The Range of Publication

Yılda 2 Sayı (Ocak & Temmuz) - Biannual Issue (January & July)

Dergi Web Sitesi | The Website of the Journal

<https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/africana> - <https://https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/africana>

Yayın Başlangıç Tarihi | Publication Start Date

Ocak, 2021 - January, 2021

Baş Editör | Editor in Chief

Dr. Osman ŞAHİN

Yayıncı | The Publisher

İnönü Üniversitesi Afrika Çalışmaları Arařtırma ve Uygulama Merkezi (İNÜAFAM)

Inonu University African Studies Research and Application Center (INUAFAM)

İmtiyaz Sahibi | Concessionaire

İnönü Üniversitesi - Inonu University

Yayımlandığı Ülke | Country of Publication

Türkiye

Yayın Modeli | Publication Model

Açık Erişim - Open Access

Yayın İçeriği | Publication Content

Afrika ile ilgili sosyal bilimlerin tüm alanlarında makale kabul etmektedir.

Africana accepts articles in all fields of social sciences related to Africa.

Yayın Dili | Publication Language

Türkçe, İngilizce, Arapça, Fransızca.

Turkish, English, Arabic, French.

Ücret Politikası | Price Policy

Africana dergisinin tüm giderleri yayıncı tarafından karşılanmaktadır. Dergide makale yayımlama ücretsizdir. Gönderilen ya da kabul edilen makaleler için herhangi bir işlem ücreti veya gönderim ücreti talep edilmemektedir. All expenses of Africana are covered by the publisher. Publishing an article in the journal is free of charge. No processing or submission fees are charged for submitted or accepted articles.

Arşiv Politikası | Archive Policy

Africana dergisinde yayımlanan makaleler Dergipark ev sahipliğinde LOCKSS'da arşivlenir. Ayrıca, eser sahibinin inisiyatifi ile makaleler, YÖKSİS, üniversite veri tabanları (DSpace, AVESİS gibi), Google Scholar, Academia, Researchgate gibi alanlarda da kısıtlama ve süre sınırı olmaksızın erişime açılabilir. Africana dergisi eser sahibine her türlü arşivleme ve kullanma özgürlüğü tanıdığı gibi, Budapeşte Açık Erişim İnisiyatifinin (BOAI) açık erişim politikasını benimsemiş olması gereğince, dergide yayımlanan bilimsel makaleler ve arařtırmaları ücretsiz olarak son kullanıcı ve kurumlara sunmaktadır. Kullanıcılar, yayıncı veya yazarın iznine gereksinim duymadan Africana'da yayımlanan makalelerin tam metinlerini okumak, indirmek, kopyalamak, dağıtmak, arama yapmak veya bağlantı kurmak hakkına sahiptir. Böylece, bilimsel bilginin yaygınlaşması ve kullanımının kolaylaştırılması amaçlanmaktadır. Africana, makalelerin tüm sürümlerinin herhangi bir kısıtlama olmaksızın yazar tarafından arşivlenmesine izin verir. Bu arşivlemeye, dergiye gönderilen makalenin ilk halinden, kabul edilinceye kadarki sürede dergi sistemine kaydedilen bütün versiyonlar dâhildir.

Articles published in Africana are archived in LOCKSS hosted by Dergipark. In addition, at the initiative of the author, articles can be made available without restrictions and time limits in YÖKSİS, university databases (such as DSpace, AVESİS), Google Scholar, Academia, Researchgate. *Africana* grants the author full freedom to archive and use their work. Additionally, in accordance with its adoption of the Budapest Open Access Initiative (BOAI) policy, *Africana* provides free access to published scientific articles and research for both individual users and institutions. Users have the right to read, download, copy, distribute, search, or link to the full texts of articles published in *Africana* without requiring permission from the publisher or the author. This policy aims to promote the dissemination and accessibility of scientific knowledge. *Africana* also allows authors to archive all versions of their articles without any restrictions, including all versions submitted to the journal system, from the initial submission to the accepted version.

Açık Erişim Lisansı | Open Access License

CC BY-NC 4.0

Telif Hakkı Sahibi | Copyright Holder

Yazar(lar) telif hakkını korur. - The author(s) retains copyright.

Politika Koşulları | Policy Terms

Atıf ve alıntı standartlarına uyularak dergiye atıf yapılmalıdır. DOI ile yayıncı sürümüne bağlanmalıdır. The journal must be cited in accordance with standard citation and referencing guidelines. It should be linked to the publisher version with DOI.

Hakemlik Türü | Type of Refereeing

Çift Taraflı Kör Hakemlik - Double Blind Review

İntihal Kontrolü | Plagiarism Checker

iThenticate

İletişim | Contact

africana@inonu.edu.tr

İtiraz

Makalenizin reddedilme gerekçesini hatalı buluyorsanız, lütfen gerekçenizi açık bir şekilde belirterek africana@inonu.edu.tr adresi üzerinden iletişime geçiniz.



Africana Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International (CC BY-

NC 4.0) Lisansı ile lisanslanmıştır.

Africana is licensed under a Creative Commons AttributionNonCommercial 4.0

International (CC BY-NC 4.0) License.



Africana Açık Erişim politikasını benimsemektedir.

The Journal of Africana Supports Open Access Policy

Editöryal Yetkili

Dr. Osman ŞAHİN

ORCID: 0000-0003-2959-241X

E-posta: osman.sahin@inonu.edu.tr

Telefon: 0532 384 78 72

Adres: İnönü Üniversitesi Yabancı Diller Yüksekokulu

Şehir: Malatya

Ülke: Türkiye

Posta Kodu: 44280

AFRICANIA DERGİSİ'NİN YER ALDIĐI İNDEKLER



EDİTÖR KURULU | EDITORIAL BOARD

Baş Editör | Editor in Chef

Osman ŞAHİN | İnönü Üniversitesi /Türkiye

ORCID ID: 0000-0003-2959-241X

Editörler | Editors

Osman KARACAN | İnönü Üniversitesi /Türkiye

ORCID ID: 0009-0006-3706-6574

Ayşe TOMAT YILMAZ | MEB /Türkiye

ORCID ID: 0000-0001-8631-2854

Mustafa Yunus GÜMÜŞ | Türkiye

ORCID ID: 0000-0003-2432-2955

Süleyman EKİCİ | İnönü Üniversitesi /Türkiye

ORCID ID: 0000-0001-8477-000X

Ali BÜYÜKASLAN | İstanbul Medipol Üniversitesi /Türkiye

ORCID ID: 0000-0001-6770-0085

Editör Yardımcıları | Assistant Editors

Gufran DÜNDAR | Sakarya Üniversitesi /Türkiye

ORCID ID: 0000-0003-0986-4473

Beyza Betül EKİCİ | İnönü Üniversitesi /Türkiye

ORCID ID: 0000-0002-7872-1583

Alan Editörleri | Section Editors

Zehra YILDIRIM | Rabat Mohammad V Üni./Fas

ORCID ID: 0000-0002-5303-3792

Esmâ KARADAĞ | Cape Town Üniversitesi /Güney Afrika

ORCID ID: 0000-0002-3516-7260

Necati FIRATLI | El Manar Üniversitesi /Tunus

ORCID ID: 0000-0002-2202-1385

Zekeriya AKDAĞ | İnönü Üniversitesi /Türkiye

ORCID ID: 0000-0002-0866-603X

Ramazan MEŞE | İnönü Üniversitesi /Türkiye

ORCID ID: 0000-0001-8524-7923

Burak YETİMOĞLU | Uluslararası Rabat Üniversitesi /Fas

ORCID ID: 0000-0001-5603-3643

Ülkü ÇİÇEK | Uluslararası Rabat Üniversitesi / Fas

ORCID ID: 0000-0001-6233-8785

Onur YAMANER | Türkiye

ORCID ID: 0000-0002-8715-2060

Fatma YILDIZ | Cape Town Üniversitesi /Güney Afrika

ORCID ID: 0000-0002-8392-5142

Ayşe AYTEKİN | Gümüşhane Üniversitesi /Türkiye

ORCID ID: 0000-0002-5952-762X

Selahattin YILDIRIM | İnönü Üniversitesi /Türkiye

ORCID ID: 0000-0003-3104-0251

Mohammad RIGIDERAKHSHAN | Türkiye

ORCID ID: 0000-0003-1495-6284

Halil İbrahim KOÇ | Niğde Üniversitesi /Türkiye

ORCID ID: 0000-0002- 9536-7627

Veysel ÇETİN | Türkiye

ORCID ID: 0000- 0001-8415-448

Dil Editörleri | Language Editors

İsmail SÖYLEMEZ | İnönü Üniversitesi /Türkiye

ORCID ID: 0000-0001-7000-3686

Ümit YAKAR | İnönü Üniversitesi /Türkiye

ORCID ID: 0000-0002-2317-5159

Zahide PARLAR | İnönü Üniversitesi /Türkiye

ORCID ID: 0000-0002-4616-9579

Osman ŞAHİN | İnönü Üniversitesi /Türkiye

ORCID ID: 0000-0003-2959-241X

Selahattin YILDIRIM | İnönü Üniversitesi /Türkiye

ORCID ID: 0000-0003-3104-0251

Mustafa Yunus GÜMÜŞ | Türkiye

ORCID ID: 0000-0003-2432-2955

Semra TAYDAŞ OSMAN | RWTH Aachen Üni./Almanya

ORCID ID: 0000-0002-5419-8249

Fatma ÖRS | İnönü Üniversitesi /Türkiye

ORCID ID: 0009-0004-5896-0175

Etik Editörü | Ethic Editor

Hüseyin GÜNEŞ | Türkiye

ORCID ID: 0000-0003-1713-8316

İstatistik Editörü | Statistics Editor

Gökhan KONAT | Bolu Abant İzzet Baysal Üni/Türkiye

ORCID ID: 0000-0002-5419-8249

YAYIN KURULU | EDITORIAL BOARD

Dr. Abdurrahman ALİ	Samara University Ethiopia
Dr. Ahmet KAVAS	Dakar BE Türkiye Senegal
Dr. Ali BÜYÜKASLAN	İstanbul Medipol Üniversitesi Türkiye
Dr. Askia Nasir KABARA	Kano University of Science and Tecnology Nigeria
Dr. Bellil ABDELKARİM	Chadli Bin Jadid University, Algeria
Dr. Elem EYRİCE TEPECİKLİOĞLU	Ankara Sosyal Bilimler Üniversitesi Türkiye
Dr. Enver ARPA	Ankara Sosyal Bilimler Üniversitesi Türkiye
Dr. Gökhan TUNCEL	İnönü Üniversitesi Türkiye
Dr. Hande SAPMAZ	Mardin Artuklu Üniversitesi Türkiye
Dr. Harun BEKİROĞLU	İnönü Üniversitesi Türkiye
Dr. İrfan NEZİROĞLU	Hartum BE/Türkiye Sudan
Dr. İsmail SÖYLEMEZ	Ankara Üniversitesi Türkiye
Dr. Jama Musa JAMA	Redsea Cultur Foundation Somaliland Somalia
Dr. Kasim SALİFU	Ghana
Dr. Mbaye LO	Duke University USA
Dr. Mehmet Emin ŞAHİN	Hakkâri Üniversitesi Türkiye
Dr. Mohamed El- Moctar El-SHINQITI	Hamad Bin Khalifa University Qatar
Dr. Mohamed Jama MADAR	Hargeisa University Somaliland Somalia
Dr. Mohamoud Yusuf MUSE	Hargeisa University Somaliland Somalia
Dr. Muddathir ABDEL-RAHİM	International University of Africa Sudan
Dr. Muhammed HARON	Bostwana University/Sellenbosch University South Africa
Dr. Muhammed OSMAN	International University of Africa Sudan
Dr. Murat KAYACAN	İzmir Kâtip Çelebi Üniversitesi Türkiye
Dr. Mustafa Yunus GÜMÜŞ	Türkiye
Dr. Mürsel BAYRAM	Ankara Sosyal Bilimler Üniversitesi Türkiye
Dr. Neslihan DERİN	İnönü Üniversitesi Türkiye
Dr. Osman KARACAN	İnönü Üniversitesi Türkiye
Dr. Recep KARABULUT	İnönü Üniversitesi Türkiye
Dr. Recep ŞEHİTOĞLU	Gaziantep Üniversitesi Türkiye
Dr. Selim ARGUN	Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Türkiye
Dr. Süleyman EKİCİ	İnönü Üniversitesi Türkiye
Dr. Usame EŞKAR	International University of Africa Sudan
Dr. Yahya BAŞKAN	İnönü Üniversitesi Türkiye
Dr. Yunus NAMAZ	Fırat Üniversitesi Türkiye
Dr. Yunus TURHAN	Hacı Bayram Veli Üniversitesi Türkiye
Dr. Zahide PARLAR	İnönü Üniversitesi Türkiye
Dr. Zekeriya AKDAĞ	İnönü Üniversitesi Türkiye

İÇİNDEKİLER | CONTENTS

Araştırma Makaleleri | Research Articles

Indigenised Linguistic Codes and Nigerianism in Selected Hip-Hop Songs of Adekunle Gold and Folarin Falana

Adekunle Gold ve Folarin Falana'nın Seçilmiş Hip-Hop Şarkılarında Yerleştirilmiş Dilsel Kodlar ve Nijeryanlık

Julianah AKINDELE - Rosemary MAYOKUN

(01-13)

Manifesto, Rhetoric, and Election in Ghana, 2008-2024

Gana'da Manifesto, Retorik Ve Seçim, 2008-2024

Usman Abass

(14-36)

The Independentisation of African Historiography

Afrika Tarihçiliğinin Bağımsızlığı

John Abbam NYARKO

(36-58)

Kitap İncelemesi | Book Review

Amy Rushton, Re-Reading Tragic Africa: Development, Neoliberalism, and Contemporary Fiction, Palgrave Macmillan, 2024, Pp. 195.

Amy Rushton, Trajik Afrika'yı Yeniden Okumak: Kalkınma, Neoliberalizm ve Çağdaş Roman, Palgrave Macmillan, 2024, Ss. 195.

Eren BOLAT

(59-63)

Frantz O. Fanon, Cezayir Bağımsızlık Savaşı'nın Anatomisi, (Çev. Kamil Çileçöp), İstanbul: Pınar Yayınları, 2012, Ss.156.

Frantz O. Fanon, Anatomy of the Algerian War of Independence (Trans. Kamil Çileçöp), İstanbul: Pınar Yayınları, 2012, Pp. 156.

Habibe TEMİZSU

(64-70)

Kwame Nkrumah, Emperyalizmin Son Ařaması: Yeni Sömürgecilik, (Çev.) A. Sarıca, Gerçek Yayınevi, İstanbul 1966, 100 Sayfa.

Kwame Nkrumah, Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism, (Trans.) A. Sarıca, Gerçek Publisher, İstanbul 1966, 100 Pages.

Cihan DABAN

(71-76)

•

INDIGENISED LINGUISTIC CODES AND NIGERIANISM IN SELECTED HIP-HOP SONGS OF ADEKUNLE GOLD AND FOLARIN FALANA

ADEKUNLE GOLD VE FOLARIN FALANA'NIN SEÇİLMİŞ HIP-HOP ŞARKILARINDA YERLİLEŞTİRİLMİŞ DİLSEL KODLAR VE NİJERYANLIK

Yıl 5, Sayı 1, ss.01-13.

Year 5, Issue 1, pp.01-13.

Makale Türü: Araştırma Makalesi

Article Type: Research Article

Geliş Tarihi: 04.01.2025

Submitted: 04.01.2025

Kabul Tarihi: 16.01.2025

Accepted: 16.01.2025

DOI: 10.58851/africana.1613397

Atf Bilgisi / Reference Information

Akindele, J. & Mayokun, R. (2025). Indigenised Linguistic Codes And Nigerianism In Selected Hip-Hop Songs Of Adekunle Gold And Folarin Falana, *Africana-Inönü Üniversitesi Uluslararası Afrika Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 5 (1) , 01-13.

Julianah Akindele

Osun State University, Department of English and Literary Studies, Nigeria, julianah.akindele@uniosun.edu.ng

ORCID: 0000-0001-6548-5246

Rosemary Mayokun

Osun State University, Department of English and Literary Studies, Nigeria, aboladaleadewale@yahoo.com

ORCID: 0009-0005-5412-7685

Abstract

The Nigerian hip-hop music industry as a site for popular cultural practices has always played the role of propagating indigenised linguistic codes and structures that project social meaning and entrench language creativity in popular culture. Within the realities of varieties of English, this study examines some features of Nigerianism in selected songs by Adekunle Gold and Folarin Falana (Falz). Selected albums and tracks of these two prominent Nigerian hip-hop artistes constituted the data, and were analysed with the conceptual orientations of William Labov's variation theory. This framework was preferred because it deals with linguistic differentiations and the description of variations in the speech of members of a social class and in the speech of members of a speech community. Findings show that bilingual pragmatic markers, coinages, semantic contrast, loan words, lexical reduplication, local symbolisms and slangs are some of the linguistic codes and communicative practices that are deployed in these hip-hop songs for local colouration and conveyance of social meaning, especially among the youth population. The study concludes that the interjection of bilingual communicative features into English language usage results in Nigerianism, and hip-hop artists deliberately use these indigenised linguistic codes to create, recreate, and reflect social experiences..

Keywords: Indigenised linguistic codes, Nigerianism, Nigerian hip-hop music, language variation, popular culture, variation theory

Öz

Nijerya hip-hop müzik endüstrisi, popüler kültürel uygulamaların bir alanı olarak her zaman, sosyal anlamı yansıtan ve popüler kültürde dil yaratıcılığını güçlendiren yerleşmiş dilsel kodları ve yapıları yayma rolünü oynamıştır. Bu çalışma, İngilizce çeşitliliği çerçevesinde, Adekunle Gold ve Folarin Falana (Falz) tarafından seslendirilen birtakım şarkılardaki Nijeryalılığın bazı özelliklerini incelemektedir. Nijerya'nın önde gelen bu iki hip-hop sanatçısının seçilen albümleri ve parçaları çalışma verilerini oluşturmuş ve William Labov'un varyasyon teorisinin kavramsal yönelimleri ile analiz edilmiştir.

2 | Julianah Akindede, Rosemary Mayokun

Bu çerçeve, dilsel farklılıklarla ve bir sosyal sınıfın üyelerinin konuşmalarındaki ve bir konuşma topluluğunun üyelerinin konuşmalarındaki varyasyonların tanımlanmasıyla ilgilendiği için tercih edilmiştir. Bulgular, iki dilli pragmatik işaretlerin, ortak sözcüklerin, anlamsal zıtlıkların, ödünç sözcüklerin, sözcüksel yinelemelerin, yerel sembolizmlerin ve argoların, özellikle genç nüfus arasında yerel renklendirme ve sosyal anlam aktarımı için bu hip-hop şarkılarında kullanılan dilsel kodlardan ve iletişimsel pratiklerden bazıları olduğunu göstermektedir. Çalışma, iki dilli iletişimsel özelliklerin İngilizce dil kullanımına dahil edilmesinin Nijeryalılık ile sonuçlandığı ve hip-hop sanatçıların bu yerleştirilmiş dilsel kodları sosyal deneyimler yaratmak, yeniden yaratmak ve yansıtmak için kasıtlı olarak kullandıkları sonucuna varmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Yerleştirilmiş dilsel kodlar, Nijeryalılık, Nijerya hip-hop müziği, dil çeşitlenmesi, popüler kültür, çeşitlenme teorisi.

STRUCTURED ABSTRACT

Language and music are two unique human features that rely on rules and memorised representations. Higher order structures (sentences and melodies) are made up of basic units (words and notes) which are arranged in a rule-governed hierarchical configuration. Music has a strong relationship with culture because music helps to define who we are, creating our communal self-identity. To a great extent, our musical likes and dislikes are defined by the culture we identify with. Language and pop music have been explored by scholars, and different arguments have emerged on how linguistic forms are used concerning the sociolinguistic realities of hip-hop artists to communicate inclusively with their audience and to express local identities but studies on indigenised codes and Nigerianism have been observed to be rare in the literature.

The English language is the official language in Nigeria, and a tool that facilitates cultural and linguistic unity in the country. Part of the area in which the English language is used peculiarly in the country is music. The English language has been adopted as the language of Nigerian hip-hop music, despite that most Nigerian hip-hop singers use English, they still identify with Nigerian indigenous languages. Nigerian hip-hop singers use their music as a medium for informing their listeners of current events and liberation strategies, using an alternate language understood only by those within the cultural network. Nigerianism refers to the local colorations attached to the use of English in Nigeria. Nigerianisms are the unique ways in which Nigerians use English. They are those deviant forms of English used in Nigeria that differentiate it from other Englishes. It represents any variety of English construction that reflects the phonological, structural and semantic properties of Nigerian languages. The Nigerian hip-hop music industry as a site for popular cultural practices has always played the role of propagating indigenised linguistic codes and structures that project social meaning and entrench language creativity in popular culture.

Within the realities of varieties of English, this study examines some features of Nigerianism in selected songs by Adekunle Gold and Folarin Falana (Falz). Selected albums and tracks of these two prominent Nigerian hip-hop artistes constituted the data, and were analysed with the conceptual orientations of William Labov's variation theory. This framework was preferred because it deals with linguistic differentiations and the description of variations in the speech of members of a social class and in the speech of members of a speech community. These artistes were chosen on the basis of their popularity in the Nigerian music industry and the grand level of listenership and afro-centric style their songs command. The lyrics of these songs were downloaded from online platforms. Then, the songs were listened to and transcribed by the authors to ascertain the accuracy of the downloaded transcribed lyrics. The songs are "Sade", "Ariwo ko" and "Pick up" by Adekunle Gold and "Talk", "One trouser" and "This is Nigeria" by Folarin Falana.

Findings show that bilingual pragmatic markers, coinages, semantic contrast, loan words, lexical reduplication, local symbolisms and slangs ("No be me talk am o (Falz, Talk) Na you talk am o, This is Nigeria Never ending recession o When looters and killers and stealers are still contesting election (Falz,

3 | Julianah Akindele, Rosemary Mayokun

This is Nigeria”) . (“They call me workaholiki o, My hustle pure no be small, I dey pray to make am Oluwa, answer my calli o) (Adekunle Gold, Pick Up) are some of the linguistic codes and communicative practices that are deployed in these hip-hop songs for local colouration and conveyance of social meaning, especially among the youth population. The study concludes that the interjection of bilingual communicative features into English language usage results in Nigerianism, and hip-hop artists deliberately use these indigenised linguistic codes to create, recreate, and reflect social experiences. The study concludes that the modification of the literal English meaning of some words and the invention of coinages that reflect nativised meaning are strategically done by hip-hop stars to entrench hip-hop music as an institutional practice in popular culture and also to appeal to the youth population. In essence, the musicians do not only promote themselves, they also encourage the creative use of the English language in a nativised form to convey meaning within different social contexts. Nigerianism features in Nigerian hip-hop creates distinct identities for musicians and their fans alike and reflects the country's ethnolinguistic diversity.

1. Introduction

Nigerianisms, according to Adebija (2004:20), are “the features of language use emanating from the use of English in Nigeria”. What all the subvarieties of the Nigerian variety of English have in common, whether educated or not, is the presence of some elements of non-standard British English forms. These non-standard forms are manifested in all English linguistic units. These non-standard forms made up of errors and variants are what Bokamba (1983: 78) refers to as 'Nigerianism'. Nigerianism, thus, refers to the local colourations attached to the use of English in Nigeria. In other words, Nigerianisms are the unique ways in which English is used by Nigerians. According to Akindele and Adebite (2005), Nigerianisms are those deviant forms of English used in Nigeria that differentiate it from other Englishes. It represents any variety of English construction that reflects the phonological, structural and semantic properties of Nigerian languages. Hence, we talk of variations as a result of mother tongue interference. Odumuh (1987) refers to this interference as 'ethnolinguistic influences, as they show some characteristics of Nigerian languages. It is due to these ethnolinguistic influences that a Nigerian speaker, no matter the level of his education, can be distinguished from other users of the English language. The English language in Nigeria is a second language. It is a second language because Nigerians already had their first language or Mother Tongue (L1) before the incursion of this foreign language called 'English' into the country. In this instance a foreign language (English) left its native environment and met another language or languages (Nigerian indigenous languages). It is true that the culture and values of the people are embedded in the language they speak. As such, it is said that 'language is culture' and none can be separated from each other. So, when two languages meet, two cultures have met, and there are likely to be a lot of changes in that society. The changes will affect the culture and the language of the recipient society or speech community, and the effect will impact the entire recipient society, which in this instance is Nigeria and its citizenry.

Language and music are two unique human features that rely on rules and memorised representations. Higher order structures (sentences and melodies) are made up of basic units (words and notes) that are arranged in a rule-governed hierarchical configuration. The French anthropologist Levi-Strauss pointed out that music is the only language with the contradictory attributes of being at once intelligible and untranslatable and that music crosses cultural boundaries more easily than does language. The English language is the official language in Nigeria as a tool that facilitates cultural and linguistic unity in the country. Part of the area in which the English language is used peculiarly in the country is music. The English language has been adopted as the language of Nigerian hip-hop music. In spite of the fact that most Nigerian hip-hop singers use English, they still try to identify with their indigenous languages. Nigerian hip-hop singers use their music as a medium for informing their listeners of current events and liberation strategies, using an alternate language understood only by those within the cultural network. Through the years, many of the words and phrases have become integrated and used by listeners who have figured out the context and definitions of these words.

4 | Julianah Akindede, Rosemary Mayokun

Music has a strong relationship with culture. Music helps to define who we are, creating our communal self-identity. To a great extent, our musical likes and dislikes are defined by the culture we identify with. The reason some people dislike classical music may not be because they dislike the music. It may be because they don't identify with the culture associated with classical music (Anthony, 1996). Within the realities of World Englishes and the indigenisation of English in different cultures of the world, this study takes interest in demonstrating how the hip-hop music industry serves as an institutional force behind promoting creatively invented indigenised linguistic codes within the context of popular culture practices. The objectives of the study are to:

1. identify some features of Nigerianism that serve as acceptable indigenised linguistic codes, and
2. explain the contextual meaning of the indigenised linguistic codes within the realities of social experiences.

2. Review of related literature

Language and pop music have been explored by scholars, and different arguments have emerged on how linguistic forms are used with respect to the sociolinguistic realities of hip-hop artists to communicate inclusively with their audience and to express local identities. Omoniyi (2006) investigated excerpts from Nigerian hip-hop song lyrics and reported the discovery of divergence through (planned) phonological variance, code-switching, cross-referencing, nicknaming, colloquialisms, and reinterpretation. The study placed Nigerian hip-hop culture within the context of global popular culture. Cutler's (2007) study centred on an examination of hip-hop culture from a sociolinguistic perspective. The study examined not only the problem of authenticity in terms of language but also other dimensions of identification, such as a person's colour, class, and connection to young urban African Americans. In addition to this, the study investigated how local hip-hop scenes use language to convey local identities. Hip-hop music and culture have historically been about individual and communal expression, and they have not necessarily been concerned with making "proper" use of language. As a result, it is crucial to stress that this has always been the case. Babalola and Taiwo (2009) analysed the nature of the phenomenon of code-switching, examined the causes for code-switching, evaluated the stylistic impacts of this trend, and examined the implications of this practise for the communication that takes place through music. Findings showed that Yoruba plays a significant role in code-switching, even though the majority of code-switching takes place in three languages: English, Nigerian Pidgin, and Yoruba. Because of this, the language becomes the medium through which the themes inside the songs are further developed.

Adegoke (2011) examined the creolization/indigenization of popular music and its depiction of national identity through the lens of language and its many important functions. The study reaffirmed the importance of music in the African diaspora's fight against colonialism, resistance to it, and maintenance of individuality, ideology, and culture. To reveal the unique characteristics and ethos of modern African societies, it proposed a comprehensive theorization of popular music using a variety of theoretical frameworks. Falk (2012) attempted a corpus-based demonstration of the overarching style of rock song lyrics to determine the characteristics that are unique to the rock music genre. The research indicated that rock music is similar to other genres in certain respects but also possesses some characteristics that are unique to itself. In terms of the utilisation of words, developments as well as stagnations were identified. Kreyer (2015) investigated the ways in which femininity and masculinity are portrayed in the lyrics of popular songs. It has been demonstrated that, despite the fact that the two corpora behave surprisingly similarly in some regards, how male and female artists refer to themselves or to the opposite sex may lead to the consolidation of roles that are unfavourable for women. Ajayi and Ibukun (2015) looked into the pragmatic meanings that pronouns might convey for Nigerian hip-hop artists. Pronouns are used by

5 | Julianah Akindele, Rosemary Mayokun

Nigerian hip-hop artists to project their uniqueness and personalities, connect with and solidify their audience, and define boundaries and polarity with their competitors. The argument in the study was that Nigerian hip-hop artists, through the use of pronouns, convey feelings of competition and animosity, individuality and personality, as well as identity and togetherness. Gbogi (2016) centred on how members of a rapidly expanding youth subculture in Nigeria's major cities utilise language to both express and reinforce their identities (cultural, political, linguistic, and cosmopolitan). The study explained how Nigerian hip-hop musicians employ signifying and slangifying to inscribe ambiguity and indirection into their vocabulary to privilege their cultural and individuated selves. The same logic is used to defend taking musical metaphors at face value. The study further analysed the nature of pronominals and ghetto naming, both of which are utilised by artists in the process of establishing their political identity in a postcolonial nation such as Nigeria.

Furthermore, Akindele and Ebuzeome (2016) examined bilingualism and biculturalism as elements of indigenisation in selected Nigerian artists' pop music. The study observed that the use of native languages in these songs that have been sampled has significantly contributed to the songs' maintenance of their original authenticity and richness. In addition to this, it has assisted in reawakening the interest of people who are not native speakers of the languages and cultures of other countries. The bilingual and multilingual characteristics of the sampled songs demonstrate the artists' deep appreciation for their native tongue and their commitment to cultural awareness and togetherness. Sarah and Oladayo (2021) conducted a comparative analysis of code-switching and code-mixing in the Nigerian music business by using the lyrical content of Flavour and 9ice as a case study. The selected songs' use of code-switching or code-mixing serves as a representation of the linguistic diversity present in the Nigerian state and acts as a bridge between the educated and the uneducated, helping the artist achieve the level of fame they seek. The study concluded that the distinct identity established by code-switching and code-mixing in the Nigerian music industry has a beneficial influence on music lovers, assisting musicians to attain wide patronage and reflecting the ethnolinguistic diversity of the Nigerian population. A similar study conducted by Ajayi (2023) examined the music of Abolore Akande (9ice) and his use of metaphors to discuss urban lifestyles in Nigeria. By analysing the lyrics of his songs using Lakoff and Johnson's conceptual metaphor theory, the study argued that these metaphors and their conceptual domains serve as discursive paradigms that vividly depict and help comprehend certain ideas about sex, gender, social status, and crime in contemporary Nigeria. The study concluded that rather than being considered meaningless or purely aesthetic, metaphors in Naija hip-hop play a significant role in grounding and portraying the vibrant urban social realities in Nigeria.

In addition, Omolabi (2023) investigated the portrayal of the female gender in hip-hop music and the messages sent about the female gender and uncovered the concealed pragmatic implications within the music's content. The results of the study indicated that the lyrical content sampled primarily featured slangy expressions that suggested sexual overtimes, depictions of women as mere edibles, depictions of women as sexual stimulants, seductive dance steps, and indecent attire. The data employed the implicit practices of exposing, seducing, attracting, and proposing to illustrate the role of female characters in hip-hop music videos, as the paper also revealed. The paper concluded that the use of vulgar expressions in the description of these female characters primarily depicted them as sex commodities and sex workers. This raises concerns about the dignity of the African woman and the virtues she is expected to project to her fellow females, both domestically and internationally. Onuoha (2024) examined the linguistic characteristics, inventiveness, and cultural allusions included into the vocabulary used in rap music in order to do a sociolinguistic analysis of the slang and figurative terms used by Nigerian rappers. The research's conclusions highlighted the distinctive cultural components ingrained in Nigerian rappers' linguistic preferences and highlighted the diversity of Nigerian identity worldwide. This study indicated that these linguistic characteristics reflect social identities, values, and experiences within Nigerian society and offer insightful analysis of the complex interrelationships between language, culture, and artistic expression in Nigerian rap music. It also offers insightful information that can help with intercultural communication

6 | Julianah Akindele, Rosemary Mayokun

and language learning and teaching. In light of the foregoing, the present study examines how features of Nigerianism serve as indigenised linguistic codes to project social meaning and unique local identities in selected Nigerian hip-hop songs.

3. Conceptual framework: Labov's variation theory

Variation is a characteristic of language; there is more than one way of saying the same thing. Speakers may vary pronunciation (accent), word choice (lexicon), or morphology and syntax (sometimes called "grammar"). But while the diversity of variation is great, there seem to be boundaries on variation. Speakers do not generally make drastic alterations in sentence word order or use novel sounds that are completely foreign to the language being spoken. Linguistic variation does not equate with language ungrammaticality, but speakers are still (often unconsciously) sensitive to what is and is not possible in their native language. Variationists study how a language changes by observing it. This is accomplished by looking at authentic data. For example, variation is studied by looking at linguistic and social environments, and then the data is analysed as the change occurs. Variation in research programmes must be malleable due to the nature of language itself. This is because language is also fluid in transition and does not shift from one state to another instantaneously. The variationist method of studying language variation and change requires the identification of a linguistic variable for which there is more than one form, or variant. Variants are, in short, "two or more ways of saying the same thing" (Labov, 1973), or forms (that) perform the same function in the grammar. Further: In theory, no two forms can have identical meaning, but in practice, two different forms can be used interchangeably in some contexts even though they may have distinct referential meanings in other contexts. In fact, you are dealing with at least two different levels of meaning: (i) comprehensive meaning, which takes into consideration every possible inference (ii) meaning as it is used in the speech community. While the first is subject to idiosyncratic interpretation and an infinite range of potential meanings, the second is by definition a consensus that is shared and relatively constant.

