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TAKDİM / EDİTÖRDEN

Değerli okurlarımız,

Dünyanın en kadim medeniyetlerine ev sahipliği yapan Afrika kıtası birçok medeniyetin sözlü veya yazılı emanetine sahip olması sebebiyle insanlığın ortak ve evrensel tarihi olarak addedilir. Bunun en büyük kanıtı da sahip olduğu 139 Dünya Mirasıdır. Her ne kadar UNESCO kayıtlarında hala birçok Afrika ülkesine ait veri olmasa da kayıt altına alınan veriler kıtanın insanlık tarihi açısından ne denli önemli olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu kayıtlardan birisi de 2009 yılında UNESCO tarafından Somut Olmayan Kültürel Miras listesine dahil edilen Mandé yasalarıdır. 1236 yılında Mali İmparatoru Sundiata Keita tarafından koyulan yasalar, sosyal statüsü, kökeni ve inancı ne olursa olsun herkes için eşitlik öngören ve köleliği yasaklayan bir *insan hakları evrenseldir* bildirgesidir. Bu insan hakları evrenseldir bildirgesi 1948 yılında Birleşmiş Milletlerin hazırladığı bildirmeden tam 712 yıl önce hazırlanmış ve hiçbir hayatın diğerinden üstün olmadığı ilkesini o yıllarda kayıtlara geçirmiştir. Böylesine zengin ve insanlık tarihine yön vermiş medeniyetlerin yaşadığı kıtadaki bugün bulunan izler bile Afrika'nın ne derece önemli ve uygar bir kıta olduğunu gözler önüne sermektedir. Yine aynı yıllarda Anadolu'ya baktığımızda 13. yüzyılın ortalarında Yunus Emre'nin de Sundiata Keita gibi eşitlik ve hoşgörü taşıyan söylemlerini görmek mümkündür. Yaşamları boyunca hiç karşılaşmamış olmasına rağmen sözleriyle birliktelik ve eşitlik duygusunu toplumlara aşıl原因an her iki önemli şahsiyet de dünya görüşlerini kadim coğrafyalara yaymıştır. Yaratılanı sev yaratandan ötürü düsturuna sahip Anadolu insanından, statüsü, inancı ve kökeni ne olursa olsun herkes için eşitlik vadeden Afrika insanına selam olsun.

Disiplinlerarası Afrika Çalışmaları dergimizin ikinci sayısında siz değerli okuyucularımıza birbirinden ilginç konuları ele alan ve Afrika'yı konu edinen 7 makale ile Asya'yı konu edinen 2 makale olmak üzere toplamda 9 makale sunuyoruz. Her biri birbirinden özenli ele alınan çalışmaların sizler için faydalı olması dileğiyle keyifli okumalar dileriz.

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Murat DELİBAŞ

Editör
Ankara/TÜRKİYE
15 Aralık 2023

EDITORIAL

Dear esteemed readers,

The African continent, hosting some of the world's oldest civilizations, is considered the common and universal history of humanity due to its possession of the oral or written heritage of many civilizations. The greatest evidence of this is its ownership of 139 World Heritage sites. Although there is still incomplete data for many African countries in UNESCO records, the recorded data demonstrates the continent's significance in terms of human history. One such record is the Mandé laws, included in the Intangible Cultural Heritage list by UNESCO in 2009. The laws, established by Mali Emperor Sundiata Keita in 1236, constitute a declaration of universal human rights, advocating equality for all, regardless of social status, origin, or belief, and prohibiting slavery. This declaration that human rights are universal was prepared exactly 712 years before the declaration prepared by the United Nations in 1948 and recorded the principle that no life is superior to another in those years. The traces found today in the continent, where such rich civilizations that shaped human history existed, highlight the importance and civilization of Africa. Looking at Anatolia in the same period, in the mid-13th century, one can observe the expressions of equality and tolerance, similar to Sundiata Keita, in the words of Yunus Emre. Despite never having encountered each other in their lifetimes, both significant figures instilled a sense of unity and equality in societies through their words, spreading their worldviews to ancient geographies. Greetings to the Anatolian people with the principle of loving the created for the sake of the Creator, and to the African people, promising equality for everyone regardless of their status, belief, or origin.

In the second issue of our interdisciplinary African Studies journal, we present nine articles, addressing various intriguing topics, including seven focusing on Africa and two on Asia. We hope that each carefully considered study will be beneficial to you and offer enjoyable readings.

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Murat DELİBAŞ

Founding Editor
Ankara/TURKEY
15 December 2023

Has the Level of Security Threat Among Unemployed Youth in Sierra Leone On the Increase? What Do You Think Should Be Done to Unlock Job Opportunities for Unemployed Youth?

Sierra Leone'de İşsiz Gençlerin Güvenlik Tehdidi Düzeyi Artıyor mu? İşsiz Gençlere İş Olanaklarının Açılması İçin Ne Yapılması Gerektiğini Düşünüyorsunuz?

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Abstract: The most crucial factor for economic development, regional peace, stability, and security is the provision of fundamental amenities like health and education, as well as quality jobs for young people. The situation is getting more severe as the number of young people without jobs rises. Along with being a socioeconomic problem, youth unemployment and the associated underemployment have emerged as a significant political and security concern in Sierra Leone. Both of its realms are where its causes and effects are found. Young people who are non-disabled yet unskilled, jobless, and alienated have been willing to pick up violence in exchange for modest sums of money and the promise of recognition. They are more likely to be swayed by fighting factions or recruited into their ranks. The nation's peace and security have been violated as a result, which has hindered the nation's development.

In an environment of uncertainty and instability, no country can prosper. Investors are drawn to peaceful countries, and investment leads to the creation of jobs. The high unemployment rate has several causes, according to some. These include a high population growth rate, massive rural-urban migration, a Vocational and Technical Education shortage, neglect of agriculture, and corruption.

Keywords: Regional peace, unemployed youth, Sierra Leone, stability, security.

Öz: Ekonomik kalkınmanın, bölgesel barışın, istikrarın ve güvenliğin en önemli unsuru gençlere sağlık ve eğitim gibi temel olanakların yanında kaliteli işlerin sağlanmasıdır. İşsiz gençlerin sayısı arttıkça durum daha da vahimleşmektedir. Sosyoekonomik bir sorun olmasının yanı sıra, genç işsizliği ve buna bağlı eksik istihdam, Sierra Leone’de önemli bir siyasi ve güvenlik kaygısı olarak kendini göstermiştir. Ne tarafından bakarsanız bakın her iki alanda da sebepleri ve sonuçları görürsünüz. Engelli olmayan ancak vasıfsız, işsiz ve ötekileştirilmiş gençler, az miktarlarda para ve tanınma vaadi karşılığında şiddete başvurmaya yöneldiler. Gruplarla savaşıyorlar etkilenmeleri veya onların safına alınmaları daha olasıdır. Bunun sonucunda milletin huzur ve güvenliği ihlal edilmiş, bu da milletin kalkınmasına engel olmuştur. Belirsizlik ve istikrarsızlık ortamında hiçbir ülke gelişemez. Yatırımcılar barışçıl ülkelere çekilmekte ve yatırım istihdam yaratılmasına yol açmaktadır. Bazılarına göre işsizliğin yüksek olmasının çeşitli nedenleri vardır. Bunlar arasında yüksek nüfus artış hızı, kırsaldan kente yoğun göç, Mesleki ve Teknik Eğitim eksikliği, tarımın ihmal edilmesi ve yolsuzluk yer alıyor.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Bölgesel barış, işsiz gençler, Sierra Leone, istikrar, güvenlik.

Introduction

Since the devastating civil war that raged in Sierra Leone from 1991 to 2002, which left thousands of people dead, untold numbers displaced, and the nation’s institutions and economy in ruins, the country has come a long way. According to the World Bank, up to 70% of young people are underemployed or unemployed. This is concerning, given that youth unemployment significantly contributed to the conflict despite solid macroeconomic growth and substantial foreign investment. Concerns have been expressed about the possibility of violence with the presidential elections slated for June 24 and an estimated 1,000,000 young people without jobs being considered as being open to being recruited into violent actions. Recent elections, notably the 2018 presidential election, have seen escalations of youth-led violence and the murder of members of the main opposition All Peoples Congress A.P.C.

Violence broke out last August in Freetown, the nation’s capital, during a street protest organized by an unidentified Sierra Leonean base abroad that believed violence was the only effective way to usher in a new government. Crowds of young men engaged in running battles with the police and set buildings connected to the current regime on fire. The assassination of police officers, members of the Sierra Leone Peoples Party’s present Government, and regular individuals. Both main political parties have included policies geared to

create jobs through human capital development in their manifestos since they believe doing so will be crucial to Sierra Leone's continued recovery from the problem of youth unemployment.

Background

Future generations will likewise be the main drivers of economic growth, but only if policies and initiatives are implemented to expand young people's chances and support smaller families. This tremendous potential might become a terrible momentum as the population increases without adequate infrastructure and public commitment. The most crucial factor for economic development, regional peace, stability, and security is the provision of fundamental amenities like health and education and quality jobs for young people. The situation is getting more severe as the number of young people without jobs rises.

Along with being a socioeconomic problem, youth unemployment and the associated underemployment have emerged as a significant political and security concern in West Africa. Both of its realms are where its causes and effects are found. Young people who are non-disabled yet unskilled, jobless, and alienated have been willing to pick up arms in exchange for modest sums of money along with the promise of recognition, booty, and "wives" and are more likely to be swayed by fighting factions or recruited into their ranks. This "empowerment" has been obtained by criminal groups. Due to their adverse effects on economic performance, investor confidence, and social, physical, and institutional structures, conflict and crime fuel unemployment and fuel conflict and corruption, respectively.

Therefore, an essential strategy for preventing conflict is job creation. In the region spanning from Guinea-Bissau to Cote d'Ivoire, cross-border recruitment of young people into armed conflict is too typical. The problem of youth unemployment in West Africa cannot be resolved on a country-by-country basis alone; it necessitates a regional approach to dealing with its adverse effects and developing a strategy for reversing it. Other regional cross-border problems include small arms, mercenaries, illegal checkpoints, and drug trafficking.

Description of the issue

Complex economic, social, and ethical policy challenges are raised by Sierra Leone's issue with youth unemployment and underemployment. Even though the problem is more prevalent among young people, women, and rural communities, it affects most adults in both urban and rural locations. According to the available data, the job increases in Sierra Leone have not been very significant. Over half of Sierra Leone's youth population is active, with the majority working in agriculture and other unregulated industries. The Experience of underemployment unites both populations. Most of the remaining population

falls under self-employment, primarily in the informal sector. One of the biggest dangers to Sierra Leone's national security is the high youth unemployment that the developing nation is experiencing. Examining how young unemployment in Sierra Leone poses a danger to the country's peace and progress is the focus of this paper.

Investigation's goal of the paper

I performed this study by investigating youth unemployment as a danger to national peace and development in Sierra Leone to deepen our understanding of youth unemployment. The paper aimed to illustrate the trends in youth unemployment and show how it might be viewed as a danger to national development and peace using several variables as evidence.