The variation rule, based on Preston's (1993) postulation, is relevant in phonology and sociolinguistics, since any variation in syntax and semantics in second language contexts is considered a demonstration of incompetence. There are bound to be variations in any living language, since 'no two speakers of a language, even if they are speakers of the same dialect, produce and use their language in exactly the same way all the time (Akmajian et al., 2001). Language variation is a core concept in sociolinguistics. Sociolinguists investigate not only whether this linguistic variation can be attributed to differences in the social characteristics of the speakers using the language but also whether elements of the surrounding linguistic context promote or inhibit the usage of certain structures. Studies of language variation and its correlation with sociological categories, such as William Labov's 1963 paper "The social motivation of a sound change", led to the foundation of sociolinguistics as a subfield of linguistics. Although contemporary sociolinguistics includes other topics, language variation and change remain an important issue at the heart of the field.

Labov (1982) and Sankoff (1988) lay down methodological considerations for the study of linguistic change in the variationist framework, where change is reflected in an "ordered series of shifts in underlying probabilities associated with each environmental factor" that condition linguistic variation (Labov, 1982: 75). Internal linguistic factors that condition a variable in a probabilistic manner are representative of the function of that variable in the grammatical system. The changing probabilistic effects of internal factors on a variable can be taken to represent diagnostics of grammatical change. In the comparative sociolinguistic method, grammatical change is indicated by the changing significance, magnitude of effect, and constraint hierarchies of internal linguistic factors in a multivariate analysis (Tagliamonte, 2002).

4. Methods

The data for this study comprised selected songs by Adekunle Gold and Folarin Falana. These artistes were chosen on the basis of their popularity in the Nigerian music industry and the grand level of listenership and afro-centric style their songs command. The lyrics of these songs were downloaded from online platforms. Then, the songs were listened to and transcribed by the authors to ascertain the accuracy of the downloaded transcribed lyrics. The songs are "Sade", "Ariwo ko" and "Pick up" by Adekunle Gold and "Talk", "One trouser" and "This is Nigeria" by Folarin Falana. This research will also investigate the meaning of these songs which will be determined through the use of Nigerian Pidgin English, Nigerian slangs, the use of indigenous languages, etc. in the songs.

5. Result and discussion

In this section, we analyse and interpret the various ways local and nativised meanings projected through some features of Nigerianism are used in selected Nigerian hip-hop songs. Some of these features are bilingual pragmatic markers, coinages, semantic contrast, loan words, lexical reduplication, local symbolisms and slangs.

5.1. Use of Bilingual Pragmatic Markers

Nigerian English users make use of these borrowed markers the same way they are used in their indigenous languages (Unuabonah and Oladipupo, 2021). Bilingual pragmatic markers such as "o", "sha", and "abi" are borrowed from Nigerian indigenous languages into Nigerian English and are also used in songs. For instance, "o" is an emphasis marker and a mitigation marker; "sha" is a discourse marker, an attention marker and a mitigation marker; and "abi" occurs as an agreement marker. This form of linguistic code also appears in hip-hop music.

Excerpt 1:

Na you talk am o
No be me talk am o (Falz, Talk)

This is Nigeria
Never ending recession o
When looters and killers and stealers are still contesting election o (Falz, This is Nigeria)

They call me workaholiki o
My hustle pure no be small
I dey pray to make am
Oluwa, answer my calli o (Adekunle Gold, Pick Up)

The pragmatic marker "o" gives emphasis to sentences. The users are likely to be taken more seriously when they add "o" at the end of a sentence than they will be when they do not. In another sense, this pragmatic marker can also be used to achieve rhythmic pattern. Hip-hop music artists, like every other artiste, give emphasis to form, creative wordings and lyrical aesthetics. Therefore, the appearance of the pragmatic marker "o" serves the function of emphasis of meaning and aesthetics. The use of borrowed markers shows that English in Nigeria has been Nigerianised as some cultural flavour has been added to make it indigenous.

8 | Julianah Akindele, Rosemary Mayokun

5.2. Coinages

Coinages are identified as new terms created for new experiences, especially where the speaker of the language either experiences a dearth of correct standard lexical items to express himself or uses a word or an expression to satisfy the communicative purpose of his immediate environment. Such coinages are sometimes metaphorically explainable and could be a result of interference or the transfer of traits from a speaker's first language to the target language. Coinages are expressions or words that are invented to reflect the Nigerian experience. These expressions are used in contexts where the English language lacks the ability to project the desired effect. Coinages as features of Nigerianism present themselves in different morphological dimensions. While some of them are used as compound words, some are one-word terms that remain permanent in the lexicon of Nigerian English (Igboanus 2002). The compound words are strung together to express concepts of the speaker's intent. There are several ways in which words are derived through compounding. It could be through a combination of noun+noun, adjective+adjective, adjective+noun, verb+noun, among many others.

Excerpt 2:

No be only you go **chop life** (Adekunle Gold, Ariwo ko)
In 2019, Nineteen (19) eight (8) **alawee** (Falz, Talk)

Yahoo yahoo don tear everywhere
And we act like its so cool (Falz, This is Nigeria)

Jimi dey follow **okada** shout you dey mad o (Falz, One trouser)

In Excerpt 2 above, "Chop life" is a Nigerian term that essentially means to live life to satisfaction and pleasure. "Alawee" means a sum of money granted for offering service. In this context, it refers to the monthly allowance or stipend that is regularly received by Nigerian youth who undergo the mandatory one-year National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) scheme. "Yahoo" is a term that is used to describe cybercrime and internet fraud in Nigeria. "okada" is a motorcycle. It was recently recognized as an English word. The name was borrowed from Okada Air, a now defunct Nigerian local airline. The theory of language variation is applicable here in the sense that it states that speakers may vary pronunciation (accent), word choice (lexicon), morphology, and syntax (sometimes called "grammar"). Here, the artists have shown variation in their choice of words. The words that the artists choose to use vary from those of Standard English, with which they have the same meaning. E.g "Yahoo yahoo" instead of "fraud", "chop life" instead of "enjoy", among others.

5.3. Semantic Contrast

This involves items used in Nigerian English as well as in Standard English, but with different meanings in both domains. It also has to do with the meaning given to a lexical item because of the environment in which it finds itself, aside from its original meaning. English is highly domesticated in Nigeria in such a way that some lexical items now have new meanings from their original English meaning.

Excerpt 3:

O ti pe ti mo ti n **toast** e o Sade
Gloss: It's been long since I started toasting you (Adekunle Gold, Sade)
He don buy **market** Falz (One trouser)
You con turn your body to **cash and carry** Falz (One trouser)

In Standard English, to "toast" would mean a proposed salutation while drinking wine, but in the

9 | Julianah Akindele, Rosemary Mayokun

Nigerian context, it means to woo a girl or lady. In Standard English, "market" would mean a setting where people want to buy something or a part of the world where something is sold. In this social context, "market" refers to the objectivization and consumerization of the female body. The female body is commodified and sold in the "market". Similarly, Nigeria's social context explains "cash and carry" as trade merchandise done on a basis of cash payment that is not delivered but removed by the purchaser. The buyer is expected to pay instantly for what is bought. Therefore, the artist notes that ladies who are sex workers are inclined to doing business without being indebted in any form. The theory of language variation is applicable here. The theory posits that variation is a characteristic of language. The variability rule based on Preston's (1993) postulation is relevant in phonology and sociolinguistics, since any variation in syntax and semantics in second language contexts is considered a demonstration of incompetence.

5.4. Loan Words

A loanword can be described as a term that entered the lexicon of a language as a result of borrowing (transfer or copying). It is a word adopted from one language into another without translation. Loan words, in other words, are words taken from one language and used in another. Some words that have their origins in Nigerian languages are now used as loan words, with their meaning from the Nigerian languages transferred into Nigerian English usage.

Excerpt 4:

Instead of make you work, you dey find **Alhaji** (Falz, Talk)
So he put a brand new range on the **titi** (Falz, One trouser)
Na when this **Danfo** dey commot my street o
Wey he just take speed enter that jeep o (Falz, One trouser)

"Alhaji" in Nigeria means a Muslim who has been to Mecca as a pilgrim (often used as a title). While it originates from Arabic, al (the) and hajj (pilgrim) are combined through morphological blending. However, Al-Hajj is realised as "Alhaji" as a result of the insertion of the vowel "I" at the final syllable. In Yoruba, "Titi" means tarred road. "Danfo" also originates from Yoruba. It means a yellow minibus that carries passengers to a fare as part of an informal transport system in Lagos, Nigeria. The language variability rule can also be applied here. There are bound to be variations in any living language, since 'no two speakers of a language, even if they are speakers of the same dialect, produce and use their language in exactly the same way all the time. (Akmajian et al., 2001). Language variation is a core concept in sociolinguistics. Sociolinguists investigate not only whether this linguistic variation can be attributed to differences in the social characteristics of the speakers using the language but also whether elements of the surrounding linguistic context promote or inhibit the usage of certain structures. Society, to a large extent, influenced the use of Nigerianism in the excerpts above.

5.5. Lexical Reduplication

Holm (1988, p. 88) defines reduplication as "a mechanism for forming new words. It involves the repetition of a word or part of a word, resulting in a distinct lexical item slightly different in meaning". Reduplication is a morphological process that substrates words borrowed from the lexifier language into Nigeria. It shows that the Nigerian English Lexicon is not static but dynamic in nature. This dynamism is triggered mostly by substratum influence. Reduplication is a word formation process in which some parts of a base (segment, syllable, or morpheme) are repeated either to the left or the right of the word or occasionally within the middle of the word. While reduplication is found in a wide range of languages and language groups, its level of linguistic productivity varies, and it is sometimes used interchangeably with repetition. Repetition is a term that is used to indicate sounds and concepts that are repeated in one form or another to provide reinforcement and emotional emphasis. On the other hand, Ghomeshietal et al. (2004)

10 | Julianah Akindele, Rosemary Mayokun

refers to repetition as child language, among its numerous definitions. It is widely used as a poetic device that occurs when a sound, syllable, word, phrase, line, stanza, or metrical pattern is repeated to make it the basic unifying device. In describing the features of repetition, Lausberg (1998) proposes that it has both informative and reinforcing functions. However, Wang (2005) insists that both repetition and reduplication have been used interchangeably because they overlap at some points. This is evident in some languages where repetition is used interchangeably with reduplication.

Excerpt 5:

Why your people still dey **carry carry** eye for someone (Falz, Talk)
Today today we go do the smackdown (Falz, One trouser)
Jimi wa motor, **biggi biggi** motor (Falz, one trouser)
Yahoo yahoo don tear everywhere now (Falz, This is Nigeria)

The duplications of words in the excerpts above are not necessary, as the statements will still make sense without the duplications. For instance, “today today” is an expression of urgency and insistence to get something done. Also, “yahoo yahoo” marks emphasis in the artist’s reference to internet fraud, although “yahoo” in the Nigerian context also conveys similar semantic prosody. Therefore, Nigerian speakers of English duplicate words just like they do in their indigenous languages.

5.6. Local Symbolism

Culture is generally defined as the way of life of a group of people. It is a historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about attitudes towards life. This definition captures the symbolic attributions found in some of the data. In every community, there are usually symbols that, when mentioned, engender a particular interpretation or response from the hearer.

Excerpt 6:

Je n gbe e lo le (Allow me take you home)
Mummy mi n reti omo (My mummy is expecting a wife)
Marry me o baby
Baba mi n reti omo (My daddy is expecting a wife) Adekunle Gold (Sade)

The meaning derived from “Mummy mi n reti omo” and “Baba mi n reti omo” explains the artist’s reference to one of the things Nigerian parents consider as success – Marriage. In Nigeria, it is natural for parents to start pressuring their children to get married once they reach a certain age. Many people in Nigeria are being hounded with questions about when they will get married. So, any Nigerian who listens to that part of the song will totally understand what the artist means when he says his parents are expecting his wife.

Excerpt 7:

I don go wedding tire (I’ve attended so many weddings)
Many Saturday e don pass (Many Saturdays have passed)
And I never marry (And I’m yet to get married) (Adekunle gold, Pick up)

Many wedding ceremonies in Nigeria are usually held during the weekend, with Saturday being the commonest day for such event. It is quite unusual to have a weekday wedding, as this is something celebrities mostly pull off. In Nigeria, such days have been referred to be “official turn-up day”. From weddings to birthdays, a number of major events that are categorised under the term “Owambe” happen on Saturdays. Hence, the excerpt above shows that the artist portrays Nigerian culture in his songs.

11 | Julianah Akindele, Rosemary Mayokun

5.7. Use of Slangs

The use of slang is an instance of indigenized linguistic codes in the songs. It makes the songs sound more Nigerian.

Excerpt 8:

Je a gboran ore o
Who you epp o (Adekunle Gold, Ariwo ko)

The fight e tough who go come to settle
Dem just dey **para** dem dey curse their self (Falz, One trouser)
I no know say person fit **kolo** like this oh (Falz, One trouser)

In Excerpt 8 above, "who you epp" is a slang used when you are trying to tell someone to mind their business, especially when the advice the person is giving sounds unreasonable or unacceptable. "Para" is slang that means to get angry. "Kolo" means to go crazy or mad. This can be meant literally or metaphorically, depending on the context. In the data analysed above, there are distinctions in the elements of Nigerianism.

6. Conclusion

This study has looked into how some features of Nigerianism are used by hip-hop artists to convey nativised meaning to the public. The Nigerian hip-hop music industry as a site for popular cultural practices has always played the role of propagating indigenized linguistic codes and structures that project social meaning and entrench language creativity in popular culture. Adopting Labov's variation theory, selected albums and tracks by Adekunle Gold and Folarin Falana (Falz) served as data. Findings show that bilingual pragmatic markers, coinages, semantic contrast, loan words, lexical reduplication, local symbolisms and slangs are some of the linguistic codes and communicative practices that are deployed in these hip-hop songs for local colouration and conveyance of social meaning, especially among the youth population.

In lieu of the above, this study, therefore, concurs with Adegbija (2004) that English in Nigeria is different from Standard British English to suit the Nigerian environment and the Nigerian culture. As such, it serves as an appropriate vehicle for expressing and transmitting Nigerian culture, whether it is professional or unprofessional, material or non-material. The data used in this study attest to the true existence of what Adegbija (1989), Jowitt (1991), and a host of others have continually referred to as Nigerianism. The stance taken by the study also coheres with Akindele and Ebuzeome (2016) that the interjection of bilingual communicative features into English language usage results in Nigerianism, and hip-hop artists deliberately use these bilingual features—indigenised linguistic codes as they are tagged in this study—to create, recreate, and reflect social experiences. The study concludes that the modification of the literal English meaning of some words and the invention of coinages that reflect nativised meaning are strategically done by hip-hop stars to entrench hip-hop music as an institutional practice in popular culture and also to appeal to the youth population. In essence, the musicians do not only promote themselves, they also encourage the creative use of the English language in a nativized form to convey meaning within different social contexts. Nigerianism features in Nigerian hip-hop creates distinct identities for musicians and their fans alike and reflects the country's ethnolinguistic diversity.

REFERENCES

- Adegbija, E. (1989). The implication of the language of instruction for nationhood: An illustration with Nigeria. *ITL: Review of Applied Linguistics*, 10, 25-50.
- Adegbite, W. (2004). Bilingualism-biculturalism and the utilization of African languages for the development of African nations. In L. Oyeleye (Ed.), *Language and discourse in society* (pp. 13-31). Ibadan: Hope Publication.
- Adegoke, A. (2011). Language and Identity Representation in Popular Music. *International Journal of Innovative Interdisciplinary Research Issue 1*, 150-164.
- Ajayi, D. O. (2023). 'Living things': metaphor and urban youth culture in Abolore Akande Adigun's (9ice) hip hop music. *African Identities*, 21(1), 48-65.
- Ajayi, T. & Filani, I. (2015). Pragmatic function(s) of pronouns in Nigerian hip hop music. *UJAH: Unizik Journal of Arts and Humanities*, 4, 175-201.
- Akindele, F., & Adegbite, W. (2005). *The sociology and politics of English in Nigeria: An introduction*. Ife: OAU Press.
- Akindele, R. & Ebuzoeme, F. (2016). Bilingualism and biculturalism as elements of indigenisation in selected Nigerian artists pop music. *Traduction et Langues*, 15(1), 144-153.
- Akmajian, A., Demers, R., Farmer, A., & Harnish, R. (2001). *Linguistics: An introduction to language and communication* (5th Ed.). India: Prentice Hall.
- Anthony, S. (1996) *Yearbook for traditional music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Babalola, E. & Taiwo, R. (2009). Code-switching in contemporary Nigerian hip-hop music. *Itupale Online Journal of African Studies*, 1, 1-26.
- Bokamba, E. (1983). The Africanization of English. In B. B. Kachru (Ed.), *The other tongue: English across cultures* (pp. 125-147). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Cutler, C. (2007). Hip-Hop language in sociolinguistics and beyond. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 1 (5), 519-538.
- Falk, J. (2012). We will rock you A diachronic corpus-based analysis of linguistic features in rock lyrics. (BA Thesis). Linnaeus University, Sweden.
- Gbogi, M. T. (2016). Language, identity, and urban youth subculture: Nigerian hip hop music as an exemplar. *Pragmatics*, 26(2), 171-195.
- Ghameshi, J., Jackendoff, R., Rosen, N., & Russell, K. (2004). Contrastive focus: Reduplication in English. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 22, 307-357.
- Igboanusi, H. (2002) *Igbo English in the Nigerian Novel*. Ibadan: Enicrownfit.
- Jowitt, D. (1991). *Nigerian English usage: An introduction*. Lagos: Longman Nigeria Plc.
- Kreyer, K. (2015). Funky fresh dressed to impress": A corpus-linguistic view on gender roles in pop songs. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, 20(2), 174 – 204.
- Labov, W. (1963). The social motivation of a sound change. *WORD*, 19, 273-309.
- Labov, W. (1972). *Sociolinguistic patterns*. Philadelphia. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Labov, W. (1982). Objectivity and commitment in linguistic science: The case of the Black English trial in Ann Arbor. *Language in Society*, 11(2), 165-201.
- Lausberg, H. (1998). *Handbook of the literary rhetoric: A function for literary study* (Trans. by Methew Bliss.) Netherlands: Brill. Leiden
- Mühlhäusler, P. (1989). *John Holm, Pidgins and creoles. Volume 1: Theory and structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

13 | Julianah Akindede, Rosemary Mayokun

- Odumuh, A. (1987). *Nigerian English*. Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press.
- Omolabi, I. (2023). A critical-pragmatic study of the representation of female gender in Nigerian Hip-hop music. *Journal of African History, Culture and Arts*, 3(2), 65-79.
- Omoniyi, T. (2006). Hip-hop through the world English lens: A response to globalisation. *World Englishes*, 25(2), 195-208.
- Onuoha, C. E. (2024). Figurative Expressions and Slangs Used by Nigerian Rappers: A Sociolinguistics Analysis. *Nigerian Journal of African Studies (NJAS)*, 6(1), 1-15.
- Preston, D. R. (1993). Variation linguistics and SLA. *Second Language Research*, 9(2), 153–172.
- Sankoff, D. (1988). Sociolinguistics and syntactic variation. In E. J. Newmeyer (Ed.), *Linguistics: The Cambridge survey* (pp. 140-161). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sarah, B. & Oladayo, M. M. . (2021). Code-switching and code mixing in the selected tracks of the hip-hop music of Flavour and 9ice. *International Journal of English and Comparative Literary Studies*, 2(3), 55-70.
- Tagliamonte, S. (2002). Comparative sociolinguistics. In K. Chambers, P. Trudgill & N. Schilling-Estes (Eds.). *The handbook of language variation and change* (pp. 729-763). Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers.
- Unuabonah, F. & Oladipupo, R. (2021). Bilingual pragmatic markers in Nigerian English. *World Englishes* 40(3), 390-406.
- Wang, S. P. (2005). Corpus based approaches and discourse analysis in relation to reduplication and repetition. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 37, 505-540.

MANIFESTO, RHETORIC, AND ELECTION IN GHANA, 2008-2024

GHANA'DA MANİFESTO, RETORİK VE SEÇİM, 2008-2024

Yıl 5, Sayı 1, ss.14-36.

Year 5, Issue 1, pp.14-36.

Makale Türü: Araştırma Makalesi

Article Type: Research Article

Geliş Tarihi: 17.12.2024

Submitted: 17.12.2024

Kabul Tarihi: 18.01.2025

Accepted: 18.01.2025

DOI: 10.58851/africana.1602833

Atf Bilgisi / Reference Information

Abass, U. (2025). Manifesto, Rhetoric, And Election In Ghana, 2008-2024, *Africana-Inönü Üniversitesi Uluslararası Afrika Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 5 (1), 14-36.

Usman Abass

Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University, Ph.D. Candidate, History, usman_abass@yahoo.com,

ORCID: 0000-0002-3195-7177

Abstract

This study looks at the effectiveness of manifestos in the Ghanaian political climate. The policies of successive governments have failed in developing the country and its people because of partisanship, and manifesto-based politicking. Party manifestos are drafted with fancy words towards winning elections and discarded afterwards. This has a detrimental effect on the common person in the form of poor healthcare provision, social inclusion, poverty, unemployment, the emergence of schools of shame (schools without classroom buildings and having lessons under trees), development, etc. This study was carried out through a meticulous assessment of the manifestos of Ghana's two leading political parties, the NDC and NPP, between 2008 and 2024. The parties make nearly similar promises to the electorate, and they include, inter alia, areas such as governance, infrastructure, poverty reduction strategies, security, economy, and education. Yet, instead of completing projects already in motion to meet the needs of the people, they start new projects only to cast them aside when power changes hands. Also, a questionnaire was administered to test how manifestos beguile citizens to go to the polls to vote during elections consistently. The study put forward that by adopting a national development policy outlook, the perils of manifesto-based politics, regarding underdevelopment and political insecurities, would be overcome towards socioeconomic continuity and human development. The paper uses qualitative structured interviews, secondary sources, and manifestos through the lenses of CDA and (political) rhetorics to study the role of manifestos in Ghanaian politics.

Keywords: Manifesto, Rhetoric, Election, Ghana, CDA

Öz

Bu çalışma Ghana siyasi ortamında manifestoların etkililiğini incelemektedir. Birbirini takip eden hükümetlerin politikaları, partizanlık ve manifesto temelli siyaset nedeniyle ülkeyi ve halkını kalkındırmakta başarısız olmuştur. Parti manifestoları, seçimleri kazanmaya yönelik süslü sözlerle hazırlanıp, sonrasında bir kenara atılmaktadır. Bunun sıradan insan üzerinde kötü sağlık hizmetleri, sosyal katılım, yoksulluk, işsizlik, utanç okullarının ortaya çıkışı (sınıf binası olmayan ve ağaçların altında ders veren okullar), kalkınma vb. şekilde zararlı bir etkisi vardır. Bu çalışma, Ghana'nın önde gelen iki siyasi partisi olan NDC ve NPP'nin 2008-2024 yılları arasındaki manifestolarının titizlikle değerlendirilmesi yoluyla gerçekleştirilmiştir. Partiler seçmenlere oldukça benzer vaatlerde bulunmakta ve bu vaatler diğerlerinin yanı sıra yönetim, altyapı, yoksulluğu azaltma stratejileri, güvenlik, ekonomi ve eğitim gibi alanları içermektedir. Ancak halkın ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak için yürütülen projeleri tamamlamak yerine, iktidar el değiştirdiğinde yeni projelere başlamakta ve eski projeleri gündemden kaldırmaktadır. Ayrıca bu çalışmada seçmenleri sandığa gitmeye nasıl ikna ettiklerini anlamak amacıyla bir anket uygulanmıştır. Çalışmada, ulusal kalkınma politikası bakış açısının benimsenmesiyle, manifesto temelli politikaların geri kalımsızlık ve siyasal güvensizliklere ilişkin tehlikelerinin aşılacak sosyoekonomik devamlılığın ve insani gelişmenin sağlanabileceği ortaya konuldu. Makale, Ghana siyasetinde manifestoların rolünü incelemek için CDA ve (siyasi) retorikler

Anahtar kelimeler: Manifesto, Retorik, Seçim, Gana, CDA.

STRUCTURED ABSTRACT

Manifestos are policy documents that outline the policies and procedures a political party intends to implement when voted into power. They are necessary because they help the electorates to make rational choices during elections. The predominance of manifestos in the Ghanaian political climate started in the early 2000s and is still present today, i.e., produced as booklets and made available on the internet for a wider audience. From the 1950s onwards, they existed in Ghanaian political settings but in the form of flyers that were distributed and posted on walls of buildings and other structures or a handful of pages that outlined a candidate's or political party's policies. By the early 1990s, the audience had widened due to changes such as the introduction of democratic reforms, enhanced freedom of speech and the press, and improvements in human rights conditions.

Thus, with these changes in mind, this paper attempted to evaluate the effectiveness of manifestos on politics in Ghana and whether they have any influence on how the electorates vote during elections. The policies of successive governments have failed the nation and its citizens because of partisanship and manifesto-based politicking. By this, politicians employ rhetorical devices to draft their manifestos with one objective: to woe the electorate into voting them into power and then discard them afterwards. This has contributed to poor healthcare provision, low-quality education, increased poverty prevalence, and overall underdevelopment of the various sectors of society. Another negative outlook of the manifesto on the Ghanaian electorate is that politicians, instead of continuing infrastructure projects that have already been commenced by previous administrations, tend to abandon them to initiate similar projects, thus wasting the resources of the state and preventing the citizens from benefiting from those projects.

Thus, the paper conducted a meticulous assessment of the manifestos of the two leading political parties in Ghana, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP), between 2008 and 2024 to identify the promises they made to the electorates and their aftermath when they were voted into power. Furthermore, using the convenience sampling method, a questionnaire was administered to test how manifestos get the electorates to go to the polls during elections. This was done through the lenses of Critical Discourse Analysis and rhetorics as used in politics. It is not surprising to witness the return of putsches to the African continents as was witnessed recently in six African countries—Mali, Guinea, Sudan, Burkina Faso, Niger, and Gabon—as well as the Kenyan riots against President Ruto's tax laws. Ergo, the main causes of the various putsches and protestations, inter alia, were due to flawed policies of governments, corruption and embezzlements, nepotism, mass youth unemployment, security concerns, rising poverty rate, and dynastic-styled political democracies.

Political authority emanates from the citizens into the hands of political actors. As such, citizens have every right to demand accountability whether the elected politician is performing or otherwise. In Ghana, as in other African countries, citizenry probing of political administrators is necessary to promote transparency and equity and to strengthen state institutions and human development. Forlorn as it may sound, the flawed policy is rife in practically every institution in Ghana because of the negative use of (political) rhetoric and the lack of prosecution of culpable individuals. Thus, these contraventions reveal the juridical weaknesses of Ghana's legal and civic institutions as political discourse in the country is geared towards devising strategies to favour politicians.

There were two positions in the literature about flawed policies in emerging countries and their sequel to the citizens. The first maintained that they are precursory to economic growth and strengthening political institutions, while the second maintained that they reinforce structural inequalities and subjugate the mass

of the population under few individuals. This paper sides with the second position as the example of Ghana has proven. Flawed policies are difficult to deal with in Ghana because of partisanship politics. The political parties, almost all the time, get their followers to side with them fairly or unfairly. Some of the stratagems they employ include vote buying in run-ups to primaries and elections, offering job promises once elected, and presenting fanciful manifestos, etc. Thus, by siding with them fairly or unfairly, their followers contribute to the selection of unfit personnel to administer developmental policies and projects.

In Ghana, loyalty to a political party is virtually the only medium of getting closer to an equitable share of services and resources in the country. Thus, the paper assessed whether electorates consider the manifestos and the good or bad performance of the people they voted for previously in future elections notwithstanding the satisfaction they get from them. Thus, it is from this standpoint that the paper used descriptive and explanatory designs to study the effectiveness of manifestos and policies in Ghana from 2008 to 2024. Such exposures contribute to the debate on governance and development in Ghana.

Introduction

In recent times, putsches have returned to the African continent as was witnessed in Mali (2020), Guinea and Sudan (2021), Burkina Faso (2022), Niger (2023), and Gabon (2023). There were rumours of a potential putsch in Ghana in late 2023. However, the army came out clear to put the minds of the politicians to rest that it had no intention of toppling Ghana as it happened in other African countries. In June 2024, Kenyans protested the financial bill of President Ruto, which sought to hike taxes and led to the death of close to 40 citizens. This is yet another evidence of how bad governance policies could swiftly turn into conflicts to disrupt relative peace. Earlier in Senegal, President Macky Sall had attempted to postpone the country's scheduled presidential elections in February 2024 indefinitely because of a supposed dispute over the list of approved candidates. This led to protests in an already fragile country. The result of the protest was the election of 44-year-old Faye as president. But how did Africa find itself back to the phenomena of the mid-twentieth century? The main causes of the various recent putsches could be summed up as corruption and embezzlements, security concerns, dynastic-styled political democracies, nepotism, bad governance policies, and mass youth unemployment, inter alia.

Political scholars largely converge on the crucial importance of public policy to representative democracy. However, some scholars believe lapses in public policies, such as flawed policies are 'tolerable' in appraising or criticising the performance of elected officeholders and state institutions. Some of these scholars are of the view that political corruption, emanating from flawed policies, aided economic growth and advanced development in the West (Ekpo, 1979: p. 247; Balachandrudu, 2006; Amundsen, 1999), but the example of Africa provides a profoundly different route. Most African economies and governments are engulfed in corruption and underdevelopment. Thus, Kobina Sekyi¹ was apt when he

¹ Kobina Sekyi was a Ghanaian who lived between 1892 and 1956. He was a philosopher of cultural nationalism and supported continuing with the chieftaincy institution instead of the indirect rule, which was introduced by the British in Ghana during the colonial era. Kobina came from a very good background and was trained as a lawyer in England. He thus resorted to writing articles to criticize colonialism in Africa, and the world at large. Upon his return to the Gold Coast in 1914, he realised that his own Fante people had become so westernised to the extent that people preferred to speak English rather than Fante, their native vernacular. He wrote a play entitled "Blinkards", which he used to criticize the colonial authority of the Gold Coast, today's Ghana. He further changed his surname 'Sackey' to 'Sekyi' to reflect his Fante origin and blamed his parents for Anglicizing the name. He joined the Aborigines Rights Protection Society (ARPS) and used it as a medium to push the demands for independence in Ghana. His central argument over the years revolved around allowing societies, which were organic and evolutionary, to go through the natural process of evolution that is born internally without changes being superimposed on them. Whereas internally induced changes tend to bring out the true nature and character of the society, externally induced changes such as colonialism, which is a form of imposed change from outside, end up destroying the process of growth internally. Thus, when independence approached, the Gold Coast's economic, political, and social institutions had been influenced by colonialism to the extent that it lacked effective

posited about African emulation of European politico-economic fundamentals. He expressed that “only by rejecting European standards of economic development could Africa avoid a repetition of the corruption and materialism of Western Society” (Okonkwo, 1985, p. 113).

Change is eternal (Wallerstein, 2011, p. 3) and so is the role of rhetoric in politics. It is germane to reference Nye (2004, p. 2), who posited that power (political authority) is the ability to influence the behaviour of others to get the outcomes one wants through channels, such as coercion with threats, inducement with payments or through attraction and co-optation. Political authority emanates from the citizens collectively into the hands of political actors and parties. Ergo, it is the prerogative of the citizens to demand accountability, especially when these leaders with the political will, are failing the state and the citizens through political deceit and economic malfeasance. Thus, in Ghana, citizenry probing of political administrators and public office holders is necessary to promote transparency and equity in resource distribution to strengthen state institutions and human development. Forlorn as it may appear, the flawed policy is rife in practically every institution in Ghana and stems from the negative use of (political) rhetorics, and the media and citizens’ probes² even though are bringing bad policies into the limelight, leaving much to ponder about the paucity of Ghana’s legal and civic institutions. Thus, these incommensurable deficiencies in Ghana’s governance system with their disparate lapses across sub-units are reorienting political discourse in the country towards political cliques where political ‘gurus’ meet to devise strategies of enriching themselves instead of the state.

Two dissenting positions have emerged in the literature about flawed policy in emerging countries and its sequel to the general population. The first maintains that such failures are a precursor to economic growth with the attribute to strengthen political institutions over time (see for example Amundsen, 1999). Conversely, the second position, to which this study contributes, holds that while the first assertion may matter, it reinforces structural inequalities and cultural and ethnic distinctions thus leaving behind poverty and subjugation of large sections of the population under a few individuals with the potential to lead to political disturbances (see for example Mayanka and Nkuna, 2014; Brooks, 1909). Manifestly the political successes in many institutions and jurisdictions of Western countries against social inequalities and political irregularities could, to a greater extent be attributed to effective checks and balances mechanisms in recent times—this cannot be said for Africa, and Ghana in particular, thus leaving an expansive slit in Africa’s socio-political space.

In Britain for instance, before the passage of the Corrupt Practices Act in the nineteenth century, political actors, even in areas where they knew they did not stand a chance of winning votes/elections, would pay travel expenses to non-resident freemen to induce them to the polls, beer-shop taps would run freely for weeks at election-times, and it became a tradition that was handed down from father to son or mother to daughter and led to several election petitions sent before juries; some political actors also tended to contribute to local churches, flower shows, cricket clubs, school sports and friendly society galas from £500 to £1,500 a year (Porritt, 1906, p. 1004). Such was the nature of political philosophy bequeathed to Ghana. This and the state’s traditional culture of gift-giving and receiving transcended the community level into mainstream politics causing the country’s underdevelopment.

institutions to drive the needed internal changes and growth. What Ghana had as a result of the influence of colonialism, which had disrupted the internal growth and evolution of Ghanaian society, was the existence of quasi-institutions that were neither indigenous nor Western.

² The enactment of the Whistleblower’s Act (ACT 720) on 16 October 2006 by the President and Parliament saw an upsurge in the number of individual vigilantes, think tank syndicates, splinter groups of various political parties, etc. joining the tussle against causing political and economic loss to the state. Yet, cases brought up by these entities end up in the ‘court of public opinion’ and those that find their way to Ghana’s legal establishments linger on for far too long evanescing in mysterious circumstances in the long run.

'Rhetorical-based' flawed policies are difficult to deal with in Ghana because of partisanship politics. This paves the way for political parties and political elites to exploit their followers for their own voracious interests fairly or unfairly. One way of achieving that is through manifestos and fancy promises. The politician is a 'political animal' that is looking for any accessible means of winning elections or retaining political power. Hence, politicians and their parties employ stratagems such as vote buying in run-ups to primaries and elections, offer job promises, and more often than not they present fanciful manifestos and source for funds from financiers promising to issue contracts and concessions upon assumption of office without recourse to the legal frameworks for procuring such services. Ergo, such political actions lead to improper selections of personnel to administer developmental policies and projects leading to incompetence and offerings of mediocre services.