For a country to develop, there must be peace. Without a doubt, every Sierra Leonean citizen should be accountable for this. Therefore, Sierra Leone youth should be a powerful force for the country's prosperity if channelled adequately because they are the most active group in society. Unemployment among young people undoubtedly affects international peace and a nation's overall development goals. Political and social unrest are encouraged by youth unemployment in this nation. In addition to poverty, unemployment may have a negative psychological impact. Being young and unemployed "can cause loss of motivation and mental health issues and increase the risk of poverty, deskilling, and social exclusion." Moreover, it was mentioned that psychologically speaking, jobless people typically experience trauma, rage, frustration, low self-esteem, negative life satisfaction, sadness, and mental disorders like depression and acute stress. Youth unemployment has been linked in studies to rising drug and alcohol usage among young people and more excellent rates of criminality.

Today's most significant risks to the peace and security of Sierra Leone are young people without jobs. The phenomena have resulted in anarchy, a high crime rate, poverty, and a lack of protection for people and their possessions. To provide youngsters with the skills they need to live purposeful, productive lives, the Federal Government should promote and restructure vocational and technical education. To fulfil the goal for which they were created, such institutions need to be well-equipped.

The Rate of Youth Unemployment and its Effects on National Security

Frustration-Aggression Theory

Theoretical Framework

This theory, which John Dollard and his research associates initially developed in 1939, has been expanded and modified by scholars like Leonard Berkowitz (1962) and Aubrey Yates (1962). It appears to be the most common explanation

for violent behaviour stemming from the inability to fulfil needs. This theory states that aggression is not just undertaken as a natural reaction on instinct as realists and biological theorists assume, but that it is the outcome of frustration and that in a situation where the legitimate desires of an individual are derived either directly or by the indirect consequence of the way the society is structured. The feeling of disappointment may lead such a person to express his anger through violence that will be directed on those he holds responsible or people who are directly or indirectly related to them. In addition, scholars point to the difference between what people feel they want or deserve and what gets the “want-get-ratio” (Feierabends, I.K.R. & Nesvold, B.A., 1969) and the difference between “expected need satisfaction” and “actual need satisfaction” (Davies, C.J., 1962). And where expectation does not meet attainment, the tendency is for people to confront those they hold responsible for frustrating their ambitions. This is the central argument that Ted Robert Gurr’s relative deprivation thesis addressed in saying that “the greater the discrepancy, however marginal, between what is sought and what seems attainable, the greater will be the chances that anger and violence will result” (Gurr, Ted R., 1970, p. 24). An excellent example of how frustration leads to aggression can be seen in the rampant youth unemployment. After the youth population feels that they are getting less than what they deserve from the Government, most of them resort to stealing, terrorism, kidnapping, vandalizing oil pipelines, etc.

Structural Conflict Theory

This theory has two main sub-orientations. The first is the radical structural theory represented by the Marxist dialectical school with exponents like Marx and Engels, V.I., Lenin, etc. The second is the liberal structuralism represented by Ross (1993), Scarborough (1998) and the famous work of Johan Galtung (1990) on structural violence. It is also sometimes similar to transformative theory, which addresses the reactions of individuals, groups, cultures, institutions and societies to change. The main argument of the structural conflict theory is that conflict is built into the particular ways organizations are structured and organized. The theory looks at social problems like political and economic exclusion, injustice, poverty, disease, exploitation, inequity, etc., as sources of conflict. Structuralism maintains that disputes occur because of the exploitative and unjust nature of human societies, the domination of one class by another, etc. This case is made by Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx, Joseph Lenin and Mao Tung (1997), who blame capitalism for being an exploitative system based on its relations of production and the division of society into the proletariat and bourgeoisie. The exploitation of the proletariat and lower classes under capitalism creates conflict (Shedrack, G.B., 2006, p. 41).

Structural theory emphasizes that part of the country’s social problem is youth unemployment, which has degenerated into conflict and affects the efficacy of

national security. The act of exploitation by the Government on the resources of the country, which was supposed to have been a means of creating employment for the unemployed youths, has been a source of conflict (Shedrack, G.B., 2006,

Conceptual Discourse

The concept of unemployment dates from the end of the 19th century and is closely associated with industrialized wage economies. Before that time, persons without work were indiscriminately described as unemployed regardless of the reason. The downturn in the world economy that began in the 1870s and continued until the mid-1890s forced many workers into idleness; such conditions eventually led to a new approach to unemployment, one that emphasized its involuntary nature (Odusola, A.F., 2001). Unemployment is the condition of one capable of working, actively seeking work, but unable to find any work. The International Labour Organization (I.L.O.) defines the unemployed as the economically active population without work but available for and seeking employment, including people who have lost their jobs and those who have voluntarily left work (World Bank, 1998). This definition does not account for a percentage of unemployed youth worldwide. While some developing and developed countries are experiencing higher rates, some are at the moderate/lower level. The Guardian Newspaper reports that in the United Kingdom, the current statistics postulate that the number of jobless youth between 16 and 24 years old is now 1.02 million. The office for the National Bureau of Statistics in the United Kingdom said there were 2.62 million unemployed people in the quarter, the highest total since 1994, which left the unemployment rate at a bigger-than-expected 8.3 percent, the highest since 1996. This means additional young people are churned out of academic institutions with "high hopes" of employment opportunities at the end of the following semester or session. According to the Central Bank of Nigeria (2003), the national unemployment rate rose from 4.3 percent in 1970 to 6.4 percent in 1980. The high unemployment rate observed in 1980 was attributed mainly to depression in the Nigerian economy during the late 1970s. Specifically, the economic downturn led to the implementation of stabilization measures, which included restrictions on exports, which caused import dependency of most Nigerian manufacturing enterprises, resulting in the operation of many companies below their installed capacity (Akintoye, I.R., 2008). This development led to the closedown of many industries while the surviving few were forced to retrench a large proportion of their workforce.