Beyond this, what is of merit to this proposed study is the level of adherence to issues of accountability. How do the political parties get the electorates to the polls? What variables enthrall the electorates (if not based on accountability) to vote in elections? Answers to these questions are dependent on the costs and benefits of voting due to salient factors such as high levels of poverty, low levels of education and media penetration, especially in rural areas (Kuenzi & Lambert, 2010), based on ethnocentric nuances emanating from the ideologies of the parties they support (Ayee, 2016) or as Riker and Ordeshook (1968, p. 28) put it, based on political satisfaction emanating from compliance with the ethics of voting, affirming a partisan preference, etc. In Ghana, citizens' partisan preferences are the exclusive mechanism for getting closer to an equitable share of services and resources of the country controlled by political actors under the political party in power, which has the position and persona to deal with disparate institutions and groups formally or informally. Thus, this study assessed whether conceptual or empirical facts regarding the good or bad performance of elected officials and political parties in Ghana could influence citizens during elections notwithstanding the satisfaction they get from the parties.

Across Africa, unemployment affects the youth greatly. Thus, the option left for them is to seek greener pastures, across the seas in most instances, into Europe or gang up to rob and engage in other vices in the society in search of a means of surviving. As Gyampo & Deborah put forward, the youth constitute about 70% of Ghana's labour and voting population (2013; p. 98). Thus, the greatest potential threat to the stability and development of Ghana is youth uprising against established institutions because of unfavourable policies that have the potency to plunge the country into complete chaos.

Objectives

The objective of this paper is to exhibit that flawed policies through political rhetorics and manifestos have stifled Ghana's socio-economic and political growth. Thus, there is a need to move from political party manifestos to national development policy outlook. Thus, the paper conducted a longitudinal study on politics and manifestos in Ghana from 2008 to 2024, to assess the effectiveness of manifestos in Ghana's politics and their effects on elections. It is important to understand the policy direction of a country through conceptual and empirical lenses to explain development over time. The following research question guided this study: What is the salient political variable in the activities and incentives of party politics in Ghana and do they matter to the electorate during elections? This was addressed to outline the specific preferences and expectations of the electorates when making voting decisions. Therefore, the following additional questions could be asked: Does the upside or downside performance of political actors in discharging their responsibilities matter in future elections? What are the implications of the findings of the above questions for the rest of society? Such exposures would contribute to the debate on governance and development in Ghana.

Methodology

Descriptive and explanatory designs were used to study Ghana from 2008 to 2024. The study used qualitative research methods in the form of political party manifestos, specifically those of the two leading political parties—NDC/NPP, a questionnaire, and secondary sources.

Framework**Rhetoric in Politics**

The most central practice of politics is communication (Connolly, 2007, p. 3). This involves the use of speaking, writing, images, and gestures. Central to it is the use of language consisting of words, which are structured purposefully to reflect the thoughts of the politicians and their political parties through public speeches, manifestos, etc. It is the medium through which politicians disseminate their thoughts and policies to the electorate. Thus, language is the nub of politics for politicians as they use it to “inform, persuade, advertise, issue their rules and regulations, legislate and alike” (Rozina & Karapetjana, 2009, p. 112). Political ideologies are shaped by the art of using language, i.e., rhetoric. As such, descriptive linguistics views ideology not as “a possession of people’s minds or as a corpus of abstract ideas residing in their consciousness, but “as an object that has a material social existence in language, text, and discourse” (Rozina & Karapetjana, 2009, p. 112).

Before the Enlightenment era, rhetoric in public speaking was used to address and praise monarchs, and it was the language of the aristocrats and their households. However, during the eighteenth century, the Enlightenment provided the men of the era “with rhetoric as a weapon in their public struggle to promote their cause” (Robling, 1990, p. 411). Hence public speech from then came to be associated with debate of issues and even criticism of the political decisions of the rulers. From the mid-eighteenth century onward political rhetoric shifted so much from the aristocratic clique “to the middle-class public and broad mass of the people, as the true sovereign or judge of public affairs” (Robling, 1990, pp. 412-413). In essence, rhetoric focuses on “the use of language for persuasive purposes” (Jasinski, 2001, p. xiii) and may include ‘ethical speaking and effective persuasive strategies used by rhetors to construct and convey messages in particularly situated contexts’ (Dadugblor, 2016, p. 11).

Political rhetoric, according to Condor & Billing concerns “the strategies used to construct persuasive arguments in formal public debates and everyday political disputes” (2013, p. 262). This extensive usage in everyday political decisions makes rhetorical language a very powerful tool that has the aptness to “change the minds of people” and to “impact decision-making and actions in societies and countries” (Katamba, 2022, p. 74). Thus, the ability of politicians or any other group of people to employ this strategy “to make other groups of people do what they intend to be done”, according to Rozina & Karapetjana, is known as a linguistic strategy and it involves manipulative application of the language (2009, p. 113). Thus, language manipulation is a nub of political rhetoric since “political discourse is primarily focused on persuading people to take specified political actions or to make crucial decisions” (Rozina & Karapetjana, 2009, p. 113).

Lord Acton was apt when he expressed that “great men are almost always bad men, even when they exercise influence and not authority” (Acton, 1887, p. 9). Influential power “leads people either to behave in certain ways or makes people adopt opinions/attitudes without exerting obvious force on them” (Rozina & Karapetjana, 2009, p. 113). That is what political rhetoric offers to politicians, whose objective is “to influence us to endorse their policies, or they call for the eventual voters’ political loyalty” (Rozina & Karapetjana, 2009, p. 114), thus imposing their influential power on us. This manipulative and influential power that rhetoric gives to politicians, led Kant in 1790, to describe rhetoric as a morally reprehensible

art “which borrows from poetry only as much as is necessary to win over men’s minds to the orator’s advantage before they have made a judgement, and to deprive that judgement of its freedom” (Robling, 1990, p. 409).

The linguistic devices used in political rhetoric, according to Rozina & Karapetjana, are allusion, metonymy, and metaphor (2009, p. 111). These devices are also used in Ghanaian and African politics at large. Zaleska (2012, p. 2) has also identified “the way of speaking, the source, and the theme” as the three commonly used criteria for addressing rhetoric in politics. Thus, whereas political science attempts to “distinguish the political from the non-political” by defining politics as “a unique form of participating in the polity”, rhetoricians, discourse analysts, and linguists focus “on the speakers’ linguistic and metalinguistic activity” and are interested in “what counts as politics in current communicative practices” (Zaleska, 2012, pp. 1-2). Hence, there is a causal relationship between politics and rhetorics, which can be presented in four ways: “politics-as-rhetoric; rhetoric as expressed by politics; politics as expressed by rhetoric; rhetorical criticism which deconstructs politics by applying rhetorical framework” (Zaleska, 2012, p. 4). The first instance “treats words as the very substance of politics, not its expression” whilst through the second instance, “unconscious rhetorical habits form a mental mould underlying politics” that internalises as “natural” to determine “what is thinkable and what is unthinkable”. Thirdly, politics, as expressed by rhetoric, means “communicating politics through appropriate rhetorical strategies and persuasive words in concrete settings”, and it involves the use of a “paradigmatic” perspective that focuses on “the paradigms of language from which a choice must be made by the speaker” and a “syntagmatic” perspective which “explores rhetoric at a quite different level of complexity, by focusing on reconstructing the underlying systematicity of choices”, in terms of “configurations, argumentations, and appeals rather than form, linguistic categories, or as separated elements” (Zaleska, 2012, pp. 4-5). The fourth, rhetorical criticism, as expressed by Zaleska, is the ability of rhetoric (as a theoretical framework) to deconstruct rhetoric (as actual communicative practices) by unveiling the obscure political implications conveyed by the ways of speaking (2012, p. 8). There are implications because the causal relationship between rhetoric and politics is often awry and breached through “eristic reasoning, contradictory commitments, and bald lies”, which are “accepted and easily implemented into incommensurable argumentations” (Zaleska, 2012, p. 8).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a methodology employed in diverse fields, including social sciences. It analyses how language is conveyed to the intended audience in tandem with the choice of wording. According to Norman Fairclough (1995), social institutions contain diverse “ideological-discursive formations” (IDFs) associated with different groups within the institution, where usually one of such determinants dominates, with the capacity to “naturalise” other ideologies into non-ideological “common sense”. Thus, to “denaturalise” such ideologies is the objective of a discourse analysis, which adopts “critical” goals, to show how social structures determine properties of discourse, and how discourse in turn determines social structures (Fairclough, 1995, p. 27). People live in clusters in societies, and their activities are regulated by power. Hence, CDA regards power and the linguistic rhetorics that are used to express it “as a central condition in social life” and makes efforts “to develop a theory of language which incorporates this as a major premise” (Wodak, 2001, p. 11).

As Lord Acton put it, “power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely” (Acton, 1887, p. 9). People do not relinquish authority easily and would do whatever it takes to hold onto it. Thus, Fairclough posited that those with power would be most likely to endeavour to maintain such dominance, where conditions existed for them (or required of them) to maintain their power through actively involving the “powerless” in the organisation and control of the institution (1995, p. 48). Hence, such an asymmetrical relationship will subordinate the weaker elements and deny them the space to transform power-based ideologies to challenge the dominant force. This leads CDA to assume that “language is not powerful on

21 | Usman Abass

its own,” but it only “gains power by the use powerful people make of it” (Wodak, 2011, p. 10). To address this imbalance, CDA “often chooses the perspective of those who suffer and critically analyses the language use of those in power, who are responsible for the existence of inequalities and who also have the means and opportunity to improve conditions” (Wodak, 2001, p. 10).

To this end, the use of language to better one’s position in society becomes inherent in the notion of the social order. Fairclough (1995) postulated that an inherent notion of discourse is that language is a material form of ideology, and language is invested by ideology. That is to say, discourse is shaped by structures and contributes to shaping and transforming them. These structures are immediately ideological—orders of discourse, codes and their elements such as vocabularies or turn-taking conversations—but also include forms of political and economic structures, relationships in the market, gender relations, relations within the state, and the institutions of civil society such as education (Fairclough, 1995, p. 73). Thus, Kress (1996, p. 15) expressed that CDA, from the onset, was politically oriented towards “altering inequitable distributions of economic, cultural, and political goods in contemporary societies.” Such an orientation aims to identify and analyse “opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power, and control as manifested in language” (Wodak, 2001, 2) and to investigate them critically to help in “achieving a more equitable social order” (Kress, 1996, p. 15).

Thus, the purpose of CDA is that it serves to establish links between social practice and language, and the systematic investigation of connections between the nature of social processes and properties of language texts (Fairclough, 1995, p. 98). Thus, to Fairclough, what CDA does is

to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (i) discursive practices, events and texts, (ii) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes, and (iii) to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power (1995, p. 132).

Furthermore, CDA serves as a nexus between discourse and social power. Social power encompasses

the control exercised by one group or organisation (or its members) over the actions and/or the minds of (the members) another group, thus limiting the freedom of action of the others, or influencing their knowledge, attitudes or ideologies” (Dijk, 1996, p. 84).

If the dominant group is left in authority without effective oversight, they “may influence the structure of text and talk in such a way that” they may directly or indirectly be able to affect the mindset and persona of the less dominant groups “in the interest of the dominant group” (Dijk, 1996, p. 85). Hence, it is imperative to make judicious use of critical linguistics in decoding obscure expressions and words ingrained in speeches, manifestos, and other aspects of the social relations that are used for manipulative and persuasive purposes so that those that are not in authority can demystify “readings of ideology-laden texts” (Fowler, 1996, p. 6). Successful application of CDA, within the context of understanding ideology-laden texts, will help voters, policy analysts, and those interested in governance and other social policies, inter alia, peruse manifestos, propaganda, and government white papers effectively. The significance of that is to be able to detect discrepancies in policies and to challenge “common sense by pointing out that something could have been represented some other way, with a very different significance” (Fowler, 1996, p. 4). It is in this context that this paper makes use of critical language use in an attempt to establish how the politicians, through the use of political rhetoric and ideologies couched in their manifestos and public speeches, get the electorates to vote for them during elections, even though their policy documents are often too prolix and a majority of the voters might not even fully grasp what exactly they are being promised.

Manifestos, Policies, and Electoral Participation

Governance is the apparatus through which a polity is managed, and it encompasses laws, norms, policies, institutions, functions, and the interplay between rulers and their denizens. Thus, governance has been described as “the tension-filled interaction between citizens and their rulers and the various means by which governments can either help or hinder their constituents’ ability to achieve satisfaction and material prosperity” (Rotberg, 2004, p. 71). An important constitutive element of governance is the mechanism of accountability, which is the medium through which citizens can hold their elected and public officials to account. However, in recent times, especially in Africa, most people “are unable to hold their rulers accountable, to participate in or influence their governments, or to use electoral mechanisms to affect significant change” (Rotberg, 2004, p. 71) because of lapses in governance such as corruption, electoral fraud, flawed policies, clientelism, contravention of free speech and the press, and security concerns. Thus, whereas policy science necessitates “the use of empirical and scientific methods to determine the best approach to governance and policy”, public policies in Africa have failed “because politicians and civil servants assume they can determine policy approaches without evidence or research” (Akanle & Omobowale, 2023, pp. 124, 126).

Policies are central to governance and politics, and they are generally the criterion by which election choices depend. Thus, when a candidate or a party wins an election, it shows “an approval of the programmes and manifestos presented to the public” (Aiyede, 2023, p. 87). The efficacy of policies is tested by whether or not those policies were formulated in “institutionalised polities” with formal political structures, in which the legislature and state institutions can “place constraints on the behaviour of politicians and political elites” and “directly influence political outcomes” (Aiyede, 2023, p. 113). However, despite the existence of nearly all institutionalised structures in Africa, many of them are eroded and rendered kaput, and replaced with informal nexuses such as “kinship, ethnic ties, nepotism and corruption” (Aiyede, 2023, p. 113), and clientelism. By and large, the latter has come to dominate the Ghanaian political climate, and it involves, as put forward by Akewi, et al., an exchange between the individual politicians or political parties seeking election victory and individuals or a group of citizenries (2020, p. 1167).

The upshot of that is the dominance of Africa’s political climate by ineffective leaders who disregard the importance of policies, formulate policies without taking the dynamics of their polities into account, and do not pay heed to the need for broader policy participation, but merely to satisfy their clientele relations. Thoroughly participatory policymaking is vital to the success of any political administration because it paves the way for the government “to get all the necessary information concerning any policy it wishes to implement” (Edward et al., 2024, p. 66). However, in Africa, policies are not effective due to “the non-participatory approaches that are adopted in the development and implementation of projects and programs” (Mohammed, 2015, p. 43). Thus, one of the fundamental challenges facing many African countries in recent years is that of leadership crisis. Hence, Alidu was right to postulate that whether traditional or modern, leadership “has been identified as the bane of Africa’s development due to the myriads of challenges that it confronts as an institution” (2023, p. 219). The consequences of that are that most public policies in Africa “are beclouded with politics and implementation bottlenecks”, which lead to the “formulation of overambitious policies by political parties to win political capital coupled with excessive bureaucratic procedures”, without recourse to policy formulation guidelines or most often blatantly disregarding them, and so such policies “take place with much difficulty if not total failure” (Imurana et al., 2014, pp. 196, 200). Thus, from Crook’s standpoint, the lack of authority and lack of routinized compliance, are the crux of administrative problems in sub-Saharan Africa, which “fail to perform on a very crude scale of comparison” (Crook, 1989, p. 212).

Africans regard democracy “both as an end in itself and as a means to improve governance and welfare” (Bratton et al., 2005, p. 66). Electorates view democracy as a mechanism of keeping elected

officials “honest and accountable” (Fraser, 2009, p. 333) through political participation. Thus, political participation involves “the ability to take part in the electoral process and influence government decisions and policies, structure, and the appointment of officials” (Owusu-Mensah & Ijon, 2023, p. 72). Although Ghana represents a case of relatively successful democratization in Africa (Lindberg, 2003, p. 137), trust in the political class has been diminishing due to a poor crop of politicians, unfulfilled promises, and disregard for the general welfare of the citizenry. For instance, political parties and candidates in Ghana are enamoured with drafting manifestos that are largely “more of intangible promises that are designed to woo the electorate into voting a party into power” (Ayee, 2016, p. 93). Thus, in recent years, Ghanaian electorates have not believed in manifestos as they “doubt the credibility of the manifestos as promises made in previous elections were not fulfilled by the parties when it was in power” (Ayee, 2016, p. 99).

Political parties are the nub of representative democracy, and they give the electorates the forum to vote to elect their representatives whom they believe would partake in policy-initiative deliberations on their behalf. As such, loyalty to a political party in Ghana is “high and it has influenced how trust is generated in political parties and more broadly in the political system” (Lauterbach & Bob-Milliar, 2021, p. 88). Trust within the Ghanaian political system is misshapen with “expressions of party loyalty or allegiance being more important than trust in the political system”, and electorates “trust their own party and distrust other parties and trust public institutions when their party is in power” (Lauterbach & Bob-Milliar, 2021, p. 90). Thus, the distrust in Ghana’s political system has led to the emergence of issues and their impacts (Boakhye, 2018) on recent and future electoral politics in the country, including election petitions, election-day violence and death of citizens, and the proliferation of vigilante groups, inter alia. Party foot soldiers (Bob-Milliar, 2013) are employed to intimidate political opponents, snatch ballot boxes on election day, seize public property, and demonstrate for the removal of government appointees, etc. Furthermore, politics has been monetised in Ghana, where elections are seen as “a business sector” as well as a medium “to control the state for accumulation of private wealth” for the politicians, and for some electorates, they view elections as “a marketplace” where they “exchange their vote for material benefits” (Ninsin, 2016, pp. 118, 120). Politicians are happy to “pay voters and intermediaries to access political office under the guise of electoral competition” (Lassou et al., 2024, p. 6), thereby undermining the democratic tenets and their achievements in the country.

Manifestos are policy documents that are supposed to guide the electorates to make rational choices during elections. Although Ghanaian voters “may exhibit a measure of rationality at the polls”, Ninsin expressed that “being rational does not mean that they vote based on the policies of the competing political parties” (2016, pp. 118, 116). Thus, their election preferences are influenced by factors such as the pervasiveness of poverty, the candidate’s coterminous identity with the constituency or ethnic group, party affiliation, job promises by candidates, the candidate’s physical appearance, and based on catchy or fancy expressions used in manifestos, inter alia. Thus, it is from this perspective that the paper attempts to take a retrospect of the manifestos of the NDC and NPP between 2008 and 2024 towards winning elections and whether they were effective on the electorates.

Manifestos in Ghana

A manifesto is a social contract between the electorates and the political parties. It outlines the policy choices that political parties intend to use going into elections to seek a mandate from the electorates. In Ghana, the two largest political parties are the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP), both of which were formed on 28 July 1992 as the nation was preparing to usher in the Fourth Republic. The NDC is a social democratic political party whilst the NPP is a liberal-conservative political party. In the early 1990s, manifestos were not so predominant in the Ghanaian political climate. However, from the early 2000s onwards, they became so climacteric in Ghanaian politics to the extent that when election periods come around, electorates glue to televisions and other media outlets, attend manifesto launches, download or print hard copies of the documents, etc., to listen to the policies of the political

parties and candidates about how they are going to solve the challenges facing the country and its people. Despite being a vital political appurtenance, manifestos are largely understood and circulated among the educated class since they are written in the English language, whilst citizens who are nescience of the English language rely on local radio stations and other media outlets that translate or broadcast the outlined policies in the local vernaculars of their respective regions. Furthermore, the political parties themselves sometimes do not set their manifestos in motion early and so, in some instances, they only put them in the public domain a few months before elections, thus hindering the circulation of the documents to the electorate, especially to the rural areas where there might not be electricity or internet connection. This thus prevents the electorates from digesting their policies to make informed decisions during voting.

Conspectus of NDC and NPP Manifestos, 2008-2024

The NDC adopted “Social Democracy” as its philosophy. What the party means by this is

a belief in the equality and egalitarian treatment of persons with respect to their political, economic, social, cultural and religious relations in a multi-party, multi-ethnic environment and a commitment to progressive politics and the protection of the under-privileged and the upliftment of the socially disadvantaged (NDC, 2004, p. 14).

Its flagbearer for the 2008 election was Prof. J.E. Atta-Mills, who also contested in the 2004 election. In the latter elections, J.J. Rawlings described Atta-Mills as “a good man, a man without pompousness and pretension, a man who cares deeply for this nation and our people. He is not seeking power. He is seeking the opportunity to serve. If we really want ‘A Better Ghana’, let us all support ‘A Better man’” (NDC, 2004, p. 11). He later went on to become one of the best leaders in Ghana under the Fourth Republic. His 2008 manifesto was dubbed “Agenda for a Better Ghana”. The manifesto was categorized into four thematic areas: i) Governance – Transparent and Accountable; ii) A Strong Economy for Real Jobs; iii) Investing in People; iv) Expanding Infrastructure (see NDC, 2008). The campaign ran on the mantra “Yeresesamu” literally meaning “We Are Changing”.

Conversely, as liberal conservatives, the NPP stand for the growth of a property-owning democracy in Ghana to enhance each citizen’s life, property, and liberty through the principles of freedom and justice. In 2008, the party presented Nana Akufo-Addo as its presidential candidate for that year’s election. They presented their ‘Moving Ghana Forward’ manifesto which was built around the ‘Agenda for positive change’ of John A. Kufour, the then-incumbent, thus it “centred on continuing the current projects and policies (Alhassan & Alhassan, 2019, p. 10) initiated by the NPP administration. They sloganeered about moving Ghana forward into the “new house of prosperity” (NPP, 2008, p. 20). Thus, the manifesto contained diverse promises including a mechanism for detecting and fighting corruption, creation of more districts and new regions, instituting systems that will change the attitude and values of the people to move the country forward—integrate science and technology into Ghanaian culture through the educational system, drama, and entertainment; discourage lateness to work and reward punctuality; rigidly enforce planning laws to avoid illegal structures; enforce hygiene laws and regulations—strengthen the rule of law, lift the Ghanaian economy to First World status, strengthen procurement procedures to enhance transparency and efficiency of government expenditure, restructure tax administration to meet developmental goals, (NPP, 2008, pp. 22-24, 38-40, 42-43) inter alia.

The NDC manifesto, on the other hand, was an outcome of a direct engagement with the people through “House to House tours and visits to organised groups to listen to people from all walks of life” (NDC, 2008, p. 7), which brought to the fore issues and challenges that the people want governments to solve for them. This strategy became known as “the door-to-door campaign” in Ghana’s political lexicon. Some of his promises were to “establish a lean but effective and efficient government by cutting out ostentation and profligate expenditure”, rationalize ministries and ministerial appointments, legislate tax

and tariff measures to provide relief for Ghanaians, tackle sanitation, eschew all partisan and familial considerations, provide a coordinated economic and social development policies in all sectors, to grow enough food to feed the people and industries, provide universal basic healthcare for all and review “the unwieldy bureaucracy and palpable corruption” of the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS), provide better and quality education, create an “Election Fund” to train political party agents during elections, provide housing, utilities and infrastructural facilities in all regions, create jobs through bold, pragmatic and innovative policies that sustain the growth of a strong economy, etc. (NDC, 2008, pp. 6, 37-38).

Going into the elections, Ghana’s Macroeconomic performance indicators were a per capita income of \$400; a growth rate of 5.8% in 2007; an inflationary rate of 18%; a domestic primary balance, in 2007, of negative 6.3% (NDC, 2008, p. 8); in addition to a national debt of €90 Trillion (from €41 Trillion at the end of 2000) despite the HIPC initiatives and debt write-offs, high unemployment, increasing incidence of poverty, etc (NDC, 2008, pp. 8-9). Thus, the NDC blamed the NPP for “turning Ghana into a beggar-nation and succumbing to Poverty Reduction Strategies prepared by outsiders who know nothing about poverty in Ghana” (NDC, 2008, p. 8). Rawlings also expressed that the sustainability of the nation’s achievements was “seriously threatened by the rule of a morally bankrupt and visionless elite that has transformed arrogance into an art, glorifying corruption in style and raping the country’s resources with shameless rapacity” (NDC, 2008, p. 2). Atta-Mills went on to win the 2008 election and by 2010 Ghana attained a middle-income status and a single-digit inflation. However, he died in office and was replaced by his vice, John Mahama as the party’s flagbearer going into the 2012 elections.

Mahama’s manifesto for 2012 built on what Mills had left behind. It was titled “Advancing the Better Ghana Agenda: Jobs, Stability, and Development”. Issues of corruption, economic mismanagement, and bad governance do not often become topical if successive elections are won by the same party because the incumbent tends to always downplay their seriousness as they are raised by the opposition elements and are made to appear like mere rhetorics and vote-seeking strategies. Mahama’s promises, inter alia, to the electorates were to expand the economy “from its marginal middle-income status to a full-fledged middle-income status”, reduce poverty substantially across the country, provide stable electricity for socio-economic transformation, expand access to quality education at basic and secondary levels of education, eliminate 60% of identified Schools-Under-Trees, establish 200 new Community Day SHS, establish a new public University in the Eastern Region, establish regional hospitals, double the number of Community based Health Planning and Services (CHPS) compounds from about 1,600 to 3,200 to meet the needs of under-served communities, ensure an average GDP growth of at least 8% per annum, and to attain a per capita income of at least \$2,300 by 2017 (NDC, 2012, pp. 8, 11-13).

Contrariwise, in 2012, the NPP sloganeered on ‘Transforming Lives, Transforming Ghana’ through a free, fair and prosperous society. Akufo-Addo’s campaign centred on free Senior High School education, building one public university per region, protecting media freedom by passing the Freedom of Information Act, providing quality healthcare, implementing social policies including housing, transforming the economy and creating jobs, etc. (NPP, 2012, pp. iii, 18, 27, 31). Akufo-Addo expressed that NDC ‘policies and personalities had brought untold hardships and poverty’ on Ghanaians thus they should vote them out because “God did not put us on this rich land to be poor” (NPP, 2012, pp. ii, iv). Mahama went on to win the presidential election against Akufo-Addo.

In his quest for a second term in office, Mahama presented his “Changing Lives: Transforming Ghana” manifesto for the 2016 elections to the electorates. The transformational agenda listed in the manifesto “entails moving away from over-reliance on commodity exports towards diversification and value addition” (NDC, 2016, p. 4). Thus, NDC’s priorities as captured in their manifesto were categorised into four: i) putting people first by investing in societal sectors to empower people through better educational systems, providing reliable and dependable healthcare, through social service interventions; ii) building a strong and resilient economy towards job creation and development; iii) providing a reliable

infrastructure; iv) improving accountability in governance by encouraging citizen participation in affairs of the State, and Civil Society Organizations to engage in the policy debate, formulation, and implementation processes (NDC, 2016, pp. 6-7). Furthermore, there was a pledge to establish an anti-corruption bureau—Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions towards “effective investigations and prosecution of corrupt conduct as well as recovery of stolen assets” (NDC, 2016, p. 70). As of 2015, Ghana was ranked second in Africa on the Rule of Law Index of the World Justice Project (WJP), fifth in Africa on the Democracy Index by the Economist Intelligence Unit, and seventh in Africa on the Corruption Perception Index of Transparency International (NDC, 2016, p. 68). Thus, the latter was instrumental in his defeat to Akufo-Addo in the 2016 general election as corruption cases and issues about flawed policies (see Abass, 2024, p. 16) pervaded his administration.

In the run-up to the election, Akufo-Addo said the nation was in a crisis “created and sustained by the mismanagement, incompetence, and corruption” (NPP, 2016, p. v) of the NDC. Thus, he put forward his ‘Change; an agenda for jobs’ manifesto and promised to build a Ghana beyond aid. The ‘teachers are suffering, students are suffering ...’ mantra of his vice, Bawumia, came to dominate all their rallies and town hall meetings with various sectors of the society and was used to highlight the suffering in the country. The NPP promised, inter alia, to achieve double-digit GDP growth annually in four years, reduce government borrowing and interest rates to encourage private sector investment, move the economy from taxation to production, and more importantly their flagship initiatives—One District One Factory Initiative, Strategic Anchor Initiatives (through partnership with the private local and foreign investors to establish strategic anchor industries in petrochemicals, pharmaceuticals, vehicle assemble, etc.), Industrial Sub-contracting Exchange (enforcing local content provisions), and the Free SHS (NPP, 2016).

In 2020, Akufo-Addo came asking for ‘four more to do more for you’ and to consolidate what he had started. Between 2016 and 2020, his administration replaced the Unemployed Graduates Association with the Nation Builders Corps (NABCO), introduced free SHS, created 6 new regions, and commenced some infrastructure projects. Thus, the vice president, Mahamudu Bawumia, pointed out that they were “committed to initiating pro-poor policies and programmes to bridge the inequality gap” (NPP, 2020, p. xi) going into the next term. The National Chairman of the party said they had “delivered on at least 80%” (NPP, 2020, p. xiii) of their promises to the Ghanaian electorate including the flagship programmes. That is the challenge with politics in Ghana as it is well-nigh impossible to measure the utterances of the politicians about developmental projects because the accountability mechanism is abstruse. For instance, between 2017 and 2019, the NPP claimed to have created over two million full-time jobs in the public and private formal sectors, and through governmental initiated programmes (NPP, 2020, pp. 7, 9), but in their 2024 manifesto, they said they had “created over 2.3 million jobs since 2017” (NPP, 2024, p. 6). Thus, only a soupson of the jobs created in two years (2017-2019) were created in seven years (2017-2024). Nonetheless, the NPP put its credos before the electorates to give them four more years because they had kept faith with the people of Ghana ‘by delivering on their commitments’ and that a renewed mandate would ensure “that all the hard work over the last four years does not go to waste” (NPP, 2020, p. 134).

The NDC, on the other hand, in 2020, elected Mahama once again as the flagbearer of the party. This time around, he presented “the People’s Manifesto” towards job creation and development. The ‘Big Push’, which was a plan to undertake a \$10 billion accelerated infrastructural development, was a pith of the manifesto. There were about thirty-one items listed under this project including providing infrastructure for agriculture and agribusiness, developing regional digital and innovation centres, diverse road projects, aviation, completing abandoned health projects, etc. (see NDC, 2020, p. 89). The investment was to span five years as a result of improving social and economic infrastructure to create a platform for the transformation of the economy towards the One-Million-Jobs Plan (NDC, 2020, p. 88). There were other promises to do with fixing the economy and dealing with poverty, promoting human development, deepening international relations and foreign affairs, governance and corruption, energy sector, and education, inter alia. With regards to education, the Mahama team of 2020 promised to “abolish the double-

track system”, which was a result of the Free SHS policy of the NPP regime, which led to high enrolment in second-cycle institutions as the existing facilities could not accommodate all high school goers, “complete abandoned structures and E-Blocks to cater for current students and expected increase in admission, and to construct at least one senior high school in districts without schools” (NDC, 2020, p. 71).

The dominant issues during the election period were corruption and flawed policy related to the then-NPP government of Akufo-Addo and included scandals such as the Power Distribution Service (PDS), Bulk Oil Storage and Transportation (BOST) Company oil adulteration scandals, Australian Visa Scandal, fraudulent National Youth Authority (NYA) Street Lighting Contract, Kelni GVG, Kroll & Associates, the Agyapa Royalties Scandal, (NDC, 2020, p. 110), the “galamsey” bribery scandal involving some members of his party, the missing excavators and the disappearance of 400 motor tricycles at the Northern Development Authority (NDA), and the COVID-19 vaccine procurement irregularities (Bokpe, 2024), *inter alia*. They were instances of bloated contracts, mismanagement of public funds, or contracts awarded without due diligence, nor the interest of the state and its people considered, thus causing financial losses to the state. However, Mahama went on to lose the election to the sitting president, Akufo-Addo. No political party has thus far stayed in power for more than eight years under the Fourth Republic.

In 2024, Mahama was yet again presented by the NDC as its flagbearer. He campaigned with the manifesto “Resetting Ghana”, towards implementing his 24-hour economy policy for business development, growth, and job creation. They called it the “formula 1-3-3”, i.e., one job eight hours each shared between three people. According to Mahama, going into the 2024 elections, the Ghanaian electorates have two contrasting choices to make on the ballot, i.e., “to continue the slide down the present unsustainable path or to carry out an urgent reset that gives our nation a fresh start, restores good governance, ameliorate our people’s suffering and sets our country on a trajectory of economic transformation” (NDC, 2024, pp. 4, 6). Some of the key policies listed in the manifesto include a \$10 billion ‘Big Push’ policy for rapid infrastructure development, job creation, the 24-hour economy, scrapping some taxes (the E-levy, COVID levy, 10% levy on bet winning and emissions levy), implement the ‘Non-Academic-Fee’ policy for all first-year students in tertiary institutions, to implement a policy banning political appointees from purchasing state assets, probe the 2020 election killings of some citizens, etc. (NDC, 2024).

Akufo-Addo’s eight-year administration was blighted by corruption and public procurement breaches, high incidence of poverty among citizens, uncontrolled borrowing, suppression of freedom by attacking protesters and activists, and state capture as some members of his administration were engaged in purchasing state assets, even though back in 2016 the entirety of his campaign had been on fighting corruption and restoring freedom of speech and good governance. For instance, according to a report by Ghana Statistical Service, about 8.5 million Ghanaians went a day without food in 2023, unemployment was at 15% and youth unemployment at 32%, imposed about 40 different taxes (NDC, 2024, pp. 19-20), but got the Bank of Ghana, which was building a new office complex of over \$120 million even though it posted record losses of 60 billion cedis (\$5.2 billion) through mismanagement, to circumvent Parliament “to print excessive amounts of money to lend to the government” (Adogla-Bessa, 2023). None of the members of his administration who were allegedly caught in corruption cases and misfeasance were prosecuted.

Thus, his actions and inactions affected his party in the just-ended elections as voter apathy rocked the party even in their stronghold regions. As the NPP’s flagbearer for the 2024 election, Bawumia sloganeered about “a values-based, selfless leadership with bold solutions for jobs and business” and promised “to stimulate businesses and create jobs, with a strong focus on the private sector” (NPP, 2024, pp. iii, 18). Although the NPP administration had blamed Covid-19 pandemic and the Russia-Ukraine war as the radix of the economic woes of Ghana, he promised to sustain and expand the economy to achieve

an average growth rate of 6%, expand mining and agriculture, continue Akufo-Addo's flagship programmes, create jobs, complete all the Agenda 111 district hospitals as promised by the party, establish an Open University, (NPP, 2024, pp. 18-27) inter alia. Mahama went on to win the election decisively against Mahamudu Bawumia, the current vice-president and flagbearer of the NPP. This is one of the most decisive electoral victories in Ghanaian politics since 2000, as indicated below:

Table 1: Elections Results in Ghana between the NDC and the NPP, 2000-2024

Year	NDC (%)	NPP (%)	Candidate
2000	43.1%	56.9%	John A. Kufuor
2004	44.6%	52.45%	John A. Kufuor
2008	50.23%	49.77%	Prof. J.E.A. Mills
2012	50.7%	47.7%	John D. Mahama
2016	44.5%	53.7%	Nana Akufo-Addo
2020	47.4%	51.3%	Nana Akufo-Addo
2024	56.42%	41.75%	John D. Mahama

Source: (Anaman & Agyei-Sasu, 2012, p. 393), but updated by the author.

Thus, from the conspectus of the manifestos of the two parties, it can be deduced that they all formulate policies around issues that are pertinent to society with an end goal of improving the standard of living. The dominant issues are those related to the economy, education, healthcare, sports, social service intervention programmes, infrastructure, corruption, good governance, security, agriculture, industrialisation, and digital technology. However, their modus operandi differ, which should be the case in political settings. What is not normal is their demurrals to continue uncompleted projects left behind by the party leaving office, and it even goes further to undercut any of the rhetorics and pledges they put out in the public domain during elections, thus recapitulating the electorates' distrust in the political system and the candidates. Thus, the way forward is to get all the political parties in the country to sign a pact promising to continue any developmental projects which were to be commenced by an erstwhile administration, through a National Development policy outlook. In 2008, for instance, J.E.A. Mills started to implement that by attempting to complete projects left behind by the government of J.A. Kufuor. He even went to the extent of maintaining some members of the erstwhile administration he thought had good intentions for the country and were diligent in discharging their responsibilities. However, he received a public backlash from members of his party and the public alike.

Findings and Discussion

The qualitative approach (Mocănaşu, 2020) is an important method of conducting (scientific) research in diverse fields of studies, including social sciences. One idiosyncratic feature of this research method is that there is no fixed number of participants. As such "there is no consensus of methodologists and practitioners" (Mocănaşu, 2020, p. 182) concerning sample size and even in instances where they do exist, these research methodologists "provide few concrete guidelines for estimating sample size" (Marshall et al., 2013, p. 11). Thus, it has been suggested that "between ten and twenty knowledgeable

29 | Usman Abass

participants are sufficient to uncover and understand the fundamental categories in any distinct cultural domain or study of lived experience” (Sarfo et al., 2021, p. 61). To that effect, this paper, using the convenience sampling method, randomly sampled eleven individuals from six Regions of Ghana to assess the significance of manifestos in Ghanaian political settings, through a questionnaire with semi-structured questions.

Semi-structured interviews are utilised in qualitative studies because they are qualitative in disposition and focus “on asking questions within a predetermined thematic framework” since the objective is “to generate a richer description of the phenomenon of interest” (Halidu, 2024, p. 2090). The eleven participants were from the following regions of Ghana:

Table 2: Regional breakdown of the participants

REGION	NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS (N= 11)
Ashanti	3
Upper East	1
Bono East	4
Western	1
Western North	1
Eastern	1

Thus, the participants came from six out of the sixteen regions of Ghana. The information on the questionnaire was divided into two parts: a) demographic information and b) semi-structured interview questions. The former requested information about the participants’ gender, education level, voting region, and their first-time voting experience (either before 2008 or 2008 and beyond). The gender question was to test the representativeness of the responses, while that of the education level is relevant to the purpose of the study since the manifestos are written in English. Thus, the demographic distribution is presented below as:

Table 3: Demographic attributes of the respondents

Demographic	Participants	Percentages
Gender		
Male	9	81.8%
Female	2	18.2%
Education Level		
Primary Education		
Secondary Education	5	45.5%
Bachelor’s or equivalent	6	54.5%
Graduate level education		

First-time Voting experience

Before 2008	4	36.4%
2008 and beyond	7	63.6%

The table above shows the demographic attributes of the 11 participants. From a gender perspective, there were 2 (18.2%) female and 9 (81.8%) males. Most women in Ghana are not so actively involved in politics. Even though the goal of the democratic reforms of the 1990s and beyond was “to promote equity and more balanced gender participation” (Abass & Doskaya, 2017, p. 155) in the Ghanaian political climate, women continue to be sidelined from mainstream politics due to, inter alia, “illiteracy, sexual exploitation of women in politics, poverty (Abass & Doskaya, 2017, p. 156), and the belief that politics is a trade reserved for men. Hence, this somewhat gives the sample a representative character. Furthermore, the education level distribution indicates that 6 (54.5%) of the respondents have completed some graduate level education, whilst 5 (45.5%) of them have completed bachelor’s or equivalent levels of education. This is significant in ascertaining whether a manifesto is effective or not because they are proficient in the English language. What this means is that the respondents have the language skills to wade through the manifestos and will be able to understand any obscure promises made in there, as to what policy promises are achievable or otherwise.

Finally, with regards to first-time voting experience, 4 (36.4%) respondents had voted before 2008, and 7 (63.6%) of the respondents had their first-voting experience from 2008 onwards, thus, overall, they have voting experience and know what influences them to vote during elections. Voting experience is important in making rational choices based on hindsight. This criterion is vital to testing whether the respondents, for instance, had changed their voting patterns due to underperformance by the party or candidate they previously voted for, unfulfilled campaign promises, or the unfulfillment of any other policy directives as captured in the manifestos of the party or candidate which convinced the voter to vote for them.

Regarding section B of the questionnaire on semi-structured interview questions, the following questions were asked: 1) What are your reasons for voting during national elections?; 2) How do political parties/candidates influence how you vote?; 3) How do you assess the performance of the candidate/party you voted for?; 4) Has your voting pattern changed over time? If yes, how and why did it change?; 5) How important is the political party/candidate manifesto for elections?

The responses of the respondents when asked about why they vote during national elections ranged from the desire to choose a good leader, the exercise being their civic responsibility, about jobs, development, good governance, to policies and promises made during the campaign window. For instance, the respondent from the Western Region who had been voting before 2008 expressed that he votes *to elect an able and competent leader to rule the nation*. One respondent from Ashanti expressed that he participates in elections because he wants to select *a better government* for the country. His sentiment was shared by two (male and female) respondents from the Bono-East Region. Another Bono-East male respondent answered that he goes to the poll to vote *to be employed and get a better living condition* because unemployment is rife in the country, especially youth unemployment. Furthermore, the respondent from Upper East said that he goes to the polls based *on the policies, manifestos, and campaign promises* of the parties or candidates, while the respondent from Western North participates in voting when he *sees developments* in his region. Some of the respondents said they only vote *because it is their civic responsibility as citizens*, which suggests that they might not care about the policies of the parties.

One of the questions guiding this study is to probe how the political parties and or candidates get the

electorates to vote. When this question was posed to the respondents, the respondent from Upper East said his voting pattern could be influenced by the *candidate's charisma, speaking vibes, charms, and oratory skills*. Four of the respondents said *the policies of the party/candidate* could influence how they vote especially if the party or candidate presents *clear and factual policies* on what they intend to do given the mandate. Three other respondents highlighted the significance of manifestos and past records if the party or candidate had been in power before. For instance, the respondent from the Western region opined that *the kind of development they embark on, in the aspect of infrastructure, education, health, security, employment, etc.* could influence how he votes during elections. Another respondent from Bono-East expressed that he takes into account *previous developmental projects if the party had been elected before and the manifesto they present*. Also, a respondent from Ashanti said *by their social interventions* his vote could be influenced. Thus, it suffices to say that the policies and promises politicians make to the electorate tend to be effective and persuading especially if they coincide with the expectations of each electorate.

A nub of this study is the question of how the electorate evaluates the performance of the people they voted for during elections. The issue of accountability is relevant in the sense that electorates vote politicians into power based on certain promises and expectations, and after four years in power, the politician will come back seeking re-election. So, how do the electorates evaluate the performance of the people they voted for? A female respondent from Bono-East and a male respondent from Eastern expressed that they monitor and evaluate the performance of the people they voted for *through the media*, in particular, *on television*. Another respondent from Bono-East said he *evaluates their performances by looking at whether they have fulfilled their campaign promises and implemented policies that aligned with his beliefs*. In contrast, the respondent from Western gave a perfunctory response demonstrating his apathy to issues of accountability. He said politicians *mostly do not fulfil their promises to the satisfaction of citizens and always seek for their personal gains and interests*, thus it is forlorn to waste time tracking whether they have fulfilled their promises or not. The rest of the respondents appeared to be not interested in matters of accountability. This shows that some people do not trust or have little faith in the institutions of the state in the fight against flawed policies, embezzlement of state resources, and the right to information.

Thus, if the issue of accountability matters to the electorate, do they change their voting pattern depending on the upside or downside performance of the political actors they voted for in future elections? Despite the concerns raised by the respondents when the second question was asked about what could influence their voting patterns, all bar one, said *no* to the fourth question. This goes to confirm the importance of loyalty to a political party in Ghana. The respondent from Western was the only one to say *yes*, his voting pattern has changed over time. He said he changed his voting pattern

due to how they (the politicians and their promises) fail and disappoint Ghanaians, development projects, and the stability of the nation through their campaign promises. Employment is made secretly and even graduates are asked to pay huge sums of money before being employed in the government sector.

This is a regular occurrence in Ghanaian society and the author could attest to that. The repercussion of what the respondent said is that it leads to the employment of mediocre personnel, stratifies society into the haves and have-nots, and contributes to higher crime rates and other vices for those who could not come up with huge sums of money to bribe their way into offices. Furthermore, if most of the participants do not change their voting patterns regardless of the upside or downside performance of the political actors they vote for, there could be other underlying pretexts aside from the issue of loyalty to a political party. Hence, it could be surmised that other partisan or societal ruse such as, inter alia, religious affiliation, ethnic affiliation, social status within the society, gender, age, and vocation of the political actors influence the electorate to maintain their voting patterns. In Ghana, the NPP has always selected their presidential candidates from the same line of ethnicity, the Akan ethnic group, since 1992. It only changed in 2024, when Bawumia from the northern tribe of Dagomba was selected. Contrarily, the NDC appeared to have

cut through the ethnic barrier to present presidential candidates from different regions of the country, predominantly among the Gonja, Ewe, and Fante ethnic groups. The NPP lost emphatically in the 2024 presidential elections when they changed the ethnicity of their presidential candidate, among other reasons

The last question asked the respondents how important they think manifestos are for elections. Nine of the respondents said *they are extremely vital since they lay the foundation of their policies and give us reasons to vote*. The respondent from Western added that a manifesto is *a form of framework that outlines the roadmap for governance and helps the citizens to know the right leader to rule the country* (a female respondent from Bono-East). Conversely, the other two remaining respondents said they do not believe in manifestos. One female respondent from Ashanti, for instance, said: *to me it is not important at all because they do not do what they say in there*. This was supported by a male respondent from Ashanti who said: *I really do not believe in a manifesto*. Thus, whilst manifestos may be regarded as important documents for elections, some electorates still do not believe in them because the political actors are free to act as they will after elections and there is no proper way of bringing them to account for their stewardship. This could partly account for voter apathy as was claimed by the NPP in the 2024 elections and voting along ethnic lines.

Conclusion

The paper reviewed the manifestos of the two leading parties in Ghana to identify the promise they made to the people of Ghana between 2008 and 2024. Using the convenience sampling method, a questionnaire was issued to test the effectiveness of manifestos on the electorates and how that influenced their voting pattern. Manifestos are policy documents that are supposed to guide the electorates to make rational choices during elections. As such several factors come into play before such choices are made. Some of the influencing factors on election choices include the pervasiveness of poverty, the candidate's coterminous identity with the constituency or ethnic group, party affiliation, job promises, the candidate's physical appearance, and rhetorics used in manifestos, and development promises, inter alia. Although manifestos are relevant in politics, they have been rendered as documents just for winning elections in Ghana. After elections, politicians do as they please and more often than not escape without prosecutions due to lapses in the country's juridical system. Thus, citizens are increasingly losing trust in their political leaders, state institutions, and the political system itself.

The manifestos of the NDC and NPP bear semblance, except in their modus operandi where there is a slight variation. They all promise, inter alia, to build schools, healthcare facilities, and infrastructure, expand the economy, and fight poverty to improve the standard of living of the people. Yet, when they are voted to power, instead of completing projects already in motion, they start building similar ones from scratch only to abandon them again when they lose elections. This is contrary to common sense. Thus, the paper suggested getting all political parties to support the adoption of a national development outlook as a way of dealing with the multitude of uncompleted projects in the country, which are depriving the people of an improved standard of living.

There is a nexus between manifestos and voter behaviour. As was evident from the administered questionnaire, the respondents go to the polls to vote during elections because they want to select good leaders who would develop their regions through the promises and policies, they put out there during political campaigns. This thus could be extended to reflect the general expectations of most electorates in the country at large. From their responses, it has been revealed that policies and manifestos, as well as promises made during campaigns, coax the electorate to participate in national elections with high expectations. Not only that, the demeanour of politicians in terms of their oratory skills, use of rhetorical vibes, and charisma influences how people vote during elections. Words are viewed as the substance of politics, and through rhetorics, they shape how voters think consciously or unconsciously over time. Thus,

manifestos employ paradigmatic and syntagmatic perspectives to present choices to electorates, and they also attempt to clarify obscure political commitments of rival political parties or candidates, which is done in most cases politically.

However, the lack of trust in the Ghanaian political settings was demonstrated when the issue of accountability came to the fore. While some of the respondents endeavoured to track the performance of the people they voted for via some media outlets and through a personal assessment of whether a campaign promise was fulfilled or not, most of the respondents expressed their disinterest in following up on the policies and promises of the politicians and their manifestos. This is because politicians ordinarily do not fulfil promises they make to the electorate. Despite that, party loyalty remains an important factor during elections in Ghana as electorates want to be associated with the ethics of voting by being identified as members or followers of a particular party or candidate and they may cling to the party without changing their voting patterns even if its policies are not favourable. Thus, while the majority of the respondents regarded manifestos as vital to politics and making election choices, others remained perfunctory about the effectiveness of manifestos since politicians do not fulfil their pledges when given the mandate.

The paper highlighted the importance of manifestos in Ghana in recent elections. Whilst they help voters to understand the clear-cut policies of political parties and candidates, they also pique distrust among voters due to the absence of effective checks and balances mechanisms in the political space to track and hold to account the political actors. It is rare to see leaders being held accountable in Ghana where policies continue to fail because politicians formulate policies without any research or scientific backing. Additionally, political parties do not pay heed to broader participation, which tends to deepen policy formulation and bring out prime issues that are central to the needs of the people. More often than not, policies are formulated only by the winning party and concerns of opposition parties, even if they sound and appear better than those of the incumbent party, are treated as mere propaganda. Thus, the non-participatory approach makes policies ineffective in Africa. Hence, the role of voters has been reduced to only taking part in the electioneering process, but not in the actual governance of the country.

The findings of this study, although limited in scope, contribute greatly to understanding the dynamics of politics, voting behaviour, and the role of manifestos in shaping policies in Ghana. Although the respondents agreed with the importance of manifestos in making voting decisions, the majority of them appear never to have changed their voting patterns whether the candidates they voted for previously performed or underperformed in office. This opens the door for considering other political determinants, other than manifestos and policies of political actors, that could influence the voting pattern of the electorate. Hence, future research could expand on the criteria used in this study to include religion, ethnicity, social status, and vocation of political actors to test if they could influence the voting pattern of voters in Ghana. Furthermore, the results could be improved by increasing the number of participants and regions in future research.

REFERENCES

- Abass, U. (2024). Democracy: A Reflection on Ghana's Republics, 1960-1992. *Africana-Inonu Universitesi Uluslararası Afrika Arastirmalari Dergisi*, 4 (1), 01-23. <http://doi.org/10.58851/africana.1290002>
- Abass, U. & Çoban Döşkaya, F. (2017). The Position of Women in the Social and Political History of Ghana. *Türk Dünyası İncelemeleri Dergisi/Journal of Turkish World Studies* 17(2), 141-162. <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/egetid/issue/32850/358414>
- Aiyede, R. E. (2023). Governance and Politics of Public Policy in Africa. In E. Remi A. & Beatrice M. (eds.) *Public Policy and Research in Africa*. Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 87-121.
- Akanle, O. & Omobowale, A. O. (2023). Contemporary Issues in Public Policy. In E. Remi A. & Beatrice M. (eds.) *Public Policy and Research in Africa*. Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 123-157.
- Akewi, C., Damoah, I. S., and Amankwah-Amoah, J. (2020). The Effects of Politics on the Implementation of Government Programs/Projects: Insights from a Developing Economy. *Politics & Policy*, 48 (6), pp. 1161-1201. ISSN 1555-5623.
- Alidu, S. (2023). Leadership, Governance and Public Policy in Africa. In E. Remi A. & Beatrice M. (eds.) *Public Policy and Research in Africa*. Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 213-234.
- Alhassan, I. & Alhassan, S., (2019). Spatial planning through the political landscape of Ghana: examining the nexus between election manifestos and planning. *Routledge: Territory, Politics, Governance*, 1-24. DOI: 10.1080/21622671.2019.1568291
- Amundsen, I., (1999). "Political Corruption: An Introduction to the Issues". Chr. Michelsen Institute, Development Studies and Human Rights. Working Papers, pp. 1-33.
- Anaman, K.A., and Agyei-Sasu, F. (2012). Impact of Democratic Political Transition on the Performance of Business Firms in Ghana. *Economic Papers*, Vol. 31, No. 3, 391-400.
- Ayee, J., R., A. (2016). Manifestos and Agenda Setting in Ghanaian Elections. In Kwame A. Ninsin (ed.) *Issues in Ghana's Electoral Politics*, CODESTRIA. Dakar, pp. 83-113.
- Balachandrudu, K. (2006). "Understanding Political Corruption". *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. LXVII, No. 4 (Oct.-Dec.), pp. 809-816. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41856265> accessed on 05.11.2018.
- Boakye, B.A.P. (2018). Electoral Politics in Ghana's 4th Republic (1992-2016) and its implications on future elections. SSRN: <https://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3202431>
- Bob-Milliar, G. M. (2013). Discontent and Aggressive Political Participation in Ghana: The Case of Party Foot Soldiers. In Erica Shaw and Hayley Mackinnon (eds.). *Africa Rising: A Continent's Future through the Eyes of Emerging Scholars*. CIGI: African Initiative, pp. 37-62.
- Bratton, M., Mattes, R., & Gyimah-Boadi, E. (2005). *Public Opinion, Democracy, and Market Reform in Africa*. Cambridge University Press.
- Brenya, E., Adu-Gyamfi, S., Nortey, P.N.N., Apau, D., and Dapaah, K.O. (2024). Do the People Matter in Policymaking in Ghana? A Reflection on the E-Levy and Debt Exchange Programs. *Pan African Journal of Governance and Development* Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 56-77. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.46404/panjogov.v5i1.5361>
- Brooks, R., C. (1909). "Attempted Apologies for Political Corruption". *International Journal of Ethics*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (April). The University of Chicago Press, pp. 297-320. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2376840>, accessed on 05.11.2018
- Condor, S., Tileaga, C. and Billing, M. (2013). Political rhetoric. In: Huddy, L. Sears, D.O. and Levy, J.S. (eds.) *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Chapter 9, pp. 262-300.
- Connolly, J. (2007). *The State of Speech: Rhetoric & Political Thought in Ancient Rome*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Crook, R. C. (1989). Patrimonialism, Administrative Effectiveness and Economic Development in Cote d'Ivoire. *African Affairs*, Vol. 88, No. 351, pp. 205-228.
- Dadugblor, S. K. (2016). Clusivity in Presidential Discourse: A Rhetorical Discourse Analysis of State-of-the-

- Nation Addresses in Ghana and the United States. Open Access Master's Thesis, Michigan Technological University. <https://doi.org/10.37099/mtu.dc.etr/123>
- Delali Adogla-Bessa. How Ghana's president went from democratic darling to anti-protest overlord. 27 October 2023. <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/how-ghanas-president-went-from-democratic-darling-to-anti-protest-overlord/>, accessed on 13.12.2024.
- Dijk, T. A. V. (1996). Discourse, power and access. In Carmen Rosa Caldas-Coulthard and Malcolm Coulthard (eds.), *Texts and Practices: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Routledge, pp. 84-104.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis: the critical study of language*. Longman Group.
- Fowler, R. (1996). On critical linguistics. In Carmen Rosa Caldas-Coulthard and Malcolm Coulthard (eds.), *Texts and Practices: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Routledge, pp. 3-14.
- Fraser-Moleketi, G. (2009). Towards a Common Understanding of Corruption in Africa. *Public Policy and Administration*, SAGE, 24(3), pp. 331-338. DOI: 10.1177/0952076709103814
- Gyampo, R. E. V., and Debrah, E. (2013). "The Youth and Party Manifestos in Ghanaian Politics: The Case of the 2012 General Elections". *Journal of African Elections*, Vol. 12, No. 2, pp. 96-114.
- Halidu, Y. (2024). Examining Factors That Affect Native Teacher Identity in Türkiye: Is Being a Teacher a Profession or A Calling? *Akademik Tarih ve Düşünce Dergisi*, 11 (4), 2086-2110. <https://doi.org/10.46868/atdd.2024.693>
- Imurana, B. A., Haruna, R. K. and Annin-Bonsu Nana Kofi (2014). The Politics of Public Policy and Problems of Implementation in Africa: An Appraisal of Ghana's National Health Insurance Scheme in Ga East District. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, Vol. 4, No. 4, Special Issue, pp. 196-207.
- Jasinski, J. (2001). *Sourcebook on Rhetoric: Key Concepts in Contemporary Rhetorical Studies*. Sage Publications.
- John Emerich Edward Dalberg, Lord Acton, (1887). *Acton-Creighton Correspondence*. The Online Library of Liberty, pp. 1-17.
- Joseph, S. Nye, Jr. (2004). "Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics." *Public Affairs*.
- Katamba, M. (2022). The Rhetorical Analysis of President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf's Inaugural Speech as the First Africa's Elected Female President. *Akdeniz Havzasi ve Africa Medeniyetleri Dergisi*, 4(2), pp. 71-82.
- Kress, G. (1996). Representational resources and the production of subjectivity. In Carmen Rosa Caldas-Coulthard and Malcolm Coulthard (eds.), *Texts and Practices: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Routledge, 15-31.
- Kuenzi, M., & Lambright, S. M. (2010). "Who votes in Africa? An examination of electoral participation in 10 African countries". *SAGE, Party Politics*, 17(6): 767-799.
- Lassou, P.J.C., Sorola, M., Senkl, D., Lauwo, S.G. and Masse, C. (2024). Monetization of politics and public procurement in Ghana. *Accounting, auditing and accountability journal (online)*, 37(1), pp. 85-118.
- Lauterbach, K., & Bob-Milliar, G.M. (2021). The Generation of Trust in Political Parties in Ghana. *Africa Today*, 68(2), 81-100. <https://doi.org/10.2979/africatoday.68.2.04>
- Lindberg, S. I. (2003). 'It's Our Time to "Chop"': Do Elections in Africa Feed Neo-Patrimonialism rather than Counter-Act It? *Democratization*, 10:2, 121-140. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/714000118>
- Marshall, B., Cardon, P., Poddar, A., & Fontenot, R. (2013). Qualitative Research?: A review of qualitative interviews in IS research. *Journal of Computer Information Systems*, 11-22.
- Mayanka, R., K. & Nkuna, N., W., (December 2014). "The Phenomenon of Corruption in the South African Public Sector: Challenges and Opportunities". *MCSER*, Vol. 5, No. 27, pp. 1572-1580.
- Mocănașu, D. R., (2020). Determining the Sample Size in Qualitative Research. *IFIASA*, 181-187. <https://doi.org/10.26520/mcdsare.2020.4.181-187>
- Mohammed, A. K. (2015). Ghana's Policy Making: From Elitism and Exclusion to Participation and Inclusion? Vol. 16, Iss. 1, *IPMR*, pp. 43-66.
- NDC Manifesto (2004). *A Better Ghana*.

36 | Usman Abass

- NDC Manifesto (2008). Agenda for a better Ghana.
- NDC Manifesto (2012): Advancing the Better Ghana Agenda: Jobs, Stability, and Development.
- NDC Manifesto (2016). Changing Lives: Transforming Ghana.
- NDC Manifesto (2020). The People's Manifesto: Jobs, Prosperity and more.
- NDC Manifesto (2024). Resetting Ghana: Jobs, Accountability, and Prosperity. Abridged Version.
- Ninsin, K. A. (2016). Elections and Representation in Ghana's Democracy. In Kwame A. Ninsin (ed). Issues in Ghana's Electoral Politics, CODESRIA, pp. 115-134.
- NPP Manifesto (2008). Moving Ghana Forward.
- NPP Manifesto (2012). Transforming Lives, Transforming Ghana: Building a free, fair and prosperous society, 1-116.
- NPP Manifesto (2016). Change: An Agenda for Jobs.
- NPP Manifesto (2020). Leadership of Service: Protecting Our Progress, Transforming Ghana for All.
- NPP Manifesto (2024). Our Commitments to You: Selfless Leadership, Bold Solutions for Jobs and Business.
- Okonkwo, R. (1985). "Heroes of West African Nationalism". Nigeria: Delta Publications. pp. 106-115.
- Owusu-Mensah, I., & Ijon, F. B. (2023). Good for Elections but not for Government: Zongos and the Politics of Exclusion in Ghana. *African Studies*, 82:1, 67-84, Routledge. DOI: 10.1080/00020184.2023.2230165
- Porritt, E. (1906). "Political Corruption in England". *The North American Review*, Vol. 183, No. 603 (Nov.), pp. 995-1004. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25105699> Accessed on 05.11.2018.
- Riker, W.H., and P.C. Ordeshook (1968). "A Theory of the Calculus of Voting". *American Political Science Review*, 62(1): 25-42. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1953324>, accessed on 10.11.2018
- Robling, H. F. (1990). Political Rhetoric in the German Enlightenment. In Eckhart Hellmuth (ed.). *The Transformation of Political Culture: England and Germany in the Late Eighteenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 409-421.
- Rotberg, R. I. (2004). Strengthening Governance: Ranking Countries Would Help. *The Washington Quarterly*, 28(1), pp. 71-81.
- Rozina, G., & Karapetjana, I. (2009). The Use of Language in Political Rhetoric: Linguistic Manipulation. *SDU Fen Edebiyat Fakultesi, Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 19(111-122).
- Sarfo, J. O., Debrah, T.P., Gbordzoe, N.I., Afful, W.T., & Obeng, P. (2021). Qualitative Research Designs, Sample Size and Saturation: Is Enough Always Enough? *Ghana: KAD International*, 8(3): 60-65. DOI: 10.13187/jare.2021.3.60
- Seth J. Bokpe. Corruption Index: Mahama's worst still remains Akufo-Addo's best. January 25, 2022. <https://thefourthestategh.com/2022/01/corruption-index-mahamas-worst-still-remains-akufo-addos-best/>, accessed on 13.12.2024.
- Wallerstein, I. (2011). "The modern world-system IV; Centrist Liberalism Triumphant, 1789 1914". Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Werlin, Herbert, H. (1979). "The Consequences of Corruption: The Ghanaian Experience". In Monday, U., Ekpo (ed.), *Bureaucratic Corruption in Sub-Saharan Africa: Towards a Search for Causes and Consequences*. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, pp. 247-260.
- Wodak, R. (2001). What CDA is about – a summary of its history, important concepts and its developments. In Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. SAGE Publications, London, pp. 1-13.
- Zaleska, M. (2012). Rhetoric and Politics: Mapping the Interrelations. In Maria Zaleska (ed.). *Rhetoric and Politics: Central/Eastern European Perspectives*. UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp. 1-22.

THE INDEPENDENTISATION OF AFRICAN HISTORIOGRAPHY AFRİKA TARİHÇİLİĞİNİN BAĞIMSIZLIĞI

Yıl 5, Sayı 1, ss.37-58.

Year 5, Issue 1, pp.37-58.

Makale Türü: Araştırma Makalesi

Article Type: Research Article

Geliş Tarihi: 18.12.2024

Submitted: 18.12.2024

Kabul Tarihi: 27.01.2025

Accepted: 27.01.2025

DOI: 10.58851/africana.1603343

Atf Bilgisi / Reference Information

Nyarko, J. A. (2025). The Independentisation Of African Historiography, *Africana-İnönü Üniversitesi Uluslararası Afrika Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 5 (1), 37-58.

John Abbam NYARKO

University Of Cape Coast, Department Of History & Diplomacy, Ghana, nimdehene@gmail.com,

ORCID: 0000-0002-2540-316X

Abstract

This paper explores the evolution of African historiography within the broader context of global history, highlighting its significance as an academic discipline. The introduction underscores the critical role of history in understanding human agency and change, particularly in the context of Africa's colonial past, which has often been narrated through a Eurocentric lens. The methodological framework employed is comparative, examining African and non-African scholarly contributions, focusing on case studies that illustrate the diversity of perspectives in African historiography. Through a thorough analysis of pioneering figures such as Carl Christian Reindorf, alongside contemporary scholars like Ngūgī wa Thiong'o and Molefe Asante, the study reveals how indigenous narratives and oral histories have increasingly challenged established Eurocentric interpretations. Key findings indicate that despite the progress made in reclaiming African narratives, significant gaps remain within the historiographical tradition, primarily due to historical marginalisation. The paper further discusses the necessity of integrating digital history into African historiography, suggesting that such an approach can enhance accessibility and engagement with diverse historical narratives. This research advocates for an expanded understanding of African history as an essential component of global historiography, emphasising the importance of incorporating multiple methodologies and voices to construct a more comprehensive and nuanced historical narrative.

Keywords: History, African historiography, oral history, digital history, indigenous narratives, global perspectives.

Öz

Bu makale, küresel tarihin daha geniş bağlamında Afrika tarih yazımının evrimini inceleyerek akademik bir disiplin olarak önemini vurgulamaktadır. Giriş, özellikle sıklıkla Avrupamerkezli bir mercekte anlatılan Afrika'nın sömürge geçmiş bağlamında, insan faaliyetini ve değişimini anlamada tarihin kritik rolünün altını çizmektedir. Kullanılan metodolojik çerçeve karşılaştırmalı olup, Afrika ve Afrika dışındaki akademik katkıları inceleyerek Afrika tarih yazımındaki bakış açılarının çeşitliliğini gösteren vaka çalışmalarına odaklanmaktadır. Carl Christian Reindorf gibi öncü figürlerin yanı sıra Ngūgī wa Thiong'o ve Molefe Asante gibi çağdaş akademisyenlerin kapsamlı bir analizi yoluyla, çalışma yerli anlatıların ve sözlü tarihlerin yerleşik Avrupamerkezli yorumlara nasıl giderek daha fazla meydan okuduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Temel bulgular, Afrika anlatılarını geri kazanmada kaydedilen ilerlemeye rağmen, öncelikle tarihsel marjinalleşme nedeniyle tarih yazımı geleneğinde önemli boşlukların kaldığını göstermektedir. Makale ayrıca dijital tarihin Afrika tarih yazımına entegre edilmesinin gerekliliğini tartışıyor ve böyle bir yaklaşımın çeşitli tarihsel anlatılara erişilebilirliği ve katılımı artırabileceğini öne sürüyor. Bu araştırma, küresel tarih yazımının temel bir bileşeni olarak Afrika tarihinin daha geniş bir şekilde anlaşılmasını savunuyor ve daha kapsamlı ve ayrıntılı bir tarihsel anlatı oluşturmak için birden fazla metodoloji ve sesi birleştirmenin önemini vurguluyor.

Anahtar kelimeler: Tarih, Afrika tarih yazımı, sözlü tarih, dijital tarih, yerli anlatılar, küresel perspektifler.

STRUCTURED ABSTRACT

The significance of history transcends simple accounts of past events; it is integral to understanding human agency, cultural dynamics, and the socio-political frameworks that shape societies. The history of Africa has largely been constructed from a colonial viewpoint, with Eurocentric narratives predominating the discourse. This structured abstract delves into the evolution of African historiography, which has emerged as a counter-narrative to the imperialist perspectives that characterise much of historical writing about the continent. By analysing how African scholars have reshaped historical discourse and incorporated indigenous narratives, this paper underscores the importance of recognising African historiography as a critical component of global history.

The study adopts a comparative methodology, examining the historiographical contributions of both African and non-African scholars. It incorporates qualitative analysis of primary historical texts, oral histories, and contemporary academic works. The research spans historical periods and methodologies, focusing on key figures such as Carl Christian Reindorf, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, and Molefe Asante, who provide diverse lenses through which African histories are rewritten and understood. By drawing on case studies of independence movements and cultural identity, the study situates African historiography within broader global narratives.

Analysis reveals that early African historiography was predominantly shaped by European perspectives, often neglecting indigenous narratives and experiences. The works of early historians, mainly anthropologists and ethnographers, reflected a Eurocentric bias that overlooked the complexities of African societies. Carl Christian Reindorf's incorporation of oral traditions marked a pivotal shift, offering a model that reconceptualised African historiography from an indigenous standpoint. Furthermore, the contributions of contemporary scholars like Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o illustrate a renaissance in African historical writing, as they challenge colonial legacies and assert the importance of self-representation in historical narratives. Molefe Asante's emphasis on cultural identity underscores the interplay between history and contemporary African realities, highlighting the necessity of an Afrocentric perspective.

The study also identifies the contemporary relevance of integrating digital history into African historiography. Digital platforms facilitate the dissemination of marginalised voices and provide new methodologies for presenting historical narratives. This evolution not only broadens access to African history but also enriches the discipline by incorporating a multiplicity of perspectives that reflect the continent's diverse experiences.