Furthermore, the Nigerian Government also placed an embargo on employment. Notably, from 1980 to 1984, the total disengagement from the Federal Civil Service rose from 2,724 to 6,294 respectively (Akintoye, I.R., 2008). The depression in the economy was caused by the mismanagement of public funds and corruption by the leaders to the detriment of society, which added to the unemployment rate.

Effects of Unemployment on National Security

The level of crime rate in the country is overwhelming. Many unemployed youth have become instruments of evil in the hands of the politicians in perpetuating their hidden agenda before, during and after the election. For instance, in the 2011 presidential election, over 500 lives were lost, including nine Youth Corps members. Thousands of lives and properties were primarily displaced in the northern part of the country. In addition, many ethno-religious crises were perpetuated by the youth. Therefore, the high crime rate weakens national security, threatening lives and properties. Civil Unrest and Internal Aggression It could be recalled that the Arab Spring that happened recently was carried out by restive youths who were frustrated by how their countries were governed. What is the likelihood that the country's rampant youth cannot carry out such a revolution? In addition, we need to recall the role of the restive youth in the Niger/Delta region before the declaration of amnesty by the Federal Government. These youths constituted a menace in society by terrorizing and kidnapping oil workers and foreigners to demand huge ransoms. Many lives and property were lost during the period of their restiveness. Currently, kidnapping is the latest self-employment unemployed youth are engaged in. Several politicians, actors/actresses, young ones, aged, etc., have been victims in the hands of kidnappers. Despite several arrests carried out by the police, the business of kidnapping keeps flourishing every day. Many youth have become "area boys" engaging in nefarious activities and ready evil instruments for the politicians during political activities. Moreover, there has been increased involvement of youth in numerous anti-social activities.

Increase in Cybercrime is a term for any illegal activity that uses a computer as its primary means of commission. The U.S. Department of Justice expands the definition of Cybercrime to include any illegal activity that uses a computer to store evidence. Cybercrime can take many shapes and can occur nearly anytime or any place. Criminals committing Cybercrime use several methods, depending on their skill set and goal. The Council of Europe's Cybercrime Treaty uses the term "cybercrime" to refer to offences ranging from criminal activity against data to content and copyright infringement (Krone, T., 2005). However, Zeviar-Geese (1997) suggests that the definition is broader, including activities such as fraud, unauthorized access, child pornography, and cyberstalking (Zeviar-Geese, G., 1997). The United Nations Manual on the Prevention and Control of Computer-Related Crime includes fraud, forgery, and unauthorized access in its cybercrime definition (United Nations, 1995). Cybercrime's menace has dented the country's image before the international community. On a dip note, in his article concerning a recent study by a research firm, Chatham House.

Youth Employment in Sierra Leone

The special needs of young people are of particular concern to the Government for social and political reasons. On the social development side, people 15–35 are at a disadvantage relative to today's children or adults because they grew up during a war, affecting their human capital development and their transition into adulthood. Rather than spending childhood in school, protected by parents and the community and learning the skills needed to become productive adults, these young people experienced migration, sporadic school attendance, and absent parents or families. Transitioning from childhood to adulthood (heading a household, starting a family of one's own, securing employment to provide for dependents) is a complex process under the best of circumstances; because of the conflict, it is complicated for many young people in Sierra Leone. Holding a job and being able to provide for oneself and one's potential family are essential elements of reaching adulthood. Lack of access to income, delays in family formation, and lack of recognition by society can lead to frustration, hopelessness, and a more significant potential for violence and crime. Political motivations for addressing the needs of young people are also important. Young people are prone to hold governments responsible for their problems when transitioning to adulthood. This phenomenon is not limited to Sierra Leone: youth movements have been vital in forcing government responses worldwide. It can be particularly significant in the volatile environment of recovery from conflict. For these reasons, it is wise for the Government, society, and the international community to understand the situation that young people are facing in Sierra Leone and identify policies to support them better.

Conclusion and Recommendation

Statistics show that many Sierra Leonean youths are unemployed or have low-paying jobs. This is depressing, given that Sierra Leone is a wealthy nation in terms of both human and material resources. If given the chance, the young people should lead the economic growth. Rapping, armed robbery, militancy, online fraud, car snatching, prostitution, murder, cultism, abduction, money laundering, drug trafficking, and other social vices are only a few examples of the constant criminality that results from youth unemployment. Young people engage in these illicit acts as a means of subsistence and a form of protest against the society's mistreatment of them. The nation's peace and security have been violated as a result, which has hindered the nation's development. In an environment of uncertainty and instability, no country can prosper. Investors are drawn to peaceful nations, and investment leads to the creation of jobs. The high unemployment rate has some causes, according to some. These include the high population growth rate, massive rural-urban migration, Vocational and Technical Education shortage, neglect of agriculture, corruption, etc. These notwithstanding, youth unemployment could be curbed by improving

infrastructure in the urban and rural areas, revitalizing some collapsed industries, allocating more money to the education sector, encouraging entrepreneurship, establishing more vocational and technical schools, encouraging agriculture and fighting corruption. For the peace and security of Sierra Leone, Africa, and the global community, a concerted effort must be undertaken to reduce youth unemployment by all parties involved, including the Government at all levels and national and international organizations.