The findings of this research indicate a pressing need for continued efforts to reclaim African narratives within the historiographical tradition. The marginalisation of African historiography stems from a historical inadequacy in scholarship, wherein African scholars have had limited access to platforms for presenting their work internationally. Despite notable progress, the gap between Eurocentric historical narratives and emerging African perspectives continues to exist. Moreover, the study emphasises that the incorporation of oral histories and indigenous narratives is essential to constructing a more accurate and comprehensive African history.

Contemporary historians, while recognising past injustices, advocate for a multifaceted approach that blends traditional historiographical methods with emerging digital tools. This dual approach promises to fortify African historiography, making it more inclusive and reflective of the continent's realities. Furthermore, the argument posited within the paper suggests that a robust understanding of African history necessitates cooperation and dialogue among scholars across the globe, rejecting unilateral interpretations of historical events.

In conclusion, this paper asserts that the evolution of African historiography is crucial for the accurate representation of the continent's past. By examining African and non-African narratives, the study elucidates the need for a more global perspective that accommodates diverse methodologies and voices in the field of history. The incorporation of digital history serves as a transformative tool that can help bridge gaps in existing historiographical traditions, allowing for the uncovering and dissemination of previously marginalised narratives.

This research advocates for the recognition of African historiography not just as a subfield but as a vital and dynamic component of global historical discourse. As the field continues to grow, it is imperative that scholars committed to an accurate and inclusive understanding of history work collectively to challenge existing narratives and foster an environment in which all perspectives are valued. Addressing the challenges faced by African historiography will ultimately contribute to a fuller understanding of the complexities of history, encouraging future scholars to engage with the past in ways that honour the agency and contributions of African peoples.

The study persuasively advocates for the accelerated integration of African historiographical perspectives in global discussions. It advocates for ongoing scholarship that recognises the rich tapestry of experiences and voices that comprise African history. This initiative is not merely an academic pursuit but essential for fostering a more equitable and just understanding of the world's historical narratives.

1. Introduction

History is critical in human thought, which appeals to human agency, change, material circumstances in human affairs, and the meaning of historical events. The history of Africa predominantly has been about colonialisation—imperial history, where Africa is treated as a geographical setting for colonisers (Zimmerman, 2013). With the emergence of history as an academic discipline in the 19th century, with Leopold von Ranke as a founding father of the discipline, historiography emerged (Ranke, 1887). Historiography relied on archival documents that narrated European events, such as the French Revolution (Voltaire, 1757; Anderson, 1876). The fundamental objective of historians was to discover, identify, investigate, elucidate and illuminate acts and situations of the past, which mainly focused on the state (Little, 2020).

With the emergence of history as an academic discipline, the existing historiography was pioneered by Europeans and was Eurocentric in perspective, creating a gap in understanding African historiography from an Afrocentric perspective. The African historiography, despite initially being explicitly written by Europeans, was written mainly by non-historians, with the majority of them being anthropologists, ethnographers, travellers, missionaries and merchants (Bosman, 1704; Dalzel, 1793; Ellis, 1893/1894; Reindorf, 1895). Despite the historiography pioneered by Europeans, there was a lack of comprehensive survey of historiography, which led historians to make adhoc judgements on the nature and theory of historiography; thus, it failed to address the problem of historiography historically (Breisach, 1987). The lack of a comprehensive survey of historiography led Voltaire to posit that "the foundations of all history are the recitals of the fathers to the children," reinforcing the idea that historical narratives are memory-based yet evolve across generations (Voltaire, 1757). This interaction highlights the multiplicity of histories and the varied methodologies scholars worldwide embrace.

Historically, African historiography before the last half decade of the 19th century was dominated by Europeans, whose assertions of the Africans and their histories were judged from a Eurocentric eye, therefore not creating an accurate and unbiased history (Dupuis, 1824; Schweinfurth, 1874). This situation created a gap in the African historiography. The first African to engage in African historiography was Carl Christian Reindorf of the Gold Coast, who, in writing the history of the Gold Coast and Asante,

incorporated oral narratives; therefore, reflecting the assertion of Voltaire that history is the recitals of the past to the present (Reindorf, 1895). The paper examines the development of African historiography as a part of global history in the academic discipline of history. The paper argues that historical narratives are shaped by human agency and cultural contexts by providing case studies from Africa to provide a broader understanding of the need for African historiography as a part of global history. It also shows the need to incorporate digital history in African historiography as historiography evolves.

The essay then focuses on the development of tradition by critically analysing African scholars who have contributed to African historiography. For instance, examining Ngūgĩ wa Thiong'o's works reveal how African scholars reinterpret colonial histories and promote indigenous narratives, challenging Eurocentric interpretations. Similarly, the works of Molefe Asante exemplify a distinct historiographic tradition emphasising the relationship between history and cultural identity, thus showcasing varied methodologies in historical writing. Additionally, in exploring the historiography of the African continent, the paper will analyse events such as the independence movements, as discussed by historians like Kwasi Botchwey, Ade Ajayi and Basil Davidson, who emphasise the importance of oral histories, Marxism and community narratives in constructing an understanding of the past and the African reality.

This paper aims to deepen the understanding of African historiography as a discipline by examining both African and non-African narratives, focusing on the historiographies of African scholars. The paper drives toward a more global perspective by incorporating empirical data and discussing contemporary issues such as digital history. Specifically, the paper addresses why the historiography of Africa and the African historiography tradition remain weak, as it seeks to find answers in developing the Eurocentric historiographical tradition. The marginalisation of African historiography can be attributed to the lack of writing styles that towed the conventional lines of Western historiography, the absence of formalised universities before WWII and the Europeanisation of the African identity amid colonialisation (Reindorf, 1895; Johnson, 1897; Du Bois, 1915).

2. Method

The paper employed a qualitative research approach, utilising three distinct but interwoven historical methods to understand better the evolution of African historiography and the need to incorporate it into the global history of the academic discipline. Specifically, the paper utilised historiographical synthesis, where it combined multiple historical accounts to identify patterns, trends and debates within the historiography of the investigated topic; comparative analysis, as it compared different historical accounts, interpretations and methodologies to highlight similarities, differences and areas of contention; and reflective historiography, where the author engaged in self-reflective analyses, acknowledging the biases, assumptions and limitations of their perspectives while considering the implications of their historical interpretations (Bender, 2002; Mahoney, 2004; Leont'eva, 2021).

To retrieve materials, the author collected various historical sources using traditional archives and digital platforms, such as Google Scholar, the Internet Archives, the UK Parliament website, and Google Books. The author employed sampling as a method of historiography in selecting a representative subset of historical records. The sampled historical writings were based on periodisation, and the periods were categorised into two distinct stages—1895 to 1960 and Beyond 1960. These periods are essential because the first known African historiography after the emergence of history as an academic discipline, which an African authored, was the work of Carl Christian Reindorf, *The History of the Gold Coast and Asante*. The phrase "Beyond 1960" marked the period of political independence and nationalist movements on the African continent as it needed to document and preserve African history (Reindorf, 1895; Boahen, 1961).

The primary sources comprised eight historical works whose authorship dates ranged from 1895 to 1942. They were the works of C. C. Reindorf (1895), Samuel Johnson (1897), John Mensah Sarbah (1906),

Asantehene Otumfuo Agyeman Prempeh I (1907), Joseph Ephraim Casely-Hayford (1911), Charles H. Stigand (1913), Walton W. Claridge (1915), and the colonial records on Denkyira (1920-1945), which was retrieved from the Public Records of Archives and Administration Department (PRAAD) in Accra, Ghana. The selected primary sources provided context and authenticity to historical narratives. The secondary sources comprised twelve books, articles and historical narratives dating from the 1960s. The rationale for selecting more secondary than primary sources is to comprehensively have a clearer picture of the African historiography after the independence movements that characterised the continent. These documents were selected based on their relevance to significant events in African history, such as independence movements and colonial encounters.

The paper used deductive and inductive reasoning and triangulated the data to ensure rigour and validity. Its methodology is centred on a comprehensive literature review of primary and secondary sources, supplemented by interviews with contemporary historians working in African contexts. In identifying the historiographical accounts, the paper used compositional utilisation to examine the evolution and development of African historiography by highlighting pivotal events such as Zimbabwe's independence struggle, the Ashanti Wars, and the impact of colonial rule. The paper examined the backgrounds and orientations of the selected authors' works and the methodologies utilised in their historical writings and recitals. Their thesis statements were evaluated, considering the evidence and sources utilised, the historical context, theoretical frameworks, diction and narrative structure.

The paper, in better understanding the evolution of African historiography and its marginalisation in academic global history, identified changes in the interpretation, such as the use of Marxism and the term African Studies, the controversies of historians and non-historians and the influence of broader intellectual and cultural trends in African historiographical scholarships. The paper also synthesised these historiographical accounts as it integrated the insights and perspectives of authors into cohesive and coherent narratives by specifically evaluating how the historical writings complement or contradict each other, especially before and after 1960, reflect or challenge the dominant historical narratives and recitals and how these narratives contribute to a more profound understanding of the African historiography.

In analysing the collected data, thematic analysis was employed to identify and categorise key themes, such as state formation, nationalism and anti-colonial rhetorics, and patterns from classic manuscripts' archival and oral history sources. This process involved several steps, such as familiarisation, where the data were reviewed to gain a broad understanding of the content and context. Key segments of the texts were coded, identifying important phrases, events, and concepts relevant to the research questions. Codes were clustered into broader themes that reflect commonalities or significant differences across the narratives. This process was iterative, continuously reflecting on how themes relate to existing historiographical frameworks. The findings were cross-referenced with existing literature to contrast the new insights gained from oral histories with established historiographical narratives, particularly those focused on European-tinted interpretations of history.

This research also examined the role of digital technologies in contemporary historiography. Digital archives and databases were accessed to identify additional sources illuminating diverse narratives. The study critically engaged with platforms such as Internet Archives, which specialise in digitising African histories and focus on how this accessibility fosters broader engagement and scholarship around indigenous interpretations of history. This multifaceted approach to methodology aimed to ensure the rigour and validity of the findings but also sought to capture the richness and complexity of historical narratives, contributing to a more nuanced understanding of global historiography. By providing detailed descriptions of how data was collected, including primary sources like colonial archives, oral histories, and local records, readers will better understand the practical implications of the methodologies employed.

3.1 Western and Non-Western Historiographical Tradition

As an academic discipline, the field with its historiography in the West emerged in the early 19th century as an avenue to reassess the political trajectory of Europe; thus, history and historiography sought to debunk all the impediments inherent in defeating reason in early societies and served as a sanctuary to deal with customs and traditions via *verstehen* (empathetic understanding). In 1825, Leopold von Ranke proclaimed his intentions to recapture, understand and convey the past as it is; therefore, it became the starting point for learning history and historicism (Ranke, 1824/1845/1973). Thus, the emergence of history and its historiography emerged in Western society due to the public awareness of the past, the obliteration of religious texts, the rise of nationalism after the French Revolution and the business success of books and scholarships on historical themes by individuals like Thomas Carlyle, Thomas Babington Macaulay and others focused on the nature of the composition of historian communities, the universities and their changing roles in mid-Victorian society (Carlyle, 1841/43; Macaulay, 1842/1848; Seeley, 1870).

In the case of Asia, scholarly historiography emerged in the early 19th century, beginning with Hindi, where the history of India was conceived through the lens of nationalism. The writing of history in India was modelled after the Europeans imported the concept of nationalism and took assumptions from James Mills' book, *History of British India*, 1817. At the same time, importation was found to be relevant in China. Historical writing has been present in China for centuries, and historical writing was grounded in the 'school of evidential learning', which demanded that history be studied through critical methods. As European interactions with China expanded, the study of history in the academic space argued that the study of Chinese history focused on the values of Chinese traditions and historiography in the form of annals, not narratives (Popkin, 2016, p. 85).

In Japan, the influence of the Western study of history emerged in the second half of the 19th century (i.e., 1854) when Japan became receptive to the outside world and the effect of the 'Meiji' Revolution of 1868 (Conroy, Davis, & Patterson, 1984). The influence of the Western historical approach caused the Japanese historian Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901) in 1875 to advocate for the abandonment of the Confucian tradition and that the writing of history should explore how Japan could play a significant role in the overall progress of world civilisation (Yukichi, 1875). Thus, in 1887, Ludwig Reiss, a German historian, became the first history professor at Tokyo University, and other Japanese colleagues later joined him to adapt the new methods to their country's history. By the beginning of the 20th century, historiography in Japan had shifted from the previously mentioned goal to Japanese nationalism due to its rise as a superpower.

3.2 African Historiographical Tradition

Africans have been perceived to have no history in the eyes of the Europeans on the premise that Africa had no written records before the arrival of the Europeans in the first half of the 15th century (Hegel, 1837). Hegel described the history of Africa as consisting of three typologies—Africa Proper, European Africa, and Asian Africa (Hegel, 1837, p. 491). Accordingly, to Hegel, Africa Proper constituted the south of the Sahara and labelled it as the "land of childhood" and the home of "ravenous beasts" (Hegel, 1837, pp. 491-2), European Africa as the north of the Sahara and Asia Africa as the "river region of the Nile, the only valley-land of Africa, and which is in connection with Asia" (Hegel, 1837, p. 491).

This differentiation proffered by Hegel has been critiqued by scholars who have argued that Hegel displayed ignorance, ethnocentric and xenophobic disposition based on the vulgar words used and diminished the true essence of African history with its historiography as a part of global history. Hegel

purports to be disillusioned to assume that Africa cannot succeed without Europe as he considered Egypt a part of European Africa. This assertion is utterly erroneous as Egypt, also known as Kemet, used to be the home of those he categorised as "Africa Proper" (Diagne, 2013, p. 5; Adegbindin, 2015, p. 20). This assertion of Hegel proves his limited scope of understanding historiography, for before the period of written records, humanity kept its history through the unspoken word—oral history. Also, Hegel's assertion proves that his ignorance of Africa hinged on racism as he refused to understand that the earliest forms of written records included cuneiform and pictograph, which were shared on the African continent at the time of his assertion.

In studying the knowledge of Africa and by Africans, Hountondji (2009) argues that the study of Africa forms part of the initiated and controlled knowledge accumulation project of the West; thus, he admonishes for a proactive, comprehensible and response appropinquation that is appropriate of the African societies themselves rather than the capitalised knowledge bequeathed to them over the centuries. Thus, African historiography should be autonomous and self-reliant, addressing the problems and issues affecting Africans directly and indirectly.

African Historiography, 1895-1960

During the pre-colonial phase, historical writings were of travelogue as they were produced by explorers, travellers, missionaries and traders of European descent and non-historians (Riley, 1817); thus, such historical writings are based on perceptions, making their historical worth and accuracy of events minimal. Nonetheless, the 19th century ushered in a phase where historical writings became relevant to local history and offered detailed, accurate information. Examples of such works include Thomas Bowdich's *"Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee: with a descriptive account of that kingdom"* (1819) and Joseph Dupuis' *"Journal of a Residence in Ashantee"* (1824). Such European works were superficial and based on observations during their journeys. These writings are based on misconceptions due to their European biases.

By the late 19th century, with colonisation in motion, a new breed of history writers emerged—indigenes with European training, such as C. C. Reindorf (1895), Samuel Johnson (1897), and Apollo Kagwa (1901). Reindorf and Johnson were trained missionaries, while Apollo Kagwa, an ethnographer, became the Buganda kingdom's Katikkiro (Prime Minister) in 1890 and served as a prince regent from 1897 until 1914. Other Europeans, who were colonial officers and administrators, also engaged in African historiography, which focused on the Europeans in Africa (Schweinfurth, 1874; Pasture, 1918; Westermarck, 1926). These writers were not trained historians, so they wrote historical writings based on the skills and methods absent from history. The producers of the African historical works were mainly anthropologists, ethnographers, sociologists, colonial administrators and missionaries whose works are partially based on misconceptions or influenced by the colonial works.

The African writers' historiographies centred on forming nation-states before colonisation, such as Yoruba, Buganda, Asante, Denkyira and Fante (Reindorf, 1895; Johnson, 1897; Kagwa, 1901; PRAAD/ADM/23/1/408, 1923). These writings were critical and offered responses to Europeans such as Hegel and Trevor-Roper, who took the absence of written sources as Africa's lack of historical legacy (Agyeman Prempeh, 1907; Adjepong, 2000). In their historiography, these writers relied on oral narratives as they offered the voices of the unwritten and marginalised, such as the comprehensive history of Buganda kingship and Asante rulers (Kagwa, 1901; Agyeman Prempeh, 1907).

One prolific writer of this breed is C.C Reindorf, whose work served as the first effort at writing the entire history of an African nation—Gold Coast's history and the first historical work of a native who relied on local oral sources predominantly. While his work is a ground-breaking piece, his missionary background

constrained him. While historical writing in Western tradition existed, oral history predates it as both run parallel. A key source of oral history during the period is the *okyeeame*, who not only served as a counsellor of the chief but also was a court historian trained in the art of oral tradition. Asantehene Prempeh's work "...represents the first major attempt at projecting the story of Asante from an official royal perspective" with its ethnic bias (Adjaye, 2008, pp. 6-7). His work counters the notion that historiography can only be undertaken based on documentary sources, and thus, Africans lacked such sources and no history. The issues of colonial historiography include being premised on Hamitic theory and being anthropological. What existed as history was ethnography and the recording of oral tradition.

However, as colonisation took ground and began to influence the socio-political and economic structures of African societies, the intelligentsia of Africa, such as Casely-Hayford and Mensah Sarbah, began to attack the colonial structure and to offer critical comparative perspectives of the African societies and European societies relying on archival documents, personal observations, oral narratives and letters. The letters included the draft proclamation defining the nature and extent of the Queen's jurisdiction on the Gold Coast. (Sarbah, 1906, pp. 363-6). A classic example is the work of Casely-Hayford, *Ethiopia Unbound*, which employed a qualitative approach by relying on memory and personal observations. Casely-Hayford was a trained lawyer and educator from Anomabo (Casely-Hayford, 1911). *Ethiopia Unbound* is a collection of essays exploring Africa's history, culture, and politics. In telling the story of Africa, Casely-Hayford used his personal experiences in Europe as a student, his activism in the Gold Coast, and his ideals of the Africans in tandem with how to throw the yoke of colonialism away.

Casely-Hayford, in showing how the yoke of colonialism could be removed, cited the *Battle of Adwa* in 1896 and asserted that it served as an inspiration and a symbol of African resistance to colonialism. The literature extensively used metaphors and euphemisms to project the ideas. It serves as a platform in reaction to colonial rule and how the yoke of colonialism ought to be removed. He further argued that the intellectual endowment of the African makes him unashamed to compare himself with the Caucasian, for he is adaptive and adaptable to every sphere of life's struggles. Such intellectuals of the soil include Du Bois, Booker T. Washington, Dunbar and others. The African epitomises pure altruism, the influencer of all human experiences (Casely-Hayford, 1911).

As an African, language should not just be a mechanism of putting across one's thoughts, but it must also serve as a means of intimately studying the philosophy of oneself, especially the idea of religion. It is significant because the concept of 'God' and its attributes of all good are traces of what the Roman pagans (rural folks) learned from the Greeks, who learned these values and concepts from the Ethiopians (Africans). The concept of religion and 'God' is essential for the values and beliefs of a person to be embedded in how one relates with the environment. Accordingly, the Africans understand that divinity runs through humanity, and the issue of gods and humanity depends on the extent of divine influence operating upon humans.

The African historiography after 1902 focused on intellectual history as African writers sought to provide philosophical ideas to help address the issues confronting Africa amid colonial rule (Casely-Hayford, 1903). With this aim to project an African philosophy and consciousness, African historical writers advocated for the need to be educated and spoke against colonial rule. The relevance of education was to the preservation of African identity and fighting against colonialism (Sarbah, 1906; Casely-Hayford, 1911; Stigand, 1913; Guggisberg, 1929). Education became a salvation which gave victory to the campaign against the Land Bill 1897 (House of Common, 1897; Casely-Hayford, 1903).

This victory through the power of education influenced Kwamankra to co-establish the Mfantshipim School in 1904, which aimed to draw the Aborigines' (Fanti) attention to the dangers of neglecting education. Casely-Hayford admonished that no society neglects its own languages, customs and institutions

and survives; therefore, in educating the young primarily, training must be premised on nationality with an adaptability approach to the advanced state of the society. The teaching of lessons should be in one's language, and the promotion of teachers depends on how well they influence people to value education and stay in class. The establishment of Mfantispim brought about the thirst for knowledge, where people began to read and write in their own dialects. This phenomenon made translation work a unique feature of Mfantispim.

Casely-Hayford's paradoxical intuition of the observed social facts in Europe influenced his perspective and writings as he opined that, in observing social facts, the observation of humanity is the most interesting study, and its study is the vertex of an intellectual hobby. Among Africans, 'I' is not about the body but the soul of a person who has communion with others. For these happenings, it was crucial to ensure the mental awakening of Africa, which is why the historiography of the time focused significantly on anti-colonial perspectives.

On the other hand, the African historiography of the period championed by the non-Africans, especially Europeans, was characterised by Eurocentrism, orientalism and imperialist narrative (Stigand, 1913; Claridge, 1915; Pasture, 1918). These historical writings judged the Africans as uncivilised and primitive based on the European lens, emphasising the role of the European explorers and colonisers. The authors perpetuated stereotypes and exoticised African cultures, reinforcing their notion of African "otherness." For instance, Stigand's work is premised on his personal experiences, observations and interactions with local populations. He also drew on existing literature and colonial records, such as accounts by European explorers such as John Hanning Speke, James Augustus Grant and David Livingstone (pp. 23-35). The work of Pasture (1918) draws on the writings, photos and letters of Africans they encountered aside from her observations and personal experiences. For instance, she incorporates the letters and writings of William Taylor A. Wilson of Sekondi, Nathaniel Ashon of Shama and J. E. Cronzoo of Half Assinie (pp. 345-351).

Despite the comparative approach employed by the Africans, their writings lacked a critical perspective on colonialism as their counters sought to reply to the stereotypical and racist portrayals of African culture and relied on limited and biased sources. They were also non-historians, hence lacking the requisite historiographical skills needed by historians to undertake an African historiography. By the early 20th century, African scholars, particularly in America, asserted the need for a unified and objective interpretation of history, which W.E.B. Du Bois championed.

As the first African to earn a doctorate in history in 1903, Du Bois published a significant survey of African and American history in 1915, exploring the role of Africa in global history (Du Bois, 1903/15). Du Bois provided the roles Africans played in the rise of empires from ancient Greece to Great Britain, their impact of the European slaves on the Americas and how significant Africa was to the survival of Europe, hence, the Berlin Conference of 1884 (Du Bois, 1915/1920). In his seminal work, *The Negro* (1915), he challenged the dominant narratives and stereotypes as he offered counter-narrative in an attempt to correct the racist and Eurocentric histories, highlighting the agency, achievements and struggles of the African Americans, situated the African American experience within the broader context of African diasporic history and culture—Pan-Africanism—and utilised an interdisciplinary approach where the work relied on a combination of history, anthropology, literature and sociology to provide a comprehensive understanding of the African American experience.

Du Bois, in his seminal work, employed a range of methods including historical research where he drew on primary sources and secondary sources such as the slave narratives of Fredrick Douglas and Harriet Jacobs, other historical accounts of other historians such as George Washington Williams's *History of the Negro Race in America* (1882), Fredrick Jackson Turner's *The Frontier in American History* (1893)

and William Archibald Dunning's *Reconstruction, Political and Economic* (1907). In such aforementioned works, for example, William's pioneering work challenged racist narratives and highlighted African American achievement; Turner's work highlighted the experiences of African Americans in the context of westward expansion, which was significant of the American frontier and critiqued Dunning's work which reflected the dominant white supremacist views of the time.

Despite the significant foundational work Du Bois provides, his work emphasised African American cultures and identity and focused on the African American elites rather than the broader population. Yet, it remains a pivotal work in African historiography as it helped establish African American Studies as a distinct field of inquiry, informed the intellectual and ideological foundations of the African quest for independence, specifically Ghana, and continues to shape historiographical debates about the African and Afro-American experience, racism, and social justice.

With much work on the need for African historiography pioneered by Du Bois, the colleges on the African continent began to teach African history as part of the educational curriculum. Haitian scholars like Jean Price-Mars collaborated with Du Bois to highlight Africans' substantial but often overlooked contributions to global historical development (Celucien, Jean & Glodel, 2018; Gates, 2006). The interwar period, influenced by the Negritude movement and figures like Leopold Senghor, challenged the traditional objectivity of historical writing, leading historians to recognise and embrace their biases to support the causes they believed in (Senghor, 1998; Popkin 2016, pp. 108-110).

African history was taught at Achimota College in 1927, featuring topics on the Gold Coast, West Africa, and Egypt (Boadu, 2021, p. 13). In 1945, the colonial governments envisioned the need to make university education accessible as the most effective route for preparing the colonised for self-governance and self-determination; hence, African history, for the first time, was taught at the university level (Oxford Delegacy Papers, 1946). It was not until the mid-20th century that African American history gained recognition within academic scholarship, with African Americans increasingly becoming part of university teaching faculties. Before the 1950s, no records of African historiography existed on a general history of the whole African continent (Watterson, 2008; Boakye, 2022).

The institutionalisation of African history with its historiography as an academic field became possible through the works of many Africanists, such as Kenneth Onwuka Dike, who pioneered oral narratives in a multidisciplinary approach in African historiography and is known as the father of modern African historiography. Establishing African historiography as an academic speciality changed the narrative of Africans lacking history; hence, African history as a branch of learning was made possible. African historiography advocated for the search for pre-colonial sources, both documentary and non-documentary sources, to challenge such aforementioned historical professions' assertions of Europeans (Watterson, 2008).

Professor John Fage of the University of Birmingham marks the modern era of West African history writing with the establishment of history departments in newly formed universities and the serious study of African history in institutions, primarily in Britain and the USA. The 1945 Asquith Report was pivotal in developing African historiography as an academic discipline, introducing it at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London in 1948. John Fage and Roland Oliver are rightly recognised as the pioneers of African history as a formal subject (Fage, 1971, p. 244; Nyarko, 2023).

The foundation of this discipline was closely linked to the British strategic interests in trade and security, stemming from the evolving relationship between England and its African colonies from 1787 to 1948, which led to the establishment of Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone in 1827. The Asquith Report called for recruiting British scholars to staff new institutions and emphasised the importance of maintaining

British academic traditions and independent research. This initiative triggered a transformative shift in higher education across British colonies, establishing additional universities in Uganda, Sudan, Ghana, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone. By 1949, five university colleges had been established in Africa, with all except Fourah Bay College affiliated with the University of London, marking a significant milestone in advancing African history scholarship (Watterson, 2008, p. 22).

As a result, in the 1950s, African history became globally accepted, whereas the discipline of African historiography recognised linguistic data as significant (Philips, 2005, p. 4). In African history, 'observation of change' is fundamental to historiography; therefore, there was a need for original historiography. The requirement for original research by academic staff facilitated the recruitment of British scholars who played a critical role in local research, thus contributing to developing African history with its historiography field. The acceptance of African history with its historiography as a distinct academic discipline was not realised until the 1960s. As Africa's past was recognised and academically justified, African historiography moved away from imperial history (Watterson, 2008).

One of the reasons for the initial hesitation of African historiography was the over-reliance on oral history. For example, the works of R.S. Rattray and Eva Meyerowitz on the Akan of Ghana relied primarily on oral history. One of the pioneering African oral historians was Jan Vansina, whose visit to Kuba, Congo, to learn about funerary dirges, understood that the African knowledge of the past relied on memory. He, therefore, used his knowledge of medievalist scholarship to formulate an approach to oral history as a primary source (Vansina, 1985; Storey, 2013, p. 63). This began the revolution to accept oral history and tradition as sources. The emergence of African historiography as an academic speciality can be traced to the aftermath of WWI and WWII when several significant government papers espoused the need and sponsoring of the academic institutionalisation of African history by UNESCO in 1964 and the emergence of the Cold War.

African Historiography, Beyond 1960

African historiography began to blossom with the independence of a few African countries, such as Ghana, Sudan and Egypt, before 1960. Recognised historians, such as K. O. Dike of Nigeria, established university programmes in African Universities to produce scholars such as Albert Adu Boahen of Ghana, a renowned English-trained scholar, Samuel Yaw Boadi-Siaw and a few distinguished scholars of American background. These non-African scholars included John Fage, Roland Oliver, A.D. Roberts, and Lewis Hanke, all with the requisite proficiencies to sustain the new discipline.

With African history as an academic discipline in universities such as the University of Ghana, the University of Cape Town, and the University of Ibadan, the *Journal of African History* was launched to provide a platform for publishing high-quality research on African history—a significant year in acknowledging African historiography. Archaeologists, anthropologists, historians, and linguists contributed articles to the journal, which became the first history journal to delve into African history from a multidisciplinary perspective (Oliver & Fage, 1960, p. 1).

Based on the circumstances that bore the acceptance of African historiography as part of the global history study, Hountondji (2009) admonishes African scholars and intellectuals to appreciate the reality that the nature of research executed has significantly been extraverted to meet the theoretical and practical needs of the so-called global north; hence, the need for Africans to develop a new paradigm for research in African history as African history connotes the historical discourse on or about Africa and not necessarily a historical discourse emanating from Africa or produced by Africans (p. 122). Kenneth O. Dike also promoted an Africanist historiography that sought strengthened, meticulous, non-colonial-focused African research.

With the advent of independence came the awakening of African scholarship, beginning with Ghanaian scholarship. This awakening is due to the notion that the true history of Africa can exist if its history is no longer continued from the non-African perspective and sources. The need for historiography based on oral narratives served to counter the awakening dominance of Western intellectual hegemonies, methodologies and historiography; hence, the aim was to produce historiographies liberated from Western hegemony with the realities of African conditions in account while rejecting the rationalisation of African subjugation (Ki-Zerbo, 1964; Boahen, 1985).

By the 1960s, many African scholars had begun writing about African history, such as Basil Davidson's *Old Africa Rediscovered* (1965) and Jacob Ade Ajayi and Ian Espie's work, *The African Past: Studies in the History of Africa* (1963). In Ghana, the pioneer of the new historiography is Albert Adu Boahen's work, "*Britain, the Sahara and the Western Sudan 1788-1861*" (1961). The methodologies and understanding of the past as African academics still hinged on European conceptions, techniques and research methodologies in the practice of African historiography, with most of the historiographical works focused on centralised nation-states such as Asante, Denkyira and Akyem-Abuakwa. Also, much of the historiography was political history devoid of any significant cultural analysis of societies. The practice of historical works after independence sought to concentrate on the positive reactions of Ghanaians (and Africans) to colonialism, especially the creation and evolution of indigenous states' complex civilisations.

Old Africa Rediscovered (1965) and *The African Past: Studies in the History of Africa* (1963) have significantly influenced African historiography. Both works were published during the African decolonisation and independence era, marking a significant shift in African historiography. Both scholarly works challenged the dominant Eurocentric narratives that had marginalised African historiography. Davidson's work focuses on ancient and medieval African history, emphasising the continent's rich cultural heritage and contributions to world civilisation. In contrast, Ajayi and Espie's edited volume covers a broader chronological range from the early medieval period to the 19th century, focusing on West Africa. Both works share a common objective—to reclaim and reassert the importance of African history and culture. However, they differ in their approaches and methodologies. Davidson's work is characterised by a more generalist and popularising approach aimed at a broad audience. On the other hand, Ajayi and Espie's volume features contributions from specialist historians and adopts a more academic tone.

However, when synthesised, these works reveal key historiographical themes, such as challenge to Eurocentrism, reassertion of African agency, emphasis on African cultural heritage and decolonisation of African history by questioning the dominant Eurocentric narratives that had marginalised African histories, emphasised the agency and autonomy of African societies and cultures, highlight the richness and diversity of African cultural heritage, challenging stereotypes and misconceptions as well as promote a more nuanced and accurate understanding of the continent's past. Both works have inspired a new wave of African historians to reclaim and reinterpret their histories, influenced African Studies as a distinct academic field, and contributed to a more nuanced understanding of African history, challenging Eurocentric and racist narratives.

The nature of African historiography in the 1960s was one of nationalist historiography (Carr, 1982; Weldeananiya & Omeje, 2025). Critics of nationalist historiography posit that this perspective of historiography focuses more on revisionism and it is a contest for attention or readership and that political history cannot be detached from socioeconomic substructures (Carr, 1982) but Weldeananiya and Omeje (2025, p. 2) disagree as they assert that such an approach provides addressing historical issues, such as solving historiographical debates meaningfully. Therefore, this new historiography failed to address the realities. The critics assert that historiography must address the social experiences of workers, the countryside, the urban proletariat and the marginalised. Political history fails to expatiate the reasons for the economic difficulties experienced in Africa.

While analyses within African historiography aimed for an African-centred perspective, the scholarship on resistance paradoxically centred on European colonialism, often overlooking the internal tensions and inequalities within African societies. Growing scepticism about traditional development narratives made the concept of 'underdevelopment' appealing, framing the poverty and vulnerability of marginalised societies as outcomes of the global capitalist system's long-term domination. Walter Rodney, a pivotal figure in this discourse and a founding member of the 'Dar es Salaam,' School of Radical African History, linked dependency theory directly to Africa. This theory catalysed the rise of Marxist thought among Africans and Africanists in the 1970s, establishing a foundational discourse that resonated throughout the Global South. The dependency theory offered little space to African agencies. African historiography, by default, became subaltern studies.

Marxist thought became important to African historiography as it emphasises challenging Eurocentric narratives and understanding the socioeconomic and political structures that have shaped human societies. The African writers of the 1970s adopted Marxism to explain class struggles, exploitation of labour and modes of production, which have shaped the historical events on the continent (Rodney, 1972; Cabral, 1973; Ki-Zerbo, 1974). African Marxist historians such as Rodney and Cabral deployed the approach to critique colonialism and imperialism as systems of exploitation that perpetuate inequality and underdevelopment. Through this approach, African historians have detailed the destructive nature of colonialism on African societies and economies (Rodney, 1972; Cabral, 1973; Arrighi, 1973; Amin, 1974).

The beginning of the 1980s saw the African historiography take a different paradigm. Scholars focused on the dire economic conditions in Africa, particularly highlighting the struggles of African educational and cultural institutions. This historiography underscores the importance of the 'resistance' theory, which is central to understanding colonialism and the development of new knowledge in the field. Resistance theory posits that colonial conquests were met with significant opposition, emphasising that organised military responses and individual acts of defiance were crucial in the struggle against colonial domination. Cooper contends that the political discourse surrounding African history should extend beyond anticolonialism and nationalism.

African scholars began to engage in critical historiography and decolonisation of African history. African historiography significantly shifted towards a more nuanced and inclusive understanding of the past. The quest for decolonisation dominated scholarly writings as history was seen as a way to dismantle the dominant Eurocentric narratives that had long marginalised African experiences (Mudimbe, 1988, p. 12). The period was characterised by a focus on African agency, autonomy and perspectives, and critiques of colonialism and ongoing legacies (Achebe, 1983, p. 15).

A new historiographical trend was embraced with the shift toward critical historiography, recognising the need to critically examine authors' positions and perspectives (Appiah, 1985, p. 120). Historians began to focus on African societies' social and cultural histories, exploring themes such as family, kinship and community (Cohen, 1985, p. 23). Here, African historians began synthesising different approaches and methods, combining social, economic and cultural histories to create a more nuanced and comprehensive account of the African past (Cooper, 1981, p. 2). Oral history also became increasingly prominent, allowing historians to tap into the rich cultural heritage of African societies and challenged written records (Vansina, 1985, p. 12). Also, African historians began to explore the economic histories of African societies, examining themes such as trade, commerce and labour (Hopkins, 1986, p. 15).

With the emergence of critical historiography in African historiography in the 1980s, the trend has continued to date except with little alterations. This alteration has resulted in revisionism, where conventional views on evidence surrounding historical events are reinterpreted. To these scholars, revision is the lifeblood of historical scholarship, as history is a continuous dialogue of the past and the present.

Therefore, reinterpretations of the past are subject to new evidence, questions asked of the evidence, and new perspectives gained over time. With this perspective, there is no single, eternal, immutable "truth" about past events and their meaning.

The next decade and subsequent ones—i.e., from the 1990s to date had seen African historiography transformed, marked by a significant expansion of the field, increased diversity and a growing emphasis on interdisciplinary approaches. The 1990s saw a growing influence of postcolonial and postmodern perspectives on African historiography. Historians began to challenge the traditional notions of objectivity and truth, emphasising instead historical knowledge's fragmented and multifaceted nature (Mbembe, 1992, p. 12). This shift was reflected in the works of historians such as Mbembe, who drew on postcolonial theory to challenge dominant narratives of African history (Mbembe, 1992, p. 15).

African historiography emphasises the need to draw insights from anthropology, sociology and literature to understand the African past (Comaroff, 1993, p. 25). Here, African historiographies began to emphasise the role of African actors and agents in shaping their histories rather than simply being passive recipients of external forces (Mamdani, 1996, p. 12; Appiah, 1992, p. 25). Mbembe (2001) critiques how colonial narratives have shaped perceptions of African identities, governance, and culture, advocating for a more nuanced understanding reflecting postcolonial experiences' complexities as well as explores the ongoing effects of colonialism on African societies, revealing the intricate dynamics of power, identity, and resistance.

The Subaltern Studies Group, representing post-colonial scholars, confronts established historiographical practices, questioning sources, theoretical frameworks, and specialisations to recover the narratives of marginalised populations often overlooked in discussions of global exploitation and national mobilisation. The concept of 'subalternity' highlights how non-Western histories remain overshadowed by European narratives due to the enduring impacts of colonialism (Sheriff, 1987; Mamdani, 1993; Ajumbe, 2001). This colonial legacy perpetuates a skewed vision of historical progress, portraying Global South histories as failures while framing European state-building and capitalist development as benchmarks of success. Acknowledging this dynamic to truly understand and validate the Global South's history is imperative.

Post-colonial scholars aim to foster a diverse consciousness among post-colonial populations, promoting autonomous agency even within the constraints of subaltern status. The Subaltern Studies Group transforms criticisms of modernity and Western discourse into a commitment to visibility for the colonised. Subaltern Studies concentrate on the disparity between people's lived experiences and the historical processes that shape our understanding of knowledge. This disparity is a crucial entry point for evaluating colonial experiences and highlights scholars' struggle to break free from the grips of Europe's material and cultural influence. To recognise 'subalterns' as integral to history, the meanings of domination and subalternity must be re-examined, allowing African historiography to move past fixed notions of modernity, liberalism, and citizenship. Nationalism should be explored in relation to various social movements within the colonial context, acknowledging its contingent nature. In Africa, historical lived experiences profoundly influence the present, underscoring that the continent cannot build effective networks and institutions for dialogue and collective action without addressing the complexities born from its historical context. This situation necessitates a nuanced analysis rooted in Africa's intricate past.

In "An Afrocentric Manifesto," Molefi Kete Asante, a prominent scholar in African studies, presents a compelling argument for an Afrocentric approach to history, culture, and identity. Asante articulates a vision for an African Renaissance that emphasises the importance of placing African experiences and perspectives at the centre of discourse. His work challenges the prevailing Eurocentric narratives that have historically marginalised African contributions to world history and culture. Asante begins by defining

Afrocentrism as a framework that seeks to reclaim the narrative of Africa and its diasporas by prioritising African values, cultural practices, and historical experiences. He argues that it is crucial to critique and move beyond the colonial legacies that have shaped perceptions of Africa and its peoples to understand the complexities of African identity. The manifesto positions African historiography as a dynamic and multifaceted narrative that deserves to be explored from an African perspective.

Methodology is needed for African historiography to constitute a significant part of global history. John Tosh's *The Pursuit of History* (2021) is a significant work that offers a comprehensive overview of history's methods, theories, and practices. While it primarily focuses on Western historiographical traditions, its insights can be integrated into the discourse of African historiography, particularly in how historical inquiry is conceptualised and practised. It emphasises the importance of methodological rigour in historical research, which is crucial for African historiography as it matures into a more recognised academic discipline. His discussions about the influences of ideology, culture, and society on historical writing are particularly relevant when considering how African historiography can challenge dominant Western narratives and highlight unique local contexts. "The Pursuit of History" can be viewed as a foundational text that informs contemporary discussions about integrating African historiography into the broader historical discourse. Tosh's work provides crucial methodological insights and highlights the importance of diverse narratives in pursuing a comprehensive understanding of history.

Additionally, Goody's "*The Theft of History*," which critiques the Eurocentric bias in historical account, which has marginalised the contributions and achievement of African historiography, highlights the need to recentre African historiography and challenge the dominant narratives that have relegated Africa to the periphery (Goody, 2006, p. 50) and helps question the concept of "primitive" societies, which have been used to describe African societies as backward and underdeveloped. African societies have their own complex histories, cultures and knowledge systems (Goody, 2006, p. 150).

Finally, digital history, which emerged in the 21st century, has recently transformed how historians engage with the past, offering innovative tools and platforms that expand the accessibility and diversity of historical narratives (Popkin 2016; Gunn and Faire 2012). This transformation is particularly significant in African historiography, where traditional narratives have often been marginalised or overlooked in favour of Eurocentric perspectives. By harnessing digital technologies, scholars can challenge existing historiographical frameworks, create spaces for underrepresented voices, and promote a more inclusive understanding of history (Moretti 2007, p. 1; Manovich 2013, p. 12).

In discussing the impact of digital technology on historiography, Asante (2007) acknowledges the potential for digital platforms to amplify African voices and narratives. His insights can complement the evolving methodologies in historical scholarship. Asante encourages scholars to leverage technology to democratise knowledge production and allow for greater access to African histories, thus fostering a more inclusive historiographical landscape. The digitisation of African archives would play a crucial role in reshaping the landscape of historical research. Institutions across the continent and globally have initiated efforts to digitise primary sources such as colonial records, indigenous manuscripts, and oral histories, with the Java Museum in Elmina, Ghana and Ghana's Daily Graphic as classic examples. These digital collections preserve crucial historical documents at risk of deterioration or loss and democratise access to information, enabling a broader audience of researchers, students, and the general public to engage with African historiographies.

For instance, projects like the African Digital Heritage Initiative and The African Digital Library seek to preserve and promote African cultural heritage by digitising artefacts and archival materials. By making these resources available online, historians can draw upon a wealth of previously inaccessible primary sources highlighting indigenous narratives, cultural practices, and historical events from African

perspectives. Digital history facilitates the engagement of local communities in documenting and interpreting their histories, which is essential for a comprehensive understanding of the past. Digital platforms allow historians to collaborate with local historians and community members, collecting oral histories that challenge dominant narratives and enrich scholarly discourse. This approach is crucial for acknowledging the diverse experiences of communities affected by colonialism and social change (Cohen and Rosenzweig 2006, p. 2).

For example, oral history projects utilising digital recording methods enable historians to capture first-hand accounts from marginalised groups, creating a repository of lived experiences that complement traditional archival research. This engagement fosters a participatory model of historiography, where communities actively contribute to the understanding and interpreting their histories. As oral histories and community accounts preserve and convey marginalised perspectives on the past, digital technology emerges as a vital tool in amplifying these voices, facilitating their documentation and dissemination to a broader audience, thereby democratising historical scholarship and enriching the understanding of diverse narratives.

By incorporating digital history into African historiography, scholars can directly counter Eurocentric interpretations that have historically dominated the field. Digital tools allow for comparative analysis of historical events and figures, revealing complex interconnections between African and global histories (Gunn and Faire, 2012). For instance, the works of scholars like Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o offer critical insights into the reinterpretation of colonial histories through a digital lens, promoting indigenous narratives that challenge the monolithic views prevailing in traditional historical discourse.

Moreover, digital platforms allow scholars to publish and disseminate their research broadly, reaching audiences beyond the academic community. This increased visibility allows for more excellent dialogue around African historiography and encourages a global audience to engage with and reflect on Africa's contributions to world history. Integrating digital history into African historiography presents a transformative opportunity for the field. By leveraging digital tools and methodologies, historians can facilitate access to diverse narratives, promote a more inclusive understanding of the past, and effectively challenge entrenched Eurocentric perspectives. As such, the future of African historiography lies in the ongoing exploration and application of digital technologies to capture the richness and complexity of Africa's historical experience. This development enhances scholarly research and honours and amplifies the voices of those who have long been marginalised in historical narratives.

Despite these merits, the paradigm shift has introduced many challenges that historians must navigate. One of the fundamental concerns is digital preservation, as technological obsolescence and the ephemeral nature of digital media threaten the long-term accessibility of historical records (Kirschenbaum, 2012, p. 12). The sheer volume of digital data has created a 'data deluge' that can overwhelm historians and make it difficult to discern meaningful patterns and trends (Manovich, 2013, p. 181). Also, the collaborative and participatory nature of digital history projects can raise questions about authorship, authority and the role of the historian in the digital age (Rosenzweig, 2003, p. 155). Ultimately, historians must be conscious of these challenges and develop new methodologies and best practices to ensure that digital history is a powerful tool for historical enquiry and a sustainable and enduring record of the past.

The global perspective is a crucial aspect of digital history, enabling scholars from diverse backgrounds to share their research and insights with a worldwide audience. Digital platforms like the Internet Archive and Google Books, which serve as primary sources and avenues for retrieving rare books, have facilitated the globalisation of historical knowledge, allowing local histories to reach a broader audience and fostering collaborations between historians from different regions. These platforms enable researchers to appreciate African historiography's evolution and undertake comparative analysis with

current trends. This development is particularly significant for expanding our knowledge of African histories, which have usually been marginalised or excluded from dominant historical narratives. Digital history can promote a more inclusive, diverse and nuanced understanding of the past by providing a global platform for historical research and exchange.

Through the Internet Archives, researchers can access digitised versions of rare historical texts and colonial records that are often out of print or housed in distant libraries. These documents include primary sources such as government reports, personal narratives, and accounts of colonial administrators, which are crucial for reinterpreting African history beyond the Eurocentric narratives. Google Scholar provides access to many scholarly articles and theses that contribute to the discourse on African historiography, enabling scholars to engage with contemporary debates and methodologies that may not be as prevalent in traditional print publications. By leveraging these digital tools, researchers can uncover diverse voices and perspectives, facilitating a more comprehensive understanding of Africa's historical narrative that counters the mainstream historiographical tradition.

With African historiography's significant contributions to history as a global academic discipline and the emergence of digital history, there is a need for conscious efforts, especially from Western universities and institutions, to promote and strengthen African historiography to enhance diversity and inclusion of all narratives that have contributed to and shaped the field. As the dynamics of our world shift toward greater interconnectedness, the academic discipline of history must adapt, incorporating diverse perspectives that challenge the established narratives and illuminate the multifaceted nature of human experiences across time and space.

Nonetheless, it is imperative to acknowledge that African historiography stands at a crossroads, beckoning scholars to engage with Western and non-Western historiographical traditions. By integrating these varied perspectives, historians can craft a more inclusive and comprehensive understanding of history that resonates with the realities of diverse cultures and societies. The rise of digital history presents opportunities and challenges for the field. It compels historians to rethink how historical knowledge is produced, disseminated, and consumed. Digital platforms enable broader accessibility and engagement, promoting the democratisation of previously unattainable history. Therefore, historians must embrace these technological advancements, harnessing them to bridge gaps in historical narratives and amplify underrepresented voices. By doing so, the discipline reinforces its relevance in an increasingly digital world and enriches the global tapestry of historical inquiry.

This study calls for an active reassessment of how history is taught and understood. Academic institutions must prioritise the inclusion of African historiography and methodologies in their curricula, fostering an environment where diverse historical narratives are recognised and celebrated. The future of history as an academic discipline lies in its ability to reflect the plurality of human experiences and the interwoven narratives that define our shared past. By challenging traditional Eurocentric paradigms, scholars can illuminate the contributions of African historiographies and engage in a meaningful dialogue about the complexities of humanity.

To effectively integrate African historiography into the broader historical discourse, universities and educational institutions should revise their history to promote and encourage collaborative research projects between African historians and their counterparts globally through the *concept of evolutionary differentiation*—i.e., the historical writings should be seen as an emergence of human agency devoid of geographical isolation and can metamorphose to suit the peculiarity of its environment and how it helps to reconstruct the continuity and change over time. Joint research initiatives can facilitate the exchange of ideas and methodologies, enriching historical scholarship and promoting a more inclusive understanding of global history. The African historical society should adopt interdisciplinary approaches from

anthropology, sociology, and cultural studies to create a more comprehensive understanding of historical events.

Expanding historical studies into a more global discipline is not just a matter of academic interest; fostering a richer and more nuanced understanding of our world is necessary. The evolution of African historiography provides a critical lens through which we can evaluate broader historical methodologies and implementation. As historians, educators, and scholars, we are responsible for encouraging an inclusive approach that honours diverse narratives while advancing the study of history as a vital link to understanding humanity's past and shaping our future.

4. Conclusion

The exploration of African historiography reveals the critical need for a more nuanced understanding of history that encompasses various perspectives beyond the traditional Eurocentric narratives. Examining contributions from African scholars highlights their vital role in reshaping historical discourse by incorporating indigenous narratives and oral traditions. Figures like Ngūgī wa Thiong'o and Molefe Asante demonstrate how historical studies can bridge cultural identities and challenge prevailing paradigms of understanding African history.

This paper has shown that the development of African historiography is not merely an academic pursuit but a vital process of reclaiming identity and agency within the global historical narrative. The analysis of independence movements and the emphasis on the significance of oral histories underscore the importance of community narratives in grasping the complexities of the African experience.

Furthermore, the paper advocates for incorporating digital history as an innovative approach to recording African narratives, preserving and disseminating African narratives in a contemporary context. By embracing such developments, scholars can advance a historiographical tradition that authentically represents Africa's multifaceted past while addressing the lingering impacts of colonial thought. The marginalisation of African historiography reflects broader socio-political dynamics and institutional frameworks that have historically sidelined diverse voices. Future scholars, educators, and historians must confront these challenges, ensuring that the history of Africa is not only told but celebrated as a vital component of global history. The journey towards a comprehensive understanding of African historiography is ongoing and necessitates collaborative efforts, inclusivity, and critical engagement with both historical and contemporary narratives.

REFERENCES

- Achebe, C. (1983). *The Trouble with Nigeria*. Heinemann.
- Adegbindin, O. (2015). "Critical Notes of Hegel's Treatment of Africa." *Ogiri: A New Journal of African Studies*, 11, 19-43.
- Adejumobi, S. (2001). "The Ibadan School and the Study of Nigerian History." In T. Falola (Ed.), *African Historiography: Essays in Honour of Jacob Ade Ajayi* (pp. 123-144). Longman.
- Adjepong, A. (2000). *The Image of Pre-Colonial Africa in European Circles*. In E. Sakyi Nketiah (Ed.) *Distance Forum: A Multidisciplinary Book of Academic Articles 1*, AuthorHouse, 15-37.
- Ajayi, J. A. & Espie, I. (1963). "The African Past: Studies in the History of Africa." In T. Falola (Ed.) *African Historiography: Essays in Honour of Jacob Ade Ajayi*. Longman.
- Amin, S. (1974). *Accumulation on a World Scale: A Critique of the Theory of Underdevelopment*. Monthly Review Press.
- Anadolu-Okur, N., Harris, D. B., & Tillotson, M. (2015). *Contemporary critical thought in Africology and Africana studies*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Anderson, J. J. (1876). *A Manual of General History: Being an Outline History of the World from the Creation to the Present Time: Fully Illustrated with Maps: for the Use of Colleges, High-schools, Academies, Etc*. Clark & Maynard.
- Appiah, K. A. (1985). "The Postcolonial and the Postmodern." In B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths, & H. Tiffin (Eds.). *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (pp. 15-22). Routledge.
- Appiah, K. A. (1992). *In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture*. Oxford University Press.
- Arrighi, G. (1973). *The African Mode of Production*. In M. A. Klein & G. W. Johnson (Eds.), *Perspectives on the African Past* (pp. 33-54). Little, Brown and Company.
- Asante, M. K. (2007). *An Afrocentric Manifesto: Toward an African Renaissance*. Polity
- Asante, M. K. (2007). *The History of Africa: The Quest for Eternal Harmony*. Routledge.
- Bender, T. (2002). Strategies of narrative synthesis in American history. *The American Historical Review*, 107 (1), 129-153.
- Boadu, G. (2021). *Development in History Education in Ghana. Yesterday and Today*, 1-22.
- Boahen, A. A. (1961). *Britain, the Sahara and the Western Sudan 1788-1861*. Clarendon Press.
- Boahen, A. A. (Ed.). (1985). *Africa under colonial domination 1880-1935 (Vol. 7)*. London: Heinemann; Berkeley, Calif, USA: University of California Press.
- Boakyee, P. (2022). *Ghana Up To 1800*. Copy and Designs Publication.
- Bodwich, T. (1819). *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee: with a descriptive account of that kingdom*. John Murray.
- Bosman, W. (1704). *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea Divided into the Gold, the Slave, and the Ivory Coast*. Ballantyne.
- Botchwey K. (1977). "Marxism and the analysis of African reality," *African Development* 2(1), Ideology and Development in Africa, 9-16.
- Cabral, A. (1973). *Return to the Source*. Monthly Review Press. Boahen, A. A. (1989). *African Perspectives on Colonialism (Vol. 15)*. JHU Press.
- Carlyle, T. (1841). *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*. James Fraser.
- Carlyle, T. (1843). *Past and Present*. Chapman and Hall Strand.
- Carr, G. (1982). *Imperialism and Nationalism in Revisionist Historiography: A Critique of Some Recent Trends*. *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 17(2), 91-99.
- Casely-Hayford, J. E. (1903). *Gold Coast Native Constitution*. Sweet & Maxwell Limited.

56 | John Abbam NYARKO

- Casely-Hayford, J. E. (1911). *Ethiopia Unbound*. Frank Cass & Company Limited.
- Celucien, L. J., Jean, E. S. P., & Glodel, M. (2018). *Between Two Worlds: Jean Price-Mars, Haiti and Africa*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Claridge, W. W. (1915). *A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti from the Earliest Times to the Commencement of the Twentieth Century*. J. Murray.
- Cohen D. J., & Rosenzweig, R. (2006). *Digital History: A Guide to Gathering, Preserving, and Presenting the Past on the Web*. University of Pennsylvania.
- Cohen, D. W. (1985). "Doing Social History from Africa." In K. Harter & D. W. Cohen (Eds.), *The Social History of Africa* (pp. 23-40). Heinemann.
- Comaroff, J. (1993). "Colonialism, Culture, and the Law: A Foreword." *Law & Social Inquiry*, 18(2), 257-275.
- Conroy, W., Davis, S. T. W., & Patterson, W. (Eds.) (1984). *Japan in Transition: Thought and Action in the Meiji Era, 1868-1912*. Associated University Press.
- Cooper, F. (1981). "Africa and the World Economy." *African Studies Review*, 24(2-3), 1-16.
- Dalzel, A. (1793). *A History of Dahomey: An Inland Kingdom of Africa*. T. Spilsbury and Son.
- Davidson, Basil. (1965). *Old Africa Rediscovered*. Gollancz.
- Diagne, S. B. (2016). "Introduction," *The Ink of the Scholars: Reflections on Philosophy in Africa*. CODESRIA Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, 1-9.
- Dike, K. O. (1956). *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta, 1830-1885*. Clarendon Press.
- Dike, K. O. (1988). *Issues in African Studies and National Education: Selected Works of Kenneth Onwuka Dike*. Kenneth Onwuka Dike Centre
- Du Bois, W. E. B. (1903). *The Souls of Black Folks*. A. C. McClurg & Co.
- Du Bois, W. E. B. (1915). *The African Roots of War*. The Atlantic Monthly Company.
- Du Bois, W. E. B. (1915). *The Negro*. Henry Holt & Company
- Du Bois, W. E. B. (1920). *Darkwater: Voices from Within the Veil, Black Reconstruction and the Philadelphia Negro*. Brace & Howe.
- Dupuis, J. (1824). 'Journal of a Residence in Ashantee. Henry Colburn.
- Ellis, A. B. (1893). *A History of the Gold Coast of West Africa*. Chapman & Hall Limited.
- Ellis, A. B. (1894). *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*. Chapman and Hall.
- Gates, H.G. (Ed.). (2006). *The World and Africa and Colour and Democracy*. Oxford University Press.
- Goody, J. (2006). *The theft of history*. Cambridge University Press.
- Guggisberg, G. (1929). *The Future of the Negro: Some Chapters in the Development of a Race*. Student Christian Movement Press.
- Gunn, S., & Faire, L. (Eds.). (2012). *Research Methods in History*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Hegel, F. (1837). *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*.
- Hopkins, A. G. (1986). "The Victorians and Africa: A Reconsideration of the Occupation of Egypt, 1882." *Journal of African History*, 27(3), 363-391.
- Hountondji, P. J. (2009). "Knowledge of Africa, Knowledge by Africans: Two Perspectives on African Studies," *RCCS Annual Review* 1, 121-131.
- Johnson, S. (1897). *History of the Yorubas: From the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the British Protectorate*. CMS Bookshop.
- Kaggwa, A. (1971). *The Kings of Buganda*. East African Publishing House.
- Kirschenbaum, M. G. (2012). *Mechanisms: New media and the forensic imagination*. MIT Press.

57 | John Abbam NYARKO

- Ki-Zerbo (Ed.) (1964). *General History of Africa: Methodology and African Prehistory*, 1. UNESCO.
- Ki-Zerbo, J. (1972). *Historie de l'Afrique noire*. Hatier.
- Leont'eva, O. G. B. (2021). *Historiographic Reflection and Formation of National Identity*. *Vestnik of Saint Petersburg University. History*, 66(1), 314-322.
- Little, D. (2020). *Philosophy of History*. <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/history/> [Accessed on February 13, 2023].
- Macaulay, T. B. (1842). *Lays of ancient Rome*. Harper & Brothers Publishers.
- Macaulay, T. B. (1848). *The History of England from the Accession of James the Second*. Bernard Tauchnitz.
- Mahoney, J. (2004). *Comparative-historical methodology*. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 30 (1), 81-101.
- Mamdani, M. (1993). "The Makerere School and the Study of East African History." In P. Okoth-Ogendo (Ed.), *Democracy Theory and Practice in Africa* (pp. 155-174). James Currey.
- Manovich, L. (2013). *Software takes command*. Bloomsbury Academic.
- Mbembe, A. (1992). "Provisional Notes on the Postcolony." *Africa*, 62(1), 3-37.
- Mbembe, A. (2001). *On the Postcolony*. University of California Press.
- Meyerowitz, E. L.R. (1951). *The Sacred State of the Akan*. Faber & Faber
- Mills, J. (1817). *The History of British India*. (Vol 1). Piper, Stephenson & Spencer
- Moretti, F. (2005) *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for a Literary History*. Verso.
- Mudimbe, V. Y. (1988). *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge*. Indiana University Press.
- Nyarko, J. A. (2023). "Development of History as an Academic Discipline". Available at SSRN 4543233.
- Ogot, B. A. (1961). "The concept of Jok". *African Studies*, 20(2), 123-130.
- Ogot, B. A. (1963). *British administration in the Central Nyanza district of Kenya, 1900–60*. *The Journal of African History*, 4(2), 249-273.
- Oliver, R., & Fage, J. (Eds.). (1960). *Cover and Front Matter*. *Journal of African History* 1(1). Cambridge University Press.
- Oxford Delegacy Papers. (1946). *Report of the Proposals for the Delegacy's Work in West Africa*. Department of Continuing Education, University of Oxford.
- Pasture, H. (1918). *Our Days on the Gold Coast, in Ashanti, in the Northern Territories, and the British Sphere of Occupation in Togoland*. Government Printing Office.
- Popkin, J. D. (2016). *From Herodotus to H-Net: The Story of Historiography*. Oxford University Press.
- PRAAD, Cape Coast. ADM/23/1/408. (February 15, 1923). *The Ancient State of Denkera in Relation to the Twifurs*.
- Ranke, L. (1824). *Geschichten der romanischen und germanischen Völker von 1494 bis 1514. Zur Kritik neuerer Geschichtschreiber* (3rd Ed.). Verlag von Duncker und Humblot.
- Ranke, L. (1845). *History of the Reformation in Germany*. (2nd Edition). (S. Austin, Trans.) 1, Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans.
- Ranke, L. (1887). *History of the Latin and Teutonic Nations from 1494 to 1514*. London Bell.
- Ranke, L. (1973). *The Theory and Practice of History*. Bobbs-Merrill.
- Rattray, R. S. (1929). *Ashanti Law and Constitution*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Reindorf, C. C. (1895). *The History of the Gold Coast and Asante*. Basel.
- Riley, J. (1817). *An Authentic Narrative of the Loss of the American Brig Commerce*. T & W. Mercein.
- Rodney, W. (1972). *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications.

- Rosenzweig, R. (2003). Scarcity or abundance? Preserving the past in a digital era. *The American Historical Review*, 108(3), 735-762.
- Sarbah, J. M. (1906). *Fante National Constitution*. W. Clowes & Sons.
- Schweinfurth, G. A. (1874). *The Heart of Africa*. Sampson Low, Marston, Low and Searle.
- Seeley, J. R. (1870). "The Teaching of Politics: An Inaugural Lecture Delivered at Cambridge" in John R. Seeley, *Lectures and Essay*. Macmillan.
- Senghor, L. S. (1990). *Oeuvre poetique*. (M. Dixon, Translator). University of Virginia Press.
- Sheriff, A. (1987). *Slaves, Spices and Ivory in Zanzibar: Integration of an East-African Commercial Empire into the World Economy, 1770-1873*. James Currey.
- Stigand, C. H. (1913). *The Land of Zinj: Being an Account of British East Africa, Its Ancient History, Present Inhabitants, and Future Prospects*. Constable
- Theal, G. M. (1894). *The Story of South Africa*. T. Fisher Unwin
- Thiong'o, N. (1987). *Detained: A writer's prison diary*. Vol. 240. East African Publishers.
- Thiong'o, N. (1998). "Decolonising the mind." *Diogenes* 46(184), 101-104.
- Thiong'o, N. (2012). *Globalectics: Theory and the politics of knowing*. Columbia University Press.
- Tosh, J. (2021). *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of History*. (7th Ed.). Routledge.
- UK Parliament. (1897). *Land Commission (Rules)*. Vol 48, cc379-83. Hansard.
- Vansina, J. (1985). *Oral tradition as history*. University of Wisconsin Press.
- Voltaire, F. M. (1757). Letter to Pierre Robert Le Cornier de Cideville". In *Voltaire's Correspondence* vol. xxxi. edited by Theodore Besterman. (1958). Geneva.
- Weldeananiya, S. G., & Omeje, K. (2025). Ethiopia's history and historiography in perspective: a post-modernist critique and policy implications for national cohesion. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 11(1), 24050866.
- Westermarck, E. (1926). *The Berbers*. Routledge.
- Yukichi, F. (1875). *An Outline of a Theory of Civilisation*. (D. A. Dilworth & G. C. Hurst, Trans.). Keio University Press.
- Zimmerman, A. (2013). "Africa in Imperial and Transnational History: Multi-Sited Historiography and the Necessity of Theory." *Journal of African History* 54, 331-40.

AMY RUSHTON, RE-READING TRAGIC AFRICA: DEVELOPMENT, NEOLIBERALISM, AND CONTEMPORARY FICTION, PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, 2024, PP. 195.

AMY RUSHTON, TRAJİK AFRIKA'YI YENİDEN OKUMAK: KALKINMA, NEOLİBERALİZM VE ÇAĞDAŞ ROMAN, PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, 2024, SS. 195.

Yıl 5, Sayı 1, ss.59-63.

Year 5, Issue 1, pp.59-63.

Makale Türü: Kitap İncelemesi

Article Type: Book Review

Geliş Tarihi: 18.10.2024

Submitted: 18.10.2024

Kabul Tarihi: 19.12.2024

Accepted: 19.12.2024

DOI: 10.58851/africana.1569598

Atıf Bilgisi / Reference Information

Bolat, E. (2025). Amy Rushton, Re-reading Tragic Africa: Development, Neoliberalism, and Contemporary Fiction, *Africana-İnönü Üniversitesi Uluslararası Afrika Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 5 (1), 59-63.

Eren BOLAT

Asst. Prof. Dr., Hitit University, School of Foreign Languages, ernbltit@gmail.com

ORCID: 0000-0001-8148-522X

Abstract: Having been the subject of several academic studies in terms of colonialism, Africa has been addressed in various paradigms in recent years. One such example is Amy Rushton's *Re-reading Tragic Africa: Development, Neoliberalism and the Contemporary Novel*. Placing her book at the centre of development and neoliberalism, Rushton covers contemporary African issues in the light of the contemporary novels by three authors of African origin. This paper aims to provide an academic book review of Rushton's work, which has six main chapters, incorporating an introduction and a conclusion.

Keywords: Africa, Neoliberalism, Contemporary Fiction

Öz: Sömürgecilik bağlamında birçok akademik çalışmaya konu olan Afrika, son yıllarda çeşitli açılardan ele alınmaktadır. Buna örnek olan çalışmalardan birisi de Amy Rushton'un *Trajik Afrika'yi Yeniden Okumak: Kalkınma, Neoliberalizm ve Çağdaş Roman* adlı kitabıdır. Kitabını kalkınma ve neoliberalizm merkezine yerleştiren Rushton, Afrika kökenli üç yazarın romanına eserinde yer vererek Afrika'ya dair güncel meseleleri çağdaş roman ışığında ele almaktadır. Bu çalışmanın amacı, Rushton'un giriş ve sonuç bölümlerinin yer aldığı altı temel bölümü içeren eserinin akademik bir kitap incelemesini yapmaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Afrika, Neoliberalizm, Çağdaş Roman

INTRODUCTION

Africa is often regarded as the continent that has faced the most significant marginalisation and neglect in global discourse. The continent, where people lived in accordance with their local way of life until the colonial period, was subjected to radical changes after the colonization process. Consequently, it has attracted the attention of numerous scholars and writers due to its dynamic structure and myriad turbulent events. Widely analysed especially in the sphere of colonialism and included in many academic

studies, Africa has been revisited by Amy Rushton in the context of development, neoliberalism and contemporary fiction. In *Re-Reading Tragic Africa: Development, Neoliberalism, and Contemporary Fiction*, Rushton, a lecturer in English at Nottingham Trent University and a scholar of African literature, peruses the dominant narratives surrounding Africa in global political and literary discourse. When considering the Western sources on Africa, it is not possible to say that Africa is reflected in an objective way. On the other hand, Africa, relegated to an inauspicious fate, has the potential to overcome the decolonization process within itself. Rushton addresses the reality of this potential within the scope of development and neoliberalism by referring to the works of three writers of African origin. From this vantage point, it can be said that Rushton deals with Africa from a particular standpoint. She elucidates how Western media, international policymakers, and aid organisations depict Africa as a ‘tragic’ and impotent continent. She postulates that this narrow viewpoint should be re-evaluated. Re-examining literary works comprising Zakes Mda’s *The Heart of Redness* (2000), Chris Abani’s *GraceLand* (2004), and Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie’s *Half of a Yellow Sun* (2006), Rushton interrogates prevailing narratives about Africa, emphasising the continent’s struggles, resilience, and potential.

***Re-Reading Tragic Africa: Development, Neoliberalism, and Contemporary Fiction* by Amy Rushton (2024)**

Rushton’s book consists of six chapters in total. The concept of ‘Tragic Africa’ serves as a critical lens for Rushton. Through her analysis, she redefines this term to highlight the resilience, agency, and ongoing struggles of the African continent. In the first chapter, “Introduction: The Danger of the Single Reading”, Rushton critically examines the idea of the ‘single story’ about Africa, a concept that Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie has particularly raised. The ‘single story’ of Africa, which is one-sidedly reflected and accepted, is conveyed in a tragic position with a negative tone. Aware of how Africa is portrayed globally, as the ‘other’ to Western norms, Rushton draws attention to Tony Blair’s 2002 speech in which he described Africa as “a scar on the conscience of the world” (p. 2). In response to this perspective, Rushton prepares for a thoughtful re-examination of the stories told about Africa. In support of this, she underscores how geopolitical discourse pictorializes the continent as ‘tragic’ and incapacitated. Aware of the stereotypical view of Africa, Rushton criticises Western representations of Africa in the media citing *The Economist*’s famous cover story (2000) “Africa: the hopeless continent” (p. 2). Further, she claims that this remark cultivates “a dominant macro-narrative of Africa-the tragic continent” (p. 3). In her analysis, Rushton benefits from world-systemic theory, inspired by Immanuel Wallerstein and Giovanni Arrighi, which allows her to frame African literature within the broader global capitalist system (p. 10). Rushton positions Africa not as a passive recipient or victim of global forces but as an active agent in the history of late capitalism. In doing so, she selects three works from Nigeria and South Africa. She believes that “*The Heart of Redness*, *GraceLand*, and *Half of a Yellow Sun* have the potential to intervene in commonplace understandings of tragic Africa” (p. 11). By engaging with these texts, Rushton posits that literature can challenge reductive narratives that often characterise Africa as a site of perpetual tragedy, crisis, and underdevelopment. Considering this, in this chapter, Rushton questions the monolithic representation of Africa and introduces a more comprehensive and detailed view of Africa’s development and representation.