Government and private organizations should regularly hold workshops and seminars with low to no cost for self-employed young people. By addressing the core causes of young unemployment early on, education and skills initiatives can reduce it. Every Government faces budgetary constraints, and they all likely concur that investing in young people who have not yet entered the workforce provides a more extended payback period. This is from the perspective of efficiency. Being proactive is preferable to being reactive. Workplace setting: To expand the number of work prospects for young people, the Government should create a business environment that welcomes domestic and foreign investors. The following conditions must be met for a favourable business climate for long-term youth employment: providing for basic social amenities, political, economic, and institutional stability, effective governance, social interaction, investment in infrastructure, and investment in health care. The most crucial personal quality is a cheerful outlook, which includes being open to new experiences and willing to participate in new activities. Communication skills, honesty/integrity, teamwork skills, a solid work ethic, analytic skills, flexibility/adaptability, interpersonal skills, motivation/initiative, computer skills, organizational skills, leadership abilities, and self-assurance are all examples of employability skills.

- ✓ In addition to promoting youth self-employment and entrepreneurship, entrepreneurship education also helps young people develop the attitudes and abilities, such as greater personal responsibility necessary to deal with the ambiguous employment prospects of modern societies. Young people must have an “entrepreneurial mindset” to start or develop an enterprise culture. They must possess the necessary skills and information to launch a new firm.
- ✓ They must have traits like initiative, responsibility, inventiveness, willingness to take risks, and ability to overcome obstacles. They must know there are alternatives to traditional employment if they make a living. Government and commercial organizations should offer and provide access to interest-free or very low-interest loans.
- ✓ Unemployed young people should only be eligible for loans if they meet specific requirements, such as having a business plan, exhibiting commitment and responsibility, contributing a reasonable amount of

equity, and proving they have the financial means to repay the loan. As a result, the Government should put measures into place to ensure the nation has effective governance.

- ✓ The Government should commit to removing all barriers to economic growth and private enterprise to foster innovation. This includes diversifying away from the oil industry and into other sectors like communication, manufacturing, mining, I.C.T., agriculture, etc., that will improve employment prospects for young people.

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Single Account (TSA) on Public Sector Performance in Sierra Leone for the 2015-2022

Tek Hazine Hesabının (THH) Sierra Leone'de 2015-2022 Döneminde Kamu Sektörü Performansına Etkisi

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Abstract: The study explores the impact of Treasury Single Account (TSA) on the performance of public sector in Sierra Leone. This study primarily examined the extent to which TSA has improved Government Collected Revenue (GCR) and Government Expenditure (GE) of the public sector. Secondary data that were sourced from the Ministry of Finance Sierra Leone were used for this research. The observations were recorded on yearly basis from 2015 to 2022. The data were divided into two periods:

Pre TSA period (2015 to 2018) and Post TSA period (2019 to 2022). A pre-post analysis (difference in means test) was carried out using statistical package for social sciences version 25. The findings show that TSA implementation has a positive and significant effect on the revenue mobilization in Sierra Leone. However, further findings revealed that Government Expenditure (GE) significantly increased after the implementation of TSA. The study concludes that implementation of Treasury Single Account (TSA) has improved revenue generation in Sierra Leone. The study recommends that periodic appraisal of each revenue generating sector should be implemented so that some unperforming sectors are exposed against the performing sectors.

Keywords: Treasury Single Account (TSA), Public Sector, Government Collected Revenue (GCR) and Government Expenditure (GE).

Öz: Çalışma, Tek Hazine Hesabının (THH) Sierra Leone'deki kamu sektörünün performansı üzerindeki etkisini araştırmaktadır. Bu çalışma öncelikle THH'nin kamu sektörünün Devlet Toplanan Gelirini ve Devlet Harcamalarını ne ölçüde iyileştirdiğini incelemektedir. Bu araştırma için Sierra Leone Maliye Bakanlığı'ndan alınan ikincil veriler kullanılmıştır. Gözlemler 2015'ten 2022'ye kadar yıllık olarak kaydedilmiştir. Veriler iki döneme ayrılmıştır: THH öncesi dönem (2015 - 2018) ve THH sonrası dönem (2019 - 2022). Veriler SPSS 25 istatistik paketi kullanılarak bir ön-son analiz (ortalama farkı testi) yardımıyla analiz edilmiştir. Bulgular, THH uygulamasının Sierra Leone'deki gelir seferberliği üzerinde olumlu ve anlamlı bir etkiye sahip olduğunu göstermektedir. Ancak diğer bulgular, THH'nin uygulanmasından sonra Devlet Harcamalarının önemli ölçüde arttığını ortaya çıkarmıştır. Çalışma, Tek Hazine Hesabının (THH) uygulanmasının Sierra Leone'de gelir üretimini artırdığı sonucuna varıyor. Çalışma, bazı performans göstermeyen sektörlerin performans gösteren sektörlerle karşılaştırılması için her gelir üreten sektörün periyodik olarak değerlendirilmesinin uygun olacağını önermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Tek Hazine Hesabı (THH), Kamu Sektörü, Devlet tarafından toplanan gelirler, Devlet harcamaları.