Rushton’s Chapter 2, “Reading Africa in the Neoliberal World-System,” focuses on the interaction between neoliberalism and African development. Rushton scrutinises the role of neoliberalism in Africa, stressing its impact on the regional economy. She asserts that neoliberalism has had a profound influence in shaping Africa’s economic and political structure. In this chapter, she refers to Patrick Williams’ claim that globalisation is merely “the latest mask or configuration of something with which we are already all too familiar” (p. 33). This notion implies that globalisation is not a nascent phenomenon, but the continuation of a prolonged system. She writes that neoliberalism “perpetuates the idea of Africa as a tragic, failed region to serve its own interests” (p. 34), which suggests that neoliberal ideologies create negative stereotypes about Africa to justify economic policies and interventions that advance global capital

interests. Neoliberalism can be regarded as an emerging form of colonialism, described as “another obstacle on the road to complete decolonization” (p. 34). While formal colonial rule may have ended, the power dynamics of colonialism persist via economic mechanisms. Neoliberalism, with its focus on free markets, privatisation, and deregulation, is seen as a continuation of colonial exploitation under a different guise. This places the concept of ‘false decolonization’ central to Rushton’s argument, where the illusion of political independence is undermined by continued economic and political dependence. She further propounds that “Neoliberalism thrives by presenting its entrenched ideology as if it is a universal and predetermined system of thought and government” (p. 36). With this statement, Rushton disapproves the way neoliberalism positions itself as the natural inevitable model for organising societies and economies. Neoliberalism operates by normalising its own values, making it appear self-evident and globally applicable, even though it promotes specific interests, pre-eminently those of wealthy nations and corporations.

Another major aspect of the second chapter focuses on structural adjustment programs (SAPs) imposed on African nations by institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. Rushton argues that, with such instruments, “Africa had, effectively, been recolonised” (p. 38). She proffers that the imposition of SAPs effectively placed African nations under external control once again, this time through economic mechanisms rather than direct political rule. Rushton’s final argument in this chapter is that Africa has been a testing ground for neoliberal policies. She contends that “the neoliberal world economy continues to disenfranchise the vast majority of people across the African continent” (p. 38). She illuminates the exclusionary and exploitative nature of neoliberal policies in Africa. For her, the neoliberal world economy sustains the inequality and limits the ability of African nations to achieve true economic self-determination, trapping the majority of their populations in cycles of poverty and marginalisation.

In Chapter 3, “The Longer Walk to Freedom: South African Prophecy and Neoliberal Intervention upon ‘Tragic Africa’”, Rushton addresses the intertwining of democracy, neoliberalism, and development in postcolonial South Africa by conducting a detailed analysis of Zakes Mda’s *The Heart of Redness*. The novel “tells two stories set within Qolorha-by-Sea, a fictionalised coastal village located in the Wild Coast region of South Africa’s Eastern Cape” (76). Rushton delineates that Mda’s work provides a transformative narrative on democracy and development across Africa, notably South Africa. The plot centres on the relationship between neoliberal economy and territorial communal democracy and the landscape that emerges as a result of this relationship. For Rushton, Qolorha is a microcosm of the struggle Africa is witnessing. Rushton’s reasoning is that modernity and traditionalism have led to a national and transcontinental clash, which has occurred in many African regions, including Qolorha. She contends that “Mda’s novel rejects the neoliberal interventionist attempts to ‘steer’ democracy across the continent” (76). In other words, Mda intuits that foreign interventions remove the autonomy of native people and ignore their values and needs. Therefore, what is needed is a democratic approach that takes into account local values. Rushton’s view is in line with the incomplete process of decolonization. Accordingly, prophecy of the character Nongqawuse about cattle-killing “functions as a device flagging up the incompleteness of decolonization, development, and democracy” (p. 84). This calls attention to the persistence of colonial legacies, the failure of development to lift all segments of society, and the exclusionary nature of postcolonial democracy.

The subsequent Chapter 4, “Africa Awaits its Creators: Subverting Development Narratives”, probes into the subversion of development narratives in African literature, using Chris Abani’s *GraceLand* as a central text. Rushton opens the chapter by citing Bob Marley’s song ‘Africa Unite,’ situating it as a retrospective call for African solidarity and creativity, contrasting the typical demonstration of Africa as a site of tragedy and dependency. Rushton underlines that “the presence and performance of music in *GraceLand* functions as an assertion of individual and collective power for its dispossessed characters” (p. 110). For these dispossessed individuals, music becomes a tool for both personal expression and communal

identity. “The novel highlights their resilience and resistance, without descending into parody” (p. 110). It avoids trivialising or oversimplifying their struggles, rendering them as multidimensional people rather than symbolic figures of oppression or insurgency.

In this chapter, Rushton investigates the lives of the poor in the West African country of Nigeria, as envisioned in *GraceLand*. She asserts that the current state of people living in misery and poverty is due to the failure of neoliberal and Western-centred development models. For Rushton, Abani’s work combines the themes of music, bildungsroman and slum, emphasising collective agency and cultural defiance. Rushton believes that *GraceLand* offers a discerning appraisal of externally imposed models of development. Nevertheless, African communities possess the capacity to create their own patterns of social and political organisation.

Rushton’s Chapter 5, “Back to Utopia: Retrieving the Past to Reclaim the Future”, delves into how Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie’s *Half of a Yellow Sun* revisits Nigeria’s Biafran War, challenging the prevalent profile of Africa as a site of failure and underdevelopment. Rushton remarks that contrary to what most people think, Adichie portrays the decolonization not as a failure, but as an evolving process. She makes it clear that the most prominent factor which disrupted this transformative and somewhat delayed process was the Biafran War, which took place within the country and resulted in the deaths of thousands of people. The war, as Rushton notes, “cemented the image of helpless, tragic Africa” in the global imagination (p. 149). She indicates that this war has contributed to the stereotype of Africa as a place defined by despair, tragedy, and perpetual crisis. Yet, Adichie’s realist fiction resists this exegesis by manifesting the wider global power dynamics at play.

As the title of this chapter implies, Rushton emphasises the viability of a utopian reawakening. This is why Rushton chose Adichie’s *Half of a Yellow Sun*. Despite its focus on a tragic conflict, the novel envisions the possibility of alternative models of solidarity and collective belonging that transcend ethnic or national identities. The formation of a ‘family-like group’ by the novel’s end, composed of characters from different races and social backgrounds, reflects a “shared responsibility to cultivate the future” (p. 149). This suggests that survival and healing in the aftermath of war are only possible with communal effort, empathy, and mutual dependence. Thus, Rushton observes, the Adichie subverts regnant narratives of African failure and tragedy by engaging with the prospects of utopian thinking.

In the concluding final chapter, “Conclusion: Towards a Kind of Paradise”, Rushton summarises the overarching arguments of her book, reiterating the critical need to rethink the prevalent ‘tragic’ narratives surrounding Africa. Through an analysis of key contemporary African novels—*The Heart of Redness*, *GraceLand*, and *Half of a Yellow Sun*—, Rushton reverses stereotypical representations of Africa, examining decolonization as an ongoing phenomenon, and its separate promise for the future. She further advocates that Africa’s postcolonial period is not a failure, as clichédly reduced, but is a revelation that evokes optimism and progress. She emphasises that the incomplete nature of these initiatives is not a sign of failure but a sign of hope. This idea aligns with Edward Said’s reminder that “one must not only hope but also do” (p. 184). Rushton underscores the vital necessity of action as well as halcyon.

Conclusion

Rushton’s work is part of Palgrave’s New Comparisons in World Literature series. Her re-reading of tragedy is a vital contribution to the literary canon regarding Africa. She furnishes a fresh perspective on Africa’s status within global capitalism by digging deeper into traditional understandings of African tragedy. Noting that African voices are underrepresented in literature and academia, Rushton points out that these need to be taken more seriously and, in parallel, there needs to be a determination to strengthen them. Rushton’s analysis dovetails strongly with current debates on Africa’s changing socio-political and

economic landscape, especially in light of recent developments such as increased regional integration efforts, advances in technology, and ongoing struggles against inequality and environmental challenges.

Presenting a powerful observation in the context of literary works, Rushton delivers a serious rendition of reductionist interpretations of Africa that aligns with the continent's dynamic progress and challenges. She culminates by calling for a more comprehensive and nuanced approach to the continent's future, and for esperance despite all adversities. With her distinctive viewpoint, Rushton successfully combines literary analysis with geopolitical evaluation, showing how African fiction can function as a substantial tool for rethinking neoliberal narratives of failure and dependency. Her work bridges the gap between literary studies and socio-economic critiques of neoliberalism and development. Reversing stereotypes about Africa, Rushton's work can be considered a critical resource for various scholars and readers interested in the field.

References

Rushton, Amy. *Re-Reading Tragic Africa: Development, Neoliberalism and Contemporary Fiction*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2024.

FRANTZ O. FANON, CEZAYİR BAĞIMSIZLIK SAVAŞI'NIN ANATOMİSİ, (ÇEV. KAMİL ÇİLEÇÖP), İSTANBUL: PINAR YAYINLARI, 2012, SS.156.

FRANTZ O. FANON, ANATOMY OF THE ALGERIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE (Trans. Kamil ÇİLEÇÖP), İSTANBUL: PINAR YAYINLARI, 2012, PP. 156.

Yıl 5, Sayı 1, ss.64-70.

Year 5, Issue 1, pp.64-70.

Makale Türü: Kitap İncelemesi

Article Type: Book Review

Geliş Tarihi: 18.10.2024

Submitted: 18.10.2024

Kabul Tarihi: 19.12.2024

Accepted: 19.12.2024

DOI: 10.58851/africana.1614134

Atf Bilgisi / Reference Information

Temizsu, H. (2025). Frantz O. Fanon, Cezayir Bağımsızlık Savaşı'nın Anatomisi, *Africana-İnönü Üniversitesi Uluslararası Afrika Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 5 (1) , 64-70.

Habibe TEMİZSU

Bingöl Üniversitesi, İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi, habibetemizsu@gmail.com,

ORCID: 0000-0003-1132-6033

Öz

Fransa Cezayir'de 130 seneden fazla bir süre sömürge gücü olarak var olmuştur. Kuzey Afrika'nın 1830'da işgal ettiği bu topraklarda, hakimiyetini kan, gözyaşı, baskı ve aşağılama üzerine kurmuştur. Fransızlar, emperyal hakimiyet yarışının doruk seviyeye ulaştığı 19'uncu yüzyılda bu işgali sürdürerek bölgede kalıcı olma hayalini kurmuştur. Ancak II. Dünya Savaşı'nın ardından dünya genelinde esen değişim rüzgarları Cezayir'i de etkilemiş, 1954 yılında kurtuluşu silahlı mücadeleden başka bir yöntemle yakalayamayacağını anlayan halk, adeta her zerresiyile direnişe destek olmuştur. Bu direniş süreci sosyal olarak çok derin değişimleri de beraberinde getirmiştir. Direnişin başarıya ulaşması adına pek çok eski geleneğin terki, toplumun yüksek bilinçle kabullendiği bir gerçek olmuştur. Devrimin beşinci yılında, gidişatı Cezayir toplumunun tüm unsurlarıyla tasvir eden Frantz Fanon, *L'An V de la révolution algérienne* (Cezayir devriminin 5'inci yılı) adlı eserini yayınlamıştır. Ölümden sonraki neşrinde adı *Sociologie d'une révolution* (Bir devrimin sosyolojisi) olarak değiştirilerek yayınlanmıştır. Bu çalışmada Frantz Fanon'un "Cezayir Bağımsızlık Savaşı'nın Anatomisi" adıyla Türkçe'ye çevirilerek yayınlanan söz konusu eseri analiz edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Cezayir, Fransa, Frantz O. Fanon, Direniş, Sömürgecilik.

Abstract

France existed as a colonial power in Algeria for over 130 years. In these territories of North Africa, which were occupied in 1830, France established its dominance based on bloodshed, tears, oppression, and humiliation. During the 19th century, when the race for imperial dominance reached its peak, the French continued this occupation with the aspiration of maintaining a permanent presence in the region. However, the winds of change across the globe following World War II also affected Algeria. In 1954, the populace realized that liberation could only be achieved through armed struggle, and they supported the resistance in every possible way. This process of resistance brought about profound social transformations. For the success of the resistance, abandoning many old traditions became an undeniable reality accepted by society with high consciousness. In the fifth year of the revolution, Frantz Fanon, who depicted the trajectory of Algerian society in all its facets, published his work titled *L'An V de la révolution algérienne* (The Fifth Year of the Algerian Revolution). In its posthumous edition, the title was changed to *Sociologie d'une révolution* (Sociology of a Revolution). In this study, Frantz Fanon's aforementioned work, published in Turkish under the title "Anatomy of the Algerian War of Independence," has been analyzed.

Keywords: Algeria, France, Frantz O. Fanon, Resistance, Colonialism.

Giriş

Frantz Omar Fanon'un *Cezayir Bağımsızlık Savaşı'nın Anatomisi* adlı bu çalışması, Cezayir bağımsızlık sürecinin en ateşli olduğu yıllarına ait hem sömürgeci hem sömürülen adına sunulmuş çok yönlü bir analizdir. Eserin 1959 senesinde Fransızca olarak basılan ilk hali "Cezayir devriminin 5'inci yılı" anlamına gelen *L'An V de la révolution algérienne* şeklinde isimlendirilmiştir. 1966 senesinde ise eser *Sociologie d'une révolution* yani "Bir devrimin sosyolojisi" adıyla yeniden basılmıştır. Pınar Yayınları tarafından Türkçeleştirilen çalışma 156 sayfadan oluşmakta olup, Sunuş, Önsöz, Giriş ve Netice kısımlarının dışında 5 ana bölüm ihtiva etmektedir. Eserin ana bölümlerinden ilk ikisi sırasıyla "Cezayir Çarşafı Çıkartıyor" ve "Burası Cezayir'in Sesi Radyosu"dur. Üçüncü ana bölüm "Cezayir Ailesi"ni anlatırken, bu anlatımda "Oğul ve Baba", "Kız ve Baba", "Erkek Kardeşler", "Evli Çift", "Evlilik ve Boşanma", "Kadınlar" ve "Dağılan Cezayir" şeklinde Cezayir aile yapısının anlaşılmasını hedefleyen yedi alt bölüme yer verilmiştir. "Tıp ve Sömürgecilik" şeklinde başlıklandırılan dördüncü ana bölümde ise "Cezayir Örneği", "Muayene", "Tıbbî Nezaret, Bakım ve Çifte İktidar" ve "Sömürge İnsanı ve Yerli Doktor" şeklinde dört alt bölüme yer verilmiştir. Beşinci ve son ana bölüm "Cezayir'deki Avrupalı Azınlık" üzerine odaklanmış olup, bunlar "Cezayir Yahudileri", "Cezayir Kolonları" ve "Şehirlerdeki Avrupalılar" olarak üç alt bölümde tasnif edilmiştir. Çalışma "Netice" başlıklı kısa bir değerlendirme bölümüyle son bulmaktadır.

Kamil Çileçöp tarafından tercüme edilen bu eserde -dikkat çekici olarak- Sunuş bölümünün ardından, yazarın kimlik ve alanı da göz önünde bulundurularak Türkiye'nin en önde gelen psikiyatrlarından biri olan Prof. Dr. Kemal Sayar imzalı geniş bir Önsöz bölümüne yer verilmiştir. Modern Orta Doğu ve özellikle Kuzey Afrika üzerine yoğunlaşan bir okuyucu için bakışta şartıcı gelebilecek bu durum, Fanon'un ve Sayar'ın ortak ilmi noktaları olan psikiyatri alanı göz önünde bulundurulduğunda son derece yerinde bir seçim olmuştur.

Gelişme

Fanon, bu çalışmasında 1954-1962 yılları arasında süren Cezayir bağımsızlık hareketini çok farklı bir açıdan ele almıştır. Eserde kronolojik bir anlatımdan ziyade, toplumsal bir analiz mevcuttur. Bu analizlerini yaparken yazar, uzmanlık alanı olan psikiyatrinin de etkisiyle, adeta toplumun ruhunu okumaya çalışmış, bağımsızlık savaşı öncesi ve süresince Cezayir halkının sosyolojisindeki değişimleri okuyucuya sunma gayesi gütmüştür. Ne var ki bu hareketin beşinci yılında neşredilen ve ismi de buna binaen verilen eserin yazarı Fanon, bağımsızlığın gerçekleştiğini göremeden 1961 yılında vefat etmiştir.

Okuyucu her şeyden evvel eserin 1959 senesinde, yani bağımsızlık hareketi tamamlanmadan kaleme alındığını unutmamalıdır. Direnişin belki de en şiddetli evresinde hazırlanan bu çalışmada Fanon, Cezayir halkının sömürgeci gücün baskı ve zulmüne karşı nasıl mücadele ettiğini, asırlardır doğal yollarla inşa edilmiş kültürel kalıplarının, devrim sürecinde nasıl da zaruretten değişime uğradığını anlatmaktadır.

Fanon Giriş kısmında Cezayir bağımsızlık mücadelesini, sömürgeci güçlere karşı bir halkın verebileceği en çetin bir mücadele olarak nitelemektedir. Yine de Millî Kurtuluş Cephesi'nin bu hareketi onurlu biçimde, savaş kanunlarına riayet ederek sürdürmesi gerektiğini hatırlatmaktadır. Fransızlar bu haklı mücadelenin itibarını kırmak için düzmece haberleri en yetkili ağızlardan yaymaktan kaçınmamıştır. Muhakkak ki halkta bir asırdan fazla süren sömürge zulmünden kaynaklı bir öfke halinin olabileceği, bunun da ardından münferit bazı ölçsüz davranışları getirebileceği belirtilerek, bu gibi tepkilerin katienen tasvip edilmediğinin altı çizilmektedir. Gerçekte kadından çocuğuna tüm Cezayir halkının en ağır zulümlere maruz kaldığı ise bir hakikat olarak vicdan sahibi isimler tarafından aktarılmıştır. Akıllara durgunluk veren bazı yöntemlerin yetişen nesillerin hafızalarına kazınmış olduğu muhakkaktır. Bu çaresizlik içinde silaha sarılıp mücadele etmek Cezayirli için tek seçenek olarak kalmıştır. Fanon, bu

mücadeleyi veren Cezayirlielerin, 1930'lar şöyle dursun, son silahlı direnişin başladığı ilk yıl olan 1954'tekilerle dahi aynı olmadığını öne sürmektedir.

“Cezayir Çarşafı Çıkartıyor” adlı ilk bölümde, çarşafın Cezayir kültüründeki yeri anlatılırken, bu milli kıyafetin, muazzam bir kavgaın son derece önemli bir öğesi haline geldiği öne sürülmektedir. Fransız sömürge güçleri, çarşafı adeta Cezayir kadının toplumdaki statüsünün bir parçası olarak görmüş ve tüm gücüyle bu sembole hücum etmiştir. Bu amaç uğruna öncelikle kadınların “kazanılması” formülüne sosyolojik anlamda ilmi bir hüviyet atfedilmiştir. Her ne kadar toplumda babaerkil bir düzen varmış gibi görünse de gizli bir el gibi aslında gayet anaerkil şekilde yönetilen toplumu çözebilmek için kadına ulaşılmalıdır. Bu hedefle pek çok kadın derneği kurulmuş, Cezayir toplumundaki kadının statüsü, ona reva görülen (!) hayat eleştirilmiştir. Bu ustaca sızma hareketi, kendisine iyilikseverlik ve sosyal yardımlaşmayı da paravan edinerek Cezayir’in en ücra mahallelerine kadar girmeyi başarmıştır.

Kadın ele geçirilmelidir ki toplum da ele geçirilsin. Kadın ele geçirilmezse toplumun asimile edilmesi mümkün değildir. Bu gaye ile çarşaf hedef tahtasına oturtulmuştur. Çarşafa karşı yürütülen bu hücumdan erkekler de nasibini alır, eşi çarşafli olanlar baskıların hedefi olur. Sömürgeci güç bunu Cezayirli kadının haklarını savunma maskesi ile yürütür. Bu “talihsiz” kadınla yakından ilgilenilmekte, onlar adına aslında endişe duyulmaktadır.

Sömürgeci güç bu çabasının karşılığını umduğu gibi bulamadığından yakınsa da yer yer çarşafsız “kurtarılmış” kadınlara rastlamak mümkündür. Çarşaftan kurtarılmış bu hür kadınlar, Avrupa sosyetesinde kıymetli para gibi değer görmektedir. Fanon bu kadınları sonradan görme olarak tanımlamaktadır. Sömürgeci için her bir çarşaftan “kurtarılan” kadın, savunma mekanizması yıkılma yolunda olan bir Cezayir toplumunun habercisidir. Fanon’a göre Cezayir toplumunun fert fert parçalanmasında sömürge stratejisi için Cezayir kadını birinci planda yer almaktadır.

1955 yılına kadar Cezayir’in mücadelesi esas olarak erkekler tarafından yürütülmüştür. Ancak zamanla Cezayir kadınların mücadeleye aktif olarak katılımı tartışılır hale gelir. Önceleri geri hizmetlerde kendisini gösteren Cezayir kadını, zamanla zincirin bir halkası haline gelir. Görevlendirmeler yapılırken belirli bir silsile izlenir. Önceleri eşleri devrimci olan kadınlar seçilirken, ardından dul ve boşanmış kadınlara da görev verilmeye başlanır. Genç kızlar hala aktif mücadeleden uzak tutulmaktadır. Kadın bu mücadeleye aktif olarak sokulurken başlarda çarşaflıdır. Bu aktiflik hali 1950’lerden sonra devleşir. Ancak zaman içinde Cezayir kadını çarşafı terk eder. Ancak Fanon’a göre bu terk ediş Cezayir kadının vücut dengesini olumsuz etkilemiştir. Acaba Cezayirli kadın devrimci bir yere oturtulurken aslında sömürgecinin onu odak noktasına alarak toplumu dejenere etme çabasını kolaylaştırmış mıdır? Çarşafı çıkarmak devrimle bütünleşmişken, aslında Fransız sömürge güçlerinin amaçları da yerine gelmiş midir? Fanon bu soruları yanıtsız bırakmakta, ya da belki de okuyucunun buraya varmasını beklemektedir. Gerçekten de çarşaf ağırlıklı olarak devrim esnasında terk edilir. Oysaki çarşafa işgalcinin siyasi ve psikolojik saldırılarını boşa çıkarmanın bir temsili niteliği atfedilmiştir yazar tarafından.

Cezayir bağımsızlık mücadelesinde çarşaf gibi önem arz eden bir başka sembol ise radyodur. İkinci ana bölümde Fanon “Burası Cezayir’in Sesi Radyosu...” başlığı ile Cezayir halkının direniş sürecinde bu sembole olan yaklaşımındaki değişime dikkat çekmektedir. 1945 öncesinde zenginleşmiş burjuvazinin dışındaki Cezayirli radyoya uzaktır. Cezayirli radyoya mesafelidir çünkü bu alet evdeki hiyerarşiyi ve saygı düzenini baltalama ihtimali olan bir alettir. Her şey herkesin yanında, hele ki büyüklerin yanında dinlenememektedir. Programların pek çoğu Cezayir ahlak anlayışına terstir zaten. Sömürgeci bunu fark ettikten sonra direnci kırmak adına daha usturuplu yayınlar sunmaya özen gösterir. Cezayirli için hal böyle iken ülkedeki Avrupalılar ve Kolon yani yerleşimciler için durum farklıdır. Bunlar radyo sayesinde anavatanlarından haber alır ve kendilerini güvende hissederler. Radyo Cezayir içlerinde yaşayan Avrupalılar için bir dayanak olurken, hâkim toplumun kültür baskısı için de bir vasıttır. Cezayirlilere göre

radyo, kendisi için hayati olmadığı gibi sömürgeci hakimiyetin sembolü ve işgalcinin maddi bir aracıdır.

Cezayirlinin radyoya bakışı 1954 itibarıyla değişir. Direnişin sonuca ulaşabilmesi adına ehemmiyet arz eden muhaberat adına radyonun önemi fark edilir. Bu arada dünya genelinde dekolonizasyon hız kazanmıştır. Bağımsızlık kazanan Arap ülkeleri Cezayir’de heyecanı yükseltir. 1947-48 itibarıyla bununla bağlantılı olarak Cezayir’de radyo sayısı yavaş yavaş artış gösterir. Avrupalı sermaye sahipleri Cezayir’deki bu talebi yerli araçlar üzerinden karşılarken, Cezayir’i hızlı bir pazar haline getirmiş olurlar aslında. Haber almak önem arz ettiği için neredeyse her eve artık bir radyo girmektedir. Yine bağımsızlık mücadelesindeki Cezayirli, bu mücadelenin salimen sürdürülebilmesi ve amacına ulaşması için kendi haber alma kaynaklarına sahip olmanın ne kadar önemli olduğunu anlar.

Radyodan haber almak, Hür Cezayir’in Sesi Radyosunun kurulmasıyla farklı bir boyuta taşınır. Bu gelişme ile Cezayir genelinde radyolar adeta yok satmaya başlar. 1956 itibarıyla radyo sahibi olmak devrimle irtibat sağlamak ve nefes almak anlamına gelmektedir. Ancak Fransa, teknisyenleri ile Cezayir radyolarının dalga boylarını bulup karıştırmakta gecikmez. Buna rağmen artık radyo Cezayir halkı için bambaşka bir anlam kazanmıştır ve düşman aleti olarak görülmez. Savaş halinde Cezayir halkına hizmet etmektedir. Mücadelenin dalgalar üzerinden yürütülmesi safhasında Cezayirli sesini dünyaya Fransız dili aracılığıyla da duyurmaya çalışır. Dolayısıyla Fransız’a karşı direniş, ironik bir şekilde Fransızcanın halk arasında yaygınlaşmasına da sebep olur. Cezayirli artık Fransızca’yı kullanmaktan kaçınmamaktadır.

Çarşaf ve radyo gibi iki ögenin toplumdaki yerini ve bu yerin değişimini ayrıntılı bir şekilde ortaya koyan Fanon, bunlardan sonra “Cezayir Ailesi”ne odaklanmaktadır. Çarşafın yerindeki değişim önemlidir. Zira öncelikle kadına, dolayısıyla da aileye tesiri büyüktür. Fanon bu değişiklik sürecinde esasında aile yapısının yıkıldığını öne sürmektedir. Sömürgeci idare kolonilerinin sayısını artırırken halkı adeta sindirmiştir. Direnişçi bu sindirilmiş vaziyete karşı mücadele ederken babanın ev içindeki konumuna saygıyı korumaya çalışmaktadır. Ancak devrim yeni değerler getirir ve Cezayirliyi yerini yeniden tayin etmeye ve yeni tercihler yapmaya sürükler. Ailenin ele alındığı bu bölümde öncelikle “Oğul ve Baba” ilişkisinin değişim seyri sunulmuştur. Yaşanmış çileler kendisine hayatta kalmak için temkinli olmayı öğreten baba, kanında devrimin coşkusu hissedilen oğula artık söz geçirememeye başlar. Oğul babasının temkininin izinden gitme niyetini çoktan kenara bırakmış olmasına rağmen sesini ona yükseltmemeyi esas alır. Bu süreçte babanın emniyet telkinleri havada kalır. Durumun çaresizliğini fark eden baba bu temkinli hali kenara bırakmak mecburiyetini idrak eder ve devrimin akışına teslim olur sessizce. Artık yeni otorite olarak devrimi seçen oğulun peşine takılmaktan başka çare kalmaz ona. Durum “Kız ve Baba”nın ilişkisinde daha keskin ve trajik şekilde farklılaşır. Her daim erkek evladın bir adım gerisinde olan kız çocuğu artık pozisyonunu değiştirmek istemektedir. Öncesinde evliliği nihai dengeye kavuşma aracı olarak gören kız çocuğu yeni bir denge aracının peşindedir. Çarşafını çıkarıp devrimci hareketin içinde kendisine yer bulan Cezayir kadını heyecan verici yeni bir dünyanın kapısını aralar. Artık Cezayir halkının kurtuluşu, Cezayir kadınının kurtuluşuyla özdeşleşmiştir. Evliliğin yerini eylem almıştır. Genç kız devrimci olur. Milli Kurtuluş Cephesinin kadın kollarına toplu katılımlar görülür. Devrimci kız öncelikle ailesini terk eder. Elinde silahla direnişe katılan kızlardan aylarca haber alamamak anne ve babası için kabullenilmesi gereken bir gerçek halini alır. Devrimin değişimi “Erkek Kardeşler” arasındaki hiyerarşiye de uğrar. En büyük erkek evlat ile küçük kardeş arasındaki ilişki tıpkı baba-oğul arasındaki gibi seyredir. Büyüklü küçükü olarak kardeşler devrime birlikte katılır.

Fanon “Evli Çift”ler arasındaki bağın seyrini devrimden nasibini alan bir diğer ilişki türü olarak sunmaktadır. Savaş öncesinde kadın ve erkeğin belirli olan sorumlulukları, savaşla birlikte değişir. Kadının gözünde erkeğinin saygınlığı adeta devrimdeki aktifliği ile doğru orantılı olur. Hatta genç kızlar direnişe bağlı olmayan erkeklerle evlenmemeye başlar. Evlenen çiftler ise birbirlerini direniş için motive eder hale gelirler.

“Kız ve Baba” adlı alt bölümde genç kızların konumunu tasvir etmiş olan Fanon, her ne kadar bu alt bölümde onlara dair bize kısmi bilgi vermiş olsa da “Kadınlar”ı müstakilen de ele almıştır. Fanon, devrimle organik bir dayanışma içinde olan kadınların direnişe dahil olurken, Fransızların kadın tenine dair gösterdikleri saldırların şiddetiyle değişimin akımına kapıldıklarını iddia etmektedir.

Fanon’a göre aile devrimle birlikte net bir şekilde değişime uğramıştır. Bu dağılmada devrim değil, onu bastıran Fransız sömürgeciliği sorumludur. Erkekler göz altına alınır ve senelerce kamplarda kalırlar. Geride kalan kadın, çocuklar ve diğer aile fertleri bir şekilde erkeksiz hayata tutunmak durumundadır. Çatışmalar şiddetlendiğinde sömürgeci güç; kadın-erkek, çocuk-çocuk demeden acımasızca katleder. Kadın katledilmemişse en iyi ihtimalle tecavüze uğramıştır. Katledilmemiş erkek şuurunu kaybedip akli dengesi bozulana dek işkenceye uğramış olarak geri dönebilir. Cezayir’e reva görülen zulmün boyutu aslında insanlara Fransız sömürgecinin kinin ölçüsüzlüğünü göstermektedir.

“Tıp ve Sömürgecilik” başlığında sömürgeci gücün, tıp ilmini baskı sisteminin bir parçası olarak kullandığı öne sürülmektedir. Fanon bir hekim olarak bunu en çıplak haliyle gözlemleme fırsatı yakalamış ve aktarmakta muvaffak olmuştur. Muayene adı altında köylerde asker eşliğinde göz dağı vermeler, sunduğu ilaç ve tıbbi hizmetleri başa kakıp sömürge düzenini güzelleme Fanon’un aktardıkları arasında basit kalabilecek hadiselerdir. Tıbbi her türlü aksiyon Fransa’nın sömürgeci varlığının bir yansımasıydı. Tepkisini hastalığında son raddeye gelene dek hastaneye gitmemeye çalışmakla gösteren Cezayirli için ölüm, sömürgeci doktorun eline düşmekten daha az korkutucudur. Tıp ilminin en acı şekilde kullanılmasına sorgularda rastlanmaktaydı. Sorguya alınan Cezayirli doktorlarca ölümün eşliğinden toparlanıp tekrar sorgulanabilecek algı düzeyine getirilir ve yine işkencelere maruz kalır.

“Muayene” de Cezayirinin sömürgeci tıba karşı temkinli davranışının yansıdığı bir başka merhaledir. Korku ile son çare olarak Avrupalı doktora muayeneye razı olan Cezayirli, bu korkunun yansıması olarak tutuk davranır, derdini anlatamaz, kısa kesik cevaplar verir. İşte burada da azar işitmek, aşağılanmakla karşı karşıya kalır. Muayenede Cezayirinin salt dili değil; bedeni, kasları da kaskatı kesilir. Sömürgeciliğin kötü ahlakı, doktor üzerinden hastaya yansır. Avrupalı doktor Cezayir insanındaki bu hali anlamak istemezcesine onu hayvana benzetir.

Fanon “Tıbbi Nezaret, Bakım ve Çifte İktidar” adlı alt bölümde kendisini anlatmakta zorlanan Cezayirinin, gördüğü kötü muamelenin sahibi sömürgeci doktora itimat etmediğini aktarmaktadır. Dolayısıyla onun verdiği reçete ve bakım talimatlarına teslimde zorlanır. Öyle ki doktorun bir dahaki kontrol randevusunda ortada görünmez. Bu şartlar altında yabancıнын tedavi yöntemine itimat edip verdiği ilaçları içmek işgali kabullenmek gibi gelir Cezayirliye.

Cezayirli hastalıklara karşı sömürgeciye direnir gibi direnmeye çalışır. Ancak bu duruma farklı bir çıkış bulmayı da akleder. “Sömürge İnsanı ve Yerli Doktor” adlı alt bölümde bu çıkış sunulmaktadır. Sömürgeci şebekenin bir halkası olarak görülen Avrupalı doktorun yöntemlerine karşı takınılan temkinli yaklaşım, önceleri onun yöntemlerini kullananlara karşı da sergilenir. Bu yöntemleri uygulayan Cezayirli doktora Avrupalılaştırmış, kendi toplumunun insanı olmayan biri olarak bakılır. Aslında kendi insanının gösterdiği başarı karşısında gururlanmıyor değildir; ancak kabuğunun kırılmasına hemen izin vermez. Peşin hükme rağmen zamanla Cezayirli doktor, halkının şifa için tercih ettiği adres olur. Mesleği itibariyle şifa dağıtması beklenen Avrupalı doktor ise aslında bir savaş suçlusudur.

Eczane de sömürge düzeninin zulmüne alet olmuş başka bir noktadır. Halk ihtiyaç duyduğu her ilaca ulaşamaz. İlaçları satın alanların kimlik bilgileri ve hastanın adresinin bir kenara kaydedilmesi söz konusudur. Direniş sürecinde bu ciddi bir handıktır. Fransız yetkililer direnişçilere şifa ulaşmaması adına Cezayirliilere ait olan eczanelerin etraflarını sivil polis ve muhbirlerle doldurur.

Tıp ilminin sömürgecilik hizmetine sunulmasını işkencelere maruz kalanlara verilen düzmece raporlarda da görmek mümkündür. Avrupalı doktor vicdanını kaybetmişse herhangi bir işkence bulgusuna rastlamadığı yönünde rapor tutar. Aksini yapan doktorun zaten raporu kabul edilmez. Cezayirli doktorlar eliyle gördüğü bir diğer zulmün adı ise hakikat serumudur. İşkenceye tabi tutulan direnişinin bu serumlarla sinir sistemi altüst edilir. Elektrik şoku da bir diğer işkence aracıdır. Bu şoka maruz kalan kişinin tüm müdafaa mekanizması kaybolur. Uyku haline benzer bir noktaya getirilerek sorgulanır.

“Cezayir Halkı, Tıp Tekniği ve Kurtuluş Savaşı” adlı alt bölümde Fanon okuyucuya nasıl ki radyo alıcıları temininde Cezayirli tüccar üstün çaba sarfettiyse, yerli eczacı, hastabakıcı ve doktorların da hasta ve yaralıların hizmetini sağlamak için gayret gösterdiğini anlatmaktadır. Bunun için özellikle Tunus ve Fas’tan yoğun bir şekilde ilaç ve bakım malzemesi temini sağlanmıştı. Savaşın selametle Cezayir lehine neticelenebilmesi adına halk sağlığı hususu önem arz etmekteydi. Bunun için yerli sağlık sisteminin temellerinin atılması şarttı. Yerli sağlık otoritesinin oluşumuyla halkın sağlık meselesine yaklaşımı da değişim göstermişti. Direnişin tıbbi böylece her yere ulaşır. Bu sayede halkın tedaviler ve koruyucu hekimlikle alakalı bilinci artar ve her türlü yeni tıp tekniği ve tedavi şekline beklenmedik süratle uyum sağlar.

Fanon daha önceki bölümlerde Cezayir’de yaşayan Avrupalılara dair malumat vermiştir. Yine de “Cezayir’deki Avrupalı Azınlık” başlıklı ayrı bir bölümde, Avrupalıların direniş sürecindeki durumlarını ayrıntılı olarak aktarmaktadır. Buna göre Avrupalı aydınlar sömürgeci iktidarla bütünleşmeyi tercih etmiştir. Eğitilmiş kesimden doktorların soykırıma ne denli battıklarını daha önceki bölümlerde yeri geldikçe aktarmıştır yazar. Bunların direnişe destek veren Fransız demokratlarını dahi sindirdiklerini, Cezayir’e demokrasinin gelmesini engellemek istediklerini ifade etmektedir.

Fanon eserinde Cezayirli Avrupalıları tasnif ederek alt bölümlerde işlemiştir. Bunlardan ilki “Cezayir Yahudileri”dir. Bunları tek bir ses oluşturmamış bir grup olarak tasvir eder. Fransız asıllı Yahudi tüccarlar rejimin imtiyazlı kesimidir ve millî bir iktidarın başa gelmesiyle bu statülerini kaybedecekleri kanaati onları direnişin karşısına konumlandırır. Ancak iyi ticaret yapabilecekleri durumlarda Yahudi azınlığın yaklaşımı daha pragmatiktir. Fanon, Avrupa’da Avrupalılar tarafından hor görülüp itilen Yahudilerin, Cezayir’de onlarla iş birliği yaparak yerli halkı hor görmesini anlamlandıramamaktadır. Yalnız yazar yerli olan ve Cezayirli olarak tasnif ettiği cerbe adası Yahudileri ya da Fas’ın mellahlarını ayrı tutmaktadır. Direniş hareketi, mücadelenin en çetin olduğu 1956 senesinde Cezayir Yahudilerine devrime destek vermeleri yönünde çağrıda bulunmuş ve Yahudi entelektüeller direnişe desteklerini ilan etmişlerdir.

“Cezayir Kolonları”, Cezayir’deki azınlıklar içinde ayrı bir yer teşkil etmektedir. Fanon bilinenin aksine tüm kolonların yani Fransız kolonyal yerleşimcilerinin soyundan gelen kimselerin, devrime muhalif olmadıkları vurgusuyla başlar bu alt bölümün anlatımına. Fanon’a göre devrime en önemli desteği kolonlar vermiştir ve buna şaşırmayan Cezayirli yoktur. Zaman zaman talep edilen işleri reddetmiş olsalar dahi hiçbir kolonun sömürgecilere bilgi sızdırmadığını iddia etmektedir. İçlerinde sömürge gücüne çok sıkı bağlı olanlar olsa da bunların saf dışı edildikleri belirtilmektedir.

Son olarak “Şehirdeki Avrupalılar”ı anlatan Fanon, bunlar içinde bazı doktorların direnişin neferlerini tedavi ettiklerini hatta kimi Avrupalı doktorların direnişçilere gizli kurslarla müdahale eğitimi verdiğini öne sürmektedir. Hatta pek çok Avrupalının, Fransız yetkililer tarafından devrime yardım ve yataklık suçundan tutuklanıp işkence gördüklerini aktarır.

Fanon kısa tuttuğu “Netice” bölümünde, Cezayir devriminin pek çok yönüyle benzersiz olduğunu belirtirken, her ne kadar ömrü bağımsızlığa dünya gözüyle şahit olmaya yetmemiş olsa da zaferin Cezayir halkına ait olduğunu haykırıcısına ifade etmektedir. Fransız sömürgeciliğinin Cezayir halkını sadece idari olarak değil, psikolojik ve hissi olarak da esaret altında tuttuğunu aktaran yazar, halkta bu sömürge zincirini

kırmak için olağanüstü bir değişim yaşandığını iddia etmektedir. 130 sene sürmüş olan bu esaretin genel karakteri haline gelmiş olan zihni ve entelektüel yorgunluk, direnişle beraber aşılmıştır. Yukarıda da ifade edildiği üzere Bağımsızlığa giden yolun sonunu görme agahlığında olan Fanon, eserin sonunda Fransız yetkililerine çağrıda bulunmuş, devrimin muhakkak olarak başarıya ulaşacağını ilan etmiştir. Tarih Fanon'u haklı çıkarmıştır.

Sonuç

1954 yılında başlayan aktif silahlı direnişin en ateşli dönemlerine denk gelip son derece yoğun bir hararetle devrimi destekleyen Frantz Fanon, Cezayir'de bulunduğu süreç içerisinde toplumu her kademesiyle gözleme fırsatı bulmuştur. Yoğun süren ve kararlı olan direniş, başarıya ulaşabilmek için bir şeylerin değişmesi gereğinin farkındalığı ile hızla toplumun dönüşümüne sebep olmuştur. Esasında devrimin dönüştürdüğü bu pek çok unsur, sömürgeci gücünü kalıcı hale getirmek planlamasında olan Fransızların da hedefindeydi. Mesela direnişle birlikte kadın çarşaftan kurtulmuş, özgürleşmiş, ataerkil yapı delinmiş ve tek otorite devrimin ta kendisi olmuştur. Burada akla sömürgeci güçlerin dekolonizasyon sürecinde her zaman yerli işbirlikçileri ardında bırakıp dolaylı kontrollerini sürdürmeyi hedefleri gelmektedir. Acaba sömürgeci güçlerden Fransa aynı hedefle bu direnişi masa altından desteklemiş olabilir miydi? Fanon'un toplumu tasnif ettiği ve direnişe verdikleri desteğin altını çizdiği "demokrat" Avrupalılar ve kolonlar yazar tarafından bu sebeple aklanmaya mı çalışılmıştır? Evet, Fanon direniş sürecinde toplumun adeta ruhunu alışılmadık bir fehimle okumuş, şahit olduğu değişimi detaylı olarak ortaya koymuştur. Ancak eser dikkatle incelendiğinde, devrime desteği açık olmasına rağmen yazarın bu yaklaşımı sorgulanabilir. Devrimin, Cezayir'i Cezayir yapan toplumsal unsurları değiştiren aslında sömürge gücünün hedef aldığı benzer başlıkların değişimine sebep olduğu gerçeği, okuyucuyu daha ileri okumalara sevk edecektir. Akıllarda bıraktığı bu sorulara rağmen Fanon'un bu eseri, Cezayir bağımsızlık hareketini anlamak adına eşsiz bir deneyim sunmaktadır.

References

Frantz O. Fanon, *Cezayir Bağımsızlık Savaşı'nın Anatomisi*, (Çev. Kamil Çileçöp), İstanbul: Pınar Yayınları, 2012.

KWAME NKURMAH, EMPERYALİZMİN SON AŞAMASI: YENİ SÖMÜRGEÇİLİK, (ÇEV.) A. SARICA, GERÇEK YAYINEVİ, İSTANBUL 1966, 100 SAYFA.

KWAME NKURMAH, NEO-COLONIALISM: THE LAST STAGE OF IMPERIALISM, (TRANS.) A. SARICA, GERÇEK PUBLISHER, İSTANBUL 1966, 100 PAGES.

Yıl 5, Sayı 1, ss.71-76.

Year 5, Issue 1, pp.71-76.

Makale Türü: Kitap İncelemesi

Article Type: Book Review

Geliş Tarihi: 03.01.2025

Submitted: 03.01.2025

Kabul Tarihi: 17.01.2025

Accepted: 17.01.2025

DOI: 10.58851/africana.1612707

Atf Bilgisi / Reference Information

Daban, C. (2025). Kwame Nkrumah, Emperyalizmin Son Aşaması: Yeni Sömürgecilik, *Africana-İnönü Üniversitesi Uluslararası Afrika Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 5 (1) , 71-76.

Cihan DABAN

Selçuk Üniversitesi, İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi, dabancihan@gmail.com,

ORCID: 0000-0002-2890-2415

Öz

Sömürgecilik olgusu yüzyıllardan bu yana devam eden bir olgudur. Sömürgeciliğin ana yurdu yabancı bir ülkenin veya ulusların topraklarıdır. Bu toprakların işgal edilmesini, buralarda koloniler kurulmasını ve zaman içinde bu toprakların asıl sakinlerine yabancılaştırılmasını amaçlamaktadır. Bu amaçlar ise güçlü devletler tarafından uygulanmaktadır. Bu nedenle sömürgecilik tanımı genel olarak güçlü bir devletin kendi sınırları dışındaki yabancı ulusların veya devletlerin siyasi, ekonomik ve sosyokültürel egemenliklerini gasp etmesi olarak kabul edilmektedir. Bu bağlamda Afrika kıtası bir örnek olarak verilebilir. Afrika kıtası yüzyıllar boyunca sömürge politikalarına maruz kalmış ve önemli değişimler geçirmiştir. Özellikle 1884-85 yıllarında Berlin'de düzenlenen Afrika Konferansı'nda alınan kararlar, kıtanın sömürgeci devletler tarafından fiilen sömürgeleştirilmesine yol açmıştır. Sömürgecilere karşı çıkan Afrikalı liderler, halk arasında farkındalık yaratmak için vakıflar, dernekler ve siyasi partiler gibi örgütler kurdular. Gana'nın ilk devlet başkanı olacak olan Kwame Nkrumah da bu oluşumlarda yer aldı. Ulusal bağımsızlık için seferber olan Nkrumah ve arkadaşları, bağımsızlık mücadelesini kazanmış olmalarına rağmen sömürgeciliğin tamamen sona ermediğini ve bağımsızlıkla birlikte yeni bir sömürgecilik döneminin başladığını savundular. Bu bilgiler doğrultusunda çalışma, Nkrumah tarafından kaleme alınan Emperyalizmin Son Aşaması: Yeni Sömürgecilik başlıklı kitabını incelemektedir. Dolayısıyla Nkrumah'ın yeni sömürgecilik olarak adlandırdığı faktörlere de odaklanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sömürgecilik, Afrika, Bağımsızlık, Yeni Sömürgecilik.

Abstract

The phenomenon of colonialism has been going on for centuries. The homeland of colonisation is the territory of a foreign country or nation. It aims at the occupation of these lands, the establishment of colonies there, and, in time, the alienation of these lands from their original inhabitants. These aims are implemented by powerful states. For this reason, the definition of colonialism is generally accepted as the usurpation by a powerful state of the political, economic, and sociocultural sovereignty of foreign nations or states outside its borders. In this context, the African continent can be given as an example. The African continent has been subjected to colonial policies for centuries and has undergone significant changes. In particular, the decisions taken at the Berlin Conference on Africa in 1884-85 led to the de facto colonisation of the continent by the colonial states. African leaders who opposed the colonialists established organisations such as foundations, associations, and political parties to raise awareness among the people. Kwame Nkrumah, who would go on to become Ghana's first president, also got involved. Nkrumah and his friends who mobilised for national independence argued that

although they had won the struggle for independence, colonialism had not ended completely and that independence had ushered in a new era of colonialism. In line with knowledge, this study examines Nkrumah's book titled Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism. It therefore also focuses on factors Nkrumah calls neocolonialism.

Keywords: Colonialism, Africa, Independence, Neo-Colonialism.

Giriş

Batı Afrika ülkesi Gana Cumhuriyeti'nin kurucusu ve ilk Devlet Başkanı olan Kwame Francis Nwia-Kofi Nkrumah Afrika sömürgeciliğine karşı mücadele etmiş ve halkı da bu yönde bilinçlendirmiş bir Afrikalı siyasetçi liderdir. 21 Eylül 1909 tarihinde yoksul bir ailenin çocuğu olarak Gana'nın Nkroful kasabasında dünyaya geldi. 1925 yılında çalışma hayatına öğretmen olarak başladı. Meslek hayatında biriktirdiği parayla 1935 yılında eğitim için Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'ne gitti. 1935-39 yılları arasında Pennsylvania'daki Lincoln Üniversitesi'nde ekonomi ve sosyoloji bölümlerinde lisans eğitimini tamamladı. Yine aynı üniversitede teoloji alanında yüksek lisans ve felsefe alanından da doktora eğitimlerini tamamladı.

Eğitim hayatı boyunca en çok etkilendiği yazarlar arasında Marx, Lenin ve bütün dünya siyahilerini birleştirmeyi amaçlayan Marcus Garvey, Du Bois ile George Padmore yer almaktadır. Burada on yıl kaldı. Kaldığı süre zarfında ırkçılığa ve ırk ayrımcılığına dair derin bilgi ve birikime sahip oldu. Buradan da 1945 yılında İngiltere'ye gitti. Londra'ya giden Nkrumah hayat felsefesine üç fikri gözden geçirmiştir. Anti-sömürgecilik, Pan-Afrikacılık ve sosyalizmdir. Nkrumah'ın sosyalizm anlayışı gazeteci Padmore'un benimsediği Afrika Sosyalizmidir. Afrika Sosyalizminin Marksizm'den farkı Marksist felsefeyi benimsememiş olmasıdır. Daha açık bir ifadeyle Afrika Sosyalizminin temeli; sömürgecilerin egemenliğinde olan toprakları geri almak, milli değerleri korumak ve yaşatmak, halkların özdeğerlerine geri dönülmesini sağlamak ve bağımsızlık hareketlerini başlatmaya dayanmaktadır.

Söz konusu fikirler Nkrumah'ın sömürgeci güçlere ve emperyalizme karşı mücadele etmesi gerektiğinin sinyallerini verdi. Nkrumah ABD'de olduğu sırada Atlantik Beyannamesi ile dekolonizasyon sürecinin başlamasına, İngiltere'de olduğu zaman diliminde de II. Dünya Savaşı'nın bittiği ve sömürge bölgelerinde bağımsızlık hareketlerinin başladığı bir döneme denk gelmiştir. 1947 yılında ilk eseri olan *Sömürgeelerde Özgürlüğe Doğru (Towards Colonial Freedom)* başlıklı kitabını yayımlamış ve geniş bir halk kitlesine ulaşmasını sağlamıştır. Anti-sömürgecilik, Pan-Afrikacılık ve sosyalizm fikirlerinin verdiği bağımsızlık ruhu ile Gana'ya dönen Nkrumah, bağımsızlık için sömürgecilere karşı büyük bir halk kitlesini örgütledi. Bu örgütlenme sayesinde Gana'da bağımsızlık süreci sancılı geçmemiştir. Başka bir ifadeyle Afrika'nın diğer bölgelerine göre Gana'daki bağımsızlık süreci genel olarak düşük yoğunluklu çatışmalar sonucunda kazanılmıştır. Bu durum Sahraaltı Afrika'da bağımsızlığını kazanan ilk ülke olma özelliğini kazandırmıştır. 6 Mart 1957'de bağımsızlığın kazanıldığı Gana'da Devlet Başkanı olarak Nkrumah seçilmiştir.

Başkan Nkrumah bağımsızlıkla birlikte sömürgecilerin tamamen ayrıldığını, sömürge topraklarına yönelik farklı politikalar geliştirdiklerini, bundan dolayı yeni bir sömürgecilik eylemlerine giriştiklerini anlatan bir kitap kaleme almıştır. Mevzubahis kitap *Emperyalizmin Son Aşaması: Yeni Sömürgecilik* başlıklı çalışma ile Türkçeye kazandırılmıştır. Kitabın dış kapağında *Yeni Sömürgecilik* yazılmış olsa da iç kapakta ve kitap içeriği boyunca *Emperyalizmin Son Aşaması: Yeni Sömürgecilik* olarak geçmektedir. Kitap, *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism* başlığıyla 1965 yılında Londra merkezli Thomas Nelson & Sons şirketi tarafından yayımlanmıştır. 1966 yılında ise New York merkezli Uluslararası Yayıncılar şirketi tarafından yayımlanan kitap, aynı yıl Mart 1966 tarihinde A. Sarıca tarafından tercüme edilerek Türkçeye kazandırılmış ve İstanbul merkezli Gerçek Yayınevi tarafından da basılmıştır. 204 sayfa olan İngilizce baskısı Türkçe eser olarak 100 sayfadan oluşmaktadır. Kitabın içindekiler kısmı bölümlendirilmeden doğrudan yazılmış ve okuyuculara sunulmuştur. Kitabı çeviren A. Sarı ile ilgili bilgiye ulaşılamamaktadır. Bunun temel sebebi ise isminin kısaltılmış olması ve kitapta

herhangi bir bilgiye yer verilmemiş olmasındandır. İnternet üzerinden aratıldığında ise farklı isimler çıktığından dolayı çeviren yazar ile ilgili sağlıklı bilgi alınamamaktadır. Zira çeviren yazar ile ilgili bilgiye ulaşılsaydı O'na da bu çalışmada yer verilecekti.

Değerlendirme

Nkrumah, kitabın ilk 13 sayfasını iktisadi gelişmenin engellerine yer vermiştir. Birleşmiş Milletler İktisadi Komisyonu'nun 1962 yılında, Batı Afrika ile ilgili yaptığı “*Hem üretim hem nüfus açısından oldukça sınırlı bu kadar çok sayıda küçük Devlet dünyanın öbür bölgelerinin pek azında görülür. Benzeri tek önemli bölge Orta Amerika'dır*”, açıklaması Nkrumah'ın dikkatini çeken açıklamalardan olmuştur. Nkrumah, bu dönemde Batı Afrika'da on dokuz bağımsız devletin bulunduğunu yazarak BM İktisadi Komisyonu'nun *bu kadar çok sayıda küçük devlet* tabiri üzerinden bölgedeki nüfusu da değerlendirmiştir. Bölge nüfusunun (Nijerya dışında) Afrika kıtasındaki toplam nüfusun üçte birini barındırdığını; ancak Nijerya'daki durumun çok farklı olduğunu, burada sömürgecilerin Afrika'yı bırakırken uyguladıkları *Balkanlaştırma*¹ politikasından ayrı tutulmaması gerektiğinin altını çizmiştir. Nijerya'daki süreci aslında böl ve yönet stratejisiyle yönetmeye çalışan sömürgecilerin bu durumu Gana'da başaramadıklarını, Gana ise bu durumdan kıl payıyla kurtardığını aktarmaktadır (Nkrumah, 1966, s. 5-9).

İktisadi kaynaklar bakımından zengin bir kıta olan Afrika'nın bağımsızlık sonrası dönemde sömürgeci güçlerin izlediği yeni sömürgecilik politikasıyla söz konusu kaynakların yerliler tarafından kullanılmadığından, bundan dolayı da yeni bir ekonomik devrim olması gerektiğinden bahsetmektedir. Ekonomik devrimin uzun yıllar alacağını da eklemektedir. Bu nedenle her alanda ekonomik devrimin yapılması gerektiğini savunan Nkrumah, tarım ve sanayinin birlikte ele alınmasını da ileri sürmektedir. Afrika'da iktisadi birlik doğrultusunda modern sanayilerin kurulması gerektiğini ve bu uygulamayı daha geniş pazarlardan yararlanabileceğini savunmaktadır. Tarımda, balıkçılıkta, ormancılıkta ve diğer tarım kalemlerinin gelişmesiyle önemli bir ekonomik devrim yapılacağına inanmaktadır. Nkrumah, iktisadi birliğin ancak; siyasi birlikle beraber yürütülürse başarılı sonuçlar alınacağını yazmaktadır (Nkrumah, 1966, s.10-13).

Afrika uluslarının tarımsal ihtiyaçlarının sürekli arttığını, bu konuda ithalattaki oranların giderek yükseldiğini, bunu engellemek adına kendi tarımsal ürünlerini yetiştirmek için tarıma dayalı planlamaların yapılması ve dışa bağımlılığa son verilmesi gerektiğinin altını çizmiştir. Bunu ise oluşturulacak bir siyasi ve iktisadi birlikle aşılabileceğini, sonrasında da kaynakların geliştirilerek pazarlara çıkarılabileceğini ve ithalatın da önüne geçilebileceğini aktarmaktadır (Nkrumah, 1966, s. 13-15). Böyle bir durumun gerçekleşebilmesi için iktisadi gelişmeye engel çıkmaması gerektiğini savunmaktadır. Ancak bunun zor bir süreç olduğunu da ifade etmektedir. Çünkü siyasi açıdan bağımsızlığını kazanan devlet sayısı artmış olsa da bağımsız olan bazı devletlerin sömürgeci devletlerle iş birliği içerisinde bulunduğunu, bunun özünde ise sömürgecilerin destekledikleri siyasetçilerin iktidarlara geldiklerinden kaynaklı olduğunu ifade etmiştir. Bu durumdan kaynaklı olarak da sömürgeciliğin yeni bir kılıfa büründüğünü, kapitalizmin bu son döneminde yeni sömürgecilğe ve emperyalizmin son aşamasına dönüştüğünü aktarmaktadır (Nkrumah, 1966, s. 16-17).

Nkrumah, iktisadi gelişmenin yanı sıra mali emperyalizme de değinmektedir. Sömürgeci, kapitalist ve emperyalist kuvvetlerin sömürgecilikten yeni kurtulmuş ülkelere mali yardım adı altında sömürge politikalarını devam ettirdiğinden bahsetmektedir (Nkrumah, 1966, s. 19-24). Mali emperyalizm ile ekonomik destek verilmesi beklenirken, bu durumun farklılaştığını ifade eden Nkrumah, yapılan mali

¹ Balkanlaştırma süreci Afrika'daki yeni sömürgeciliğin başlıca aracı olarak kullanılmıştır. Kısacası kavram “böl ve yönet” ilkesi doğrultusunda Batılıların 20. yüzyıl başında Balkan topraklarında uyguladıkları bölücü politikalar sonucu ortaya çıkmıştır.

desteklerle birlikte askeri alanların da oluştuğunu, bu askeri alanları oluşturan sömürgeci kuvvetlerin aslında sömürge topraklarından tamamen çıkmadıklarını; aksine daha geniş bir alana sahip olmaya çalıştıklarını kaleme almıştır (Nkrumah, 1966, s. 29-34). Bunların yanı sıra Avrupa Kömür ve Çelik Birliğinden de bahsetmektedir. Bu birliğin çatısı altında çok sayıda şirketlerin olduğu ve bu şirketler aracılığıyla Avrupa Kömür ve Çelik Birliğinin Afrika'yı didik didik ettiğine değinmektedir. Bu şirketler aracılığıyla yeni sömürgeciliğin hızla yayıldığını ve sömürgeci kuvvetlerin sömürge bölgelerinden tamamen çıkmadıklarını aktarmaktadır. Aksine Afrika kıtasında sömürgecilik geçmişi olmayan başka aktörlerin de yer aldığını ve bunlardan birinin ABD'nin olduğunu ifade etmektedir. Emperyalist eylemlerle Afrika'da yer edinen ABD'nin birçok firma kurduğundan bahsetmektedir. Bethlehem Steel, United States Steel, Republic Steel, Armco Steel, Newmont Mining, Johns Manville, Alcoa ve Kaiser gibi güçlü birçok ABD merkezli firmanın Afrika pazarında olduğunu aktarmıştır. (Nkrumah, 1966, s. 40-51).

Nkrumah, bağımsızlık sonrası dönemde ABD'nin kıtada yer edinmeye başlamasını aslında yeni çatışma alanlarına sebebiyet verdiğini dile getirmektedir. Özellikle Gabon'daki zengin ham madde kaynaklarından manganez, uranyum ve petrol gibi kaynaklara ABD'li firmaların yoğunlaşmasına karşılık Fransa'nın Gabon'a gönderdiği paraşüt birlikleri ile Gabon'da kimin egemen bir güç olduğunu ABD'ye gösterdiğini, bu gibi durumların kıtanın birçok bölgesinde yaşandığını ifade etmektedir (Nkrumah, 1966, s. 52) Nkrumah, yeni sömürgecilik olgusuyla aslında bankalar, şirketler ve firmalar üzerinde yoğunlaşmıştır. Sadece ABD tekelinde değil, eski sömürgeci kuvvetlerin de bağımsızlık sonrası dönemde şirketlere ağırlık verdiklerini, şirketler aracılığıyla sözde mali yardımlar yaptıklarını, mali yardımlar kapsamında ekonomik refahı oluşturduklarını ve bu yollarla zayıf devletlere destek olmaya çalıştıklarından bahseder (Nkrumah, 1966, s. 55-67). Aslında bu yöntemle hem sömürgeci kuvvetlerin hem de Afrika'da sömürgecilik geçmişi olmayan küresel güçlerin ekonomik yardımlar adı altında askeri üsler kurarak, siyaseti kontrol altına alarak ham madde kaynaklarından faydalanmaya çalıştıklarını dile getirmektedir. Afrika kıtasındaki şirketlerin günbegün arttığını, ABD, Fransız, İngiliz, Çin, Sovyet ve diğer sömürgeci Avrupa devletlerine ait şirketlerin sömürü politikasının yeni uygulaması olduğunu yazmaktadır (Nkrumah, 1966, s. 68-71).

Nkrumah, sömürgecilerin uyguladığı yeni sömürü taktiklerini sadece Afrika'da uygulamadıklarını, diğer sömürgelerde de (Asya, Karayipler, Latin Amerika gibi) uyguladıklarına değinmiştir. Aslında bu yeni sömürgecilik yöntemiyle sömürgeci kuvvetlerin Asya, Afrika, Karayipler ve Latin Amerika'daki eski sömürge bölgelerinin halkları karşısında emperyalist eylemlerden uzakmış gibi görünerek yeni bir sömürü politikasını oluşturduklarına vurgu yapmaktadır (Nkrumah, 1966, s. 71-72). Bu hususta sömürgecilerin hiç tereddüt etmeden bayraklarını ve hatta en nefret edilen gurbetçi memurlarından bazılarını bile ortadan kaldırebildiklerini, bunun anlamı ise iddia ettikleri gibi, eski sömürgelerine "bağımsızlık vermek" ve bunu da onların kalkınması için "yardım" ile takip etmek olduğunu ileri sürmektedir. Ancak bu tür politik uygulamalar doğrultusunda, daha önce doğrudan yani fiili sömürgecilikle ulaşılan hedeflere tekrar ulaşmak için bu gibi yöntemler tasarladıklarını kaleme almıştır. Bir yandan "özgürlükten" bahsederken diğer yandan sömürgeciliği devam ettirmeye yönelik bu modern girişimlerin toplamının yeni sömürgecilik olarak hayata geçirildiğini ifade etmektedir.

Dünyanın en güçlü bankaları ve mali kuruluşlarıyla bağlantılı olan ABD ve Avrupa Ortaklıklarının Afrika'daki devletlerin onayıyla yeni bulunan ham madde kaynaklarını işletmek ve süreci yönetmek adına projeler yürüttüklerinden, bu yöntemle de Afrika'daki varlıklarını garanti altına aldıklarını aktarmaktadır. Daha açık bir ifadeyle ham madde kaynaklarını işletmek için yeterli teçhizata ve maddi olanaklara sahip olmayan Afrika devletlerinin daveti ile gelen devletlerin de kıtayı sömürdüklerinden bahsetmektedir. Bu nedenle sömürücü yabancı ortaklıkların ham madde kaynaklarını basit bir işlemde sonra kıta dışına aktarmak adına imalathaneler ve fabrikalar kurduklarını, burada da yerlileri ucuz işgücü ile çalıştırdıklarını ifade etmektedir. Nkrumah'ın dikkat çektiği durumlardan biri de Soğuk Savaş'ın devam ediyor olmasıdır. 1945'ten başlayarak bütün dünyada baş gösteren savaş sonrası onarım ihtiyaçları ve Soğuk Savaş'ın gerektirdiği silahlanma ve stok yapma yarışının kızışması neticesinde, Afrika'daki ham maddeler üzerinde

yaşanan rekabetin arttığını belirtmektedir (Nkrumah, 1966, s. 75-89). Yeni sömürgeciliği tetikleyen bir diğer itici etkenin üretim yöntemlerinde ve işletmelerin yönetimlerinde görülen gelişmeler olduğundan da bahsetmektedir. Bu dönemde özellikle Güney Afrika'da yaşanan madenler konusundaki sömürünün Kanada'ninkine boy ölçüşebilecek düzeye geldiğine vurgu yapmıştır. Bu sömürü yöntemiyle bağlantılı olan şirketlerin sadece Afrika kıtasını değil, kıta dışı diğer bölgeleri de sömürdüklerine değinmiştir. Kısacası ABD'nin başı çektiği, İngiltere, Fransa, Belçika, Almanya, İtalya, Hollanda ve Japonya gibi ileri sanayi ülkelerinin ortak teşebbüslerinin bu ham madde kaynaklarına sahip olmak istediklerini aktarmıştır. Bu durumdan kaynaklı olarak da yeni projeler tasarlanmış ve yeni sömürgecilik olgusuyla politikaların uygulandığını kaleme almıştır (Nkrumah, 1966, s. 90-99).

Sonuç

1965 yılında Nkrumah tarafından kaleme alınan bu eser, özü itibarıyla bugünkü Afrika'yı anlatmış durumdadır. Gelinen süreçte Afrika'daki yabancı merkezli bankaların, şirketlerin ve firmaların Afrika kıtasına ne ölçüde zarar verdiği gözlemlenmektedir. Nkrumah'ın özellikle belirttiği durumlardan biri olan askeri yapılanma sürecinin aslında yeni-sömürgecilikle başarıya ulaştığı iddia edilebilir. Bugün Cibuti'de en büyük askeri üssü olan Fransa, adeta ülkenin patronu konumunda bulunmaktadır. Sadece Cibuti'de değil, Gabon, Nijer, Burkina Faso ve Mali gibi birçok ülkede şirketler ve firmalar aracılığıyla etkinliğini korumaya ve devam ettirmeye çalışan Fransa, aynı zamanda önemli bir siyasi güce de sahip olmuş durumdadır. Afrika'nın sömürge döneminde etkin rol alan Portekiz, İspanya, Hollanda, Belçika, Almanya, İtalya ve İngiltere gibi sömürgeci kuvvetlerin yanı sıra bağımsızlık sonrası kıtada yer alan ABD, Sovyet Sosyalist Cumhuriyetler Birliği ve Çin gibi küresel güçlerle de Afrika'da ham madde kaynakları üzerinde yeni bir rekabet ortamı başladığı gibi yeni-sömürgecilik olgusuyla yeni bir çatışma alanı da başlamıştır. Özellikle bazı sömürgeci kuvvetlerin uyguladığı nüfuz oluşturma politikası ile siyaset arenasında da etkili oldukları ve bu siyaset doğrultusunda ülkedeki kaynakları kontrol altına alabildikleri gözlemlenmiştir. Özetle kitap içerdiği bilgiler doğrultusunda kayda değer bir eserdir. Zira Nkrumah'ın ifade ettiği gibi siyasi birlik sağlanmadığı sürece ekonomik devrimden bahsedilmesi olanaksızdır. Bu ifade bugünkü Afrika'da geçerliliğini korumaktadır. Zira siyasi birlik, yerli halklar ve Afrika toprakları açısından oluşması ya zaman alacak ya da hiçbir zaman olmayacaktır. Bu nedenle kıtadaki sömürü düzeninin bitmesi yakın zaman için beklemek olanaksız gibi görünmektedir.

Kaynakça

Nkrumah, Kwame, *Emperyalizmin Son Aşaması: Yeni-Sömürgecilik*, (çeviren A. Sarıca), İstanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1966.

Ek 1: Emperyalizmin Son Aşaması: Yeni-Sömürgecilik başlıklı Kitabın Kapak Resmi





www.inonu.edu.tr/inuafam | [f](#) [t](#) [@](#) [v](#) /inuafam

İnönü Üniversitesi Merkez Yerleşkesi, Yabancı Diller Yüksekokulu, Zemin Kat
Malatya-Elazığ Yolu 15. km, Tel: +90 (422) 377 49 10, e-Posta: inuafam@inonu.edu.tr