Introduction

The background of the Treasury Single Account (TSA) is in line with president flagship programmed. During the 2018 presidential debate Dr. Ret. Brig. Julius Maada Bio strongly emphasis that there is a lot of financial leakages and loopholes within the public sectors, to eliminate that it is necessary for my government to implement the Treasury Single Account (TSA) which shall be maintain at the Bank of Sierra Leone (BSL). The main key manifesto of the president is the New Direction (ND) "PAOPA SALONE FOR BETEH" in which the New Direction (ND) shall fully implement the TSA as a way of managing the public resources and expenditure. All domestics' tax, revenue, grant and expenditure should be within the TSA as a way of reducing corruption in the various Ministries Department and Agency (NDAs). From the Executive order NO 1 (9th April, 2018), the directives from the government is that all ministries, department and agencies of government that collect and retain government revenues were instructed to transfer all such revenues into the consolidated revenue fund at the Bank of Sierra Leone (BSL).

According to Ahmed 2016, the TSA should be maintained at the Bank of Sierra Leone (BSL), which should be in line with the government policy on each resources control and financial management and it will also allow unionism of the bank account structure of the government to ease consolidation. Ahmed 2016 emphasis that the implementation of TSA is very essential element for the consolidation of government cash resources, hence it decreasing the cost of borrowing. A country with a lot of financial institution and banking system, the institutional of TSA would serve as a top most priority in the public financial management processes.

All MDAs and extra ministerial department have been ordered by the president of Sierra Leone that all the incomes, revenues, and other grants or receipt by the government shall be recorded into a pool of single account of the BSL.

According to Diamond (2005), public financial management deals with mobilization of revenues from the economy in a due process and allocating the public fund efficiently and in an appropriate manner. The main key essences of a public financial management system are allocation of resources, utilization of resources in an appropriate manner and revenues generation. Basically, mobilization of government resources and government expenditures management are been control by the public financial management body. Almost all public sectors in any organization face a problem of managing their finances because it is very crucial part in any public sector.

Public finance management is an essential part of the governance process in local government as in other tiers of government. According to Davis (1989), budget process, mobilization of government resources, prioritization of government programs, efficient management of government resources and exercising control are all component of public finance management in the local government.

For over two decades now the new public management reforms have increased a lot of awareness and growth, all over the world this is still ongoing as a government who wants to deliver the public service by constantly seeking reformation and restructuring. The main essence of delivery public service is as a result of the raise in budget for security, project execution by the government has been a failure, lack of infrastructural implementation, mismanagement and financial difficulties, debt crisis, therefore this should be brought to awareness of the citizens publicly like never before the need for financial reporting should be done by the government and better management of public sectors resources. Another reason for the urgent delivery of public service is because most citizens are continuously demanding that it is good for them to feel the impact of governments' financial management decision and therefore the value of money

should be delivering by the public sector organization forcefully. According to Hon. Abdul Kargbo (2022), Sierra Leone government is currently facing an unannounced austerity within the economy due to mismanagement and couple with financial difficulties and a weak public service, as a result of this pressure it is very much important for the public sector to seek for long-lasting need to deliver public service. According to (Pretorius & Pretorius; 2008), to achievement of millennium development goals, reducing poverty, and improving service delivery it is very much essential for us to have strong public sector financial management. For the government to make sound policy decision based on government finance and take the right financial discipline action there should be well reliable and complete annual account prepared by the public sector. The only way forward for public financial management reform when there is an efficiency and effectiveness in spending public money in the economy wisely.

For the purpose of transparence and accountability financial management reforms introduce the following: government Treasury Single Account (TSA), the adoption of International Public Sector Accounting Standards (IPSAS), Government Integrated Financial Management Information System (GIFMIS) and Integrated Payroll and Personnel Information System (IPPIS) these are actually introduce as a way of eliminating the corrupt practice within civil servant officer of converting public fund to private fund.

Despite the hot hit of Covid-19 and the Ukraine Russian war the public sector has been weakened over the past years due to the over bulleted wages bills through the expansion of public expenditure, using our domestic revenue to finance deficit and the external borrowing has resulted to high debt burden, there is existence of ghost workers in every sector which has resulted to inefficient breakdown of financial management control leading to corruption and misappropriation of public fund, flouting the procurement law, poor costing of programmes and projects.

In totality, the effectiveness and efficiency of government financial control has not created any impact on the ordinary life of the citizens and the economy as a whole. The macroeconomic variables within the economy are poorly performing most especially the exchange rate, inflation, import and export which leads to a sky rocketed of commodity prices compared to the financial crisis of 2008

Although there is a growing interest, the main interest of the study is to examine the restructuring determinant of public financial management and other factors. Ideally, from the above factors, the desire to reform the public sector administration capabilities with a view to the burgeoning challenges became sacrosanct. The rationale for this study therefore, is to examine the impact of treasury single account on the performance of public sectors in Sierra Leone since it is designed to change and transform the economy positively. A lot of study has

been done on the public sector performance in Sierra Leone, determining the correlation between the public financial management and economy by using the gross domestic product (GDP) as a proxy, whereas this study oath to examine the impact of treasury single account (TSA) on the public sector performance in Sierra Leone. Since the research objectives and research question has been specifically identified there is a need to test the hypothesis of the study which is to know the impact of treasury single account on the performance of public sector in Sierra Leone. The research hypothesis stated thus:

Ho: Treasury Single Account adoption does not have significant impact on government expenditure in Sierra Leone

H₁: Treasury Single Account has significant impact on government expenditure in Sierra Leone

Literature Review

Concept of Treasury Single Account (TSA)

According to Jones.Y.M (2020), the treasury single account came up as a result of financial leakages and loopholes within the public sector. For over a decade now a billion of Leone have been missing due to corruption and misappropriation of public fund. According to the former Auditor General of Sierra Leone prior to TSA, Sierra Leone had fragmented banking arrangements for revenue and payment transactions. She said that, there are more than 400 bank account in a multiple bank, which has made cumbersome for any government to establish a sound government consolidated cash position at any time.

The Treasury Single Account is a sound tools of public accounting system that is in position of colligating all government revenues, incomes and receipt in one single account, that is purposely maintain at the country's central bank in which all payment is been done as well.

The main motive is to ensure that there is a well transparency and well accountability of government revenue within the public sectors and to also avoid misappropriation of public fund. To ensure that there is reconciliation between government revenue collection and government expenditure there should be an adequate maintenance of a Treasury Single Account as a way of improving proper cash management (Adeolu, 2015).

Concept of Capital Expenditure

From the post-civil war in Sierra Leone, capital expenditure has been increasing on a yearly basis. According the economic research scholar 45% of expenditure is for economic service. Most MPs focus on the budget allocation to the capital expenditure project which is meant for economic services. The public interest today is how the central government capital spending boost the

economic growth has been the topic of discussion by different economic scholar around the globe.

While a good number adopted aggregated approach, a few authors employed a disaggregated analysis with mixed results. Upon this background, this study is set to examine the effects of disaggregated functional government capital expenditure on economic growth in Sierra Leone. Specifically, studies concentrate on effects of total government expenditure on economic growth, while others focused on the causality between capital expenditure and economic growth. Yet other researchers have tried to explore the effect of growth based on capital expenditure. A few studies have considered disaggregated functional capital expenditure without paying attention to the effect each of these components places on economic growth.

Government Collected Revenue in Sierra Leone

The back bone of every business is the accumulation of capital. No revenues generation no investment within any environment regardless of the status of the individuals. What government actually received as money is the actual government revenue. Ideally, it is amount of cash that the organization actual gets within a specific per4iod of time (Ofurum et al, 2018). According to Ofurum, et al, (2018), government got his income from different sources, for instance, tax on personal earning and organization, properties, court fines, import and export duties, government also claim foreign organization benefit and individual's benefits. The process of raising fund for government is through revenue generation. Taxation is the chief actor for the generation of revenue for any government. Samuel &Tyokoso (2014) assert that the main essence of raising revenue for the government which is through the traditional method, the tax function is to meet the government expenditure. The government actual focus on the revenue generation as way of providing the social amenities and also the provision of public goods like military defense and other social factors like health and education. Sierra Leone main institution for revenue collection is the National Revenue Authority (NRA), revenue is collected in to two-fold, taxation and through grant from the donor partner.

Empirical Review

Ejoh, Ndifon Ojong (2020). Examine treasury single account (TSA) implications on government revenue control among federal government parastatals in Nigeria. The research employed the cross sectional survey design and used questionnaire to generate its data. The studies targeted 240 selected staff within different government parastatals and use the SPSS 25 to analysis the result. The result reveals that TSA has significant and positive impact on cash control and monitoring the fund within the government parastatals for the project

implementation. The study recommended that the government should evaluate and monitor all the implementation of policy in all MDAs.

Arafa A. Silim (2021), examines the effect of treasury single account on the financial performance of commercial banks in Tanzania. Analysis of the study was between the year 2011-2017. The study adopt a time series data design using the secondary data, which were collected from the financial report and were been analyze through the use of the Microsoft excel by computing CAMEL rating of the selected CAMEL components. The results show that, NMB has a sound and strong significant on the financial performance after the implementation of the TSA while the CRDB and Exim have a weakness in the financial assessment. The study recommended that, government should not neglect the financial institution as it will affect the business sector and also the economic growth.

Akujuruand Enyioko (2018), examined the socio-economic impact of treasury single account policy on corruption in Nigeria, for the period between 2011 to 2017. A cross sectional research methodology was adopted and the used of questionnaire to collect data. The targeted sample population of the study was 6393 staff from all the MDAs in the Rivers State. According to Prof. Taro Yameme sample size method, the sample size was determining at 377 staff at all the MDAs within the Cross River State, in Nigeria. Descriptive statistics were used to analyze the data. From the research it shows that TSA was actually introduce to reduce corruption, block all financial leakages, prevent mismanagement of government revenue and promote adequate transparency within the public sector institutions. The result shows that there is lot of challenges that is hampering the effectiveness of treasury single account implementation, which includes: there is a complete bureaucracy within the public sector, complete weakness of internet facilities, and there is inefficient human capital development. The study recommended that the government should try to secure the appropriate constitutional support from the judiciary that can support the full implementation of the treasury single account within the public sector institutions.

Nkechi T. Ofor, Leonard Emeka Omaliko, Francis Chukwudi Okoli (2017), examine the effect of treasury single accounts on the performance of ministries, departments and agencies in Nigeria. The method of the study was bases on primary data collection through the uses of questionnaire that was administer to 75 MDAs within Anambra Metropolis in Nigeria. The study reveal that the institutionalization of TSA has significantly affect and improve the performance of all MDAs within the public sector in term of revenue mobilization and also block all loopholes within the financial area and it has greatly improved the economic growth through transparency and accountability.

Nkanbia-Davies, Lilian Okorite, Okafor, Chinyere, Penu, Samuel, Lucky (2021), examine the relationship between treasury single account and performance of

the public sector in Nigeria. The data were collected from the central bank of Nigeria bulletin from quarterly bases from 2010Q1-2020Q2. The Least square estimation method and pair test sample were used to analysis the result. The study shows that TSA has a negative impact on the economic growth (GDP), and conclude that the TSA has not contributed positively to the economic growth. The study recommended that; the government should try to implement the fiscal policy by taking into consideration of the macroeconomic variables that will gear to economic growth.

Institutional Theory

Institutional theory was propounded by Meyer and Rowan in the late 1970s. Nagalingam, Mangala & Kumudine (2015) analysis the institutional theory in a border aspect as a social structure. The institutional theory looks at the key determinant within the society, which are regulatory, nominative, cognitive rules and norms that was established as authoritative guidelines. Quite recently the development in Sierra Leone is the new accepted rules and norms of behaviours for public account frame work that need to be adhered. Within the public sector today, the current happen which is been refer to as the topic of discussion is been address by this theory, such subject of discussion is TSA, and IPSAS etc. according to Meyer & Rowan (2010), the adoption of this concept can bring sanity within the public sector, globally it ensures homogeneity and it will also promote efficiency, effectiveness, accountability and transparency. The net impact of these reforms is to raise the homogeneity within the institutionalization structure that would add more value to all MDAs which they will be reference at all time.

Methodology

The research design employed in this study was ex-post facto research design. To estimate the relationship between the endogenous variable and exogenous variable by employing the ex-post facto research design. This research specifically uses this methodology is to obtain the numerical estimate of the model coefficient sine there is a linear model of the economic relationship. The research was use to estimate these two main variables, Government Collected Revenue (GCR) and the Government Expenditure (GE). This essence of this research is to investigate these two variables. The variables data were collected from the Ministry of Finance and Statistics Sierra Leone base on the yearly basis from 2015 to 2022 Financial Year (FY) which leads into a total of 8 observations. Specifically, the research data would be divided into two case periods; at the first case, before the treasure single account (TSA) was adopted in the FY (2015-2018). This can be denoted as GCR_a & GE_a . At the second case periods, after the treasure single account has been implemented for the FY (2019-2022), which would be denoted as GCR_b & GE_b . The table 1 below shows the data collected for the purpose of this work. A pre-post analysis (difference in means test) was carried out using E-view

statistical package version 10. To examine the effect of the endogenous variables on performance, the model adopted by Ofurum, Oyibo & Ahuche were adopted and modified as follows:

$$GE = f(GCR) \dots\dots\dots (i)$$

The transformation of the above model into a regression function is given below:

$$GE = \alpha + \beta GCR + \epsilon_t \dots\dots\dots (ii)$$

Where GE = Government Expenditure

GCR = Government Collected Revenue;

α = the intercept term which gives the mean value of GE when Government Collected Revenue are set to be equal to zero;

β = the coefficient of Government expenditure which measures the average mean change in GE per New Sierra Leone change in Government Collected Revenue;

ϵ_t = this is the error term that is used to capture the effect of other variables which was not included in the model performance.

“Pre-Post” Decision Rule: If the Prob. Value is greater than 0.05, the null hypothesis of no significant effect will be accepted; if otherwise, reject the null and accept alternative

Result And Discussion

Table 1: Data presentation

Period	GCR (NLEBILLION)	GE (NLEBILLION)
Observations before the implementation of TSA		
2015	3,494,712	4,419,105
2016	3,615,441	5,440,651
2017	4,023,073	6,405,638
2018	5,108,751	6,830,697
Observations after the implementation of TSA		
2019	6,666,166	7,748,939
2020	7,813,572	10,093,069
2021	9,287,851	12,149,927
2022	11,179,505	13,677,458

Source: Ministry of Finance, Economic Bulletin 2022

Pair Sample Statistics

		Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Pair 1	GCRa	8741273.50	4	1957764.146	978882.073
	GCRb	4060494.25	4	734489.508	367244.754
Pair 2	Gea	10917348.25	4	2572658.137	1286329.068
	Geb	5774022.75	4	1074311.737	537155.869

Source: SPSS version 25

From the table above, the result shows a mean value of SLE 8741273.50 billion which represent the mean value of the revenue collected after the implementation of TSA in to the system with a standard deviation of SLE 1957764.146 billion while government revenue collected before the introduction of TSA shows a mean value of SLE 4060494.25 billion with a standard deviation of SLE 734489.508 billion. The research also reveals that government expenditure before the implementation of TSA shows a mean value of SLE 5774022.75 billion with a standard deviation of SLE 1074311.737 billion while its shows a mean value of SLE 10917348.25 billion after TSA was implemented by the government with a standard deviation of SLE 2572658.137 billion.

Test of Difference of Means

Pair Sample Test

		Mean	Pair Differences		T	Df	Sig
			Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean			
Pair 1	GCRa – GCRb	4680779.250	1269443.379	634721.690	7.375	3	0.005
Pair 2	GEa – GEB	5143325.500	1504724.917	752362.458	6.836	3	0.006

Source: SPSS version 25

From the table above, it reveals that the revenue collected shows (SLE4680779.250) has a mean difference, this implies that the introduction of Treasury Single Account shows a positive impact on the public sector performance and it is statistically significant at the 5% (0.05) significant level, since the P – Value is less than 0.05. The result further shows the government expenditure has a mean difference of (SLE5143325.500) billion, in conclusion the TSA has a positive impact on the country performance and it is also significant at 5% level with a P – Value of 0.006.

Discussion of Findings

From the table above, the result shows a mean value of SLE 8741273.50 billion which represent the mean value of the revenue collected after the implementation of TSA in to the system with a standard deviation of SLE 1957764.146 billion while government revenue collected before the introduction of TSA shows a mean value of SLE 4060494.25 billion with a standard deviation of SLE 734489.508 billion. The research also reveals that government expenditure before the implementation of TSA shows a mean value of SLE 5774022.75 billion with a standard deviation of SLE 1074311.737 billion while its shows a mean value of SLE 10917348.25 billion after TSA was implemented by the government with a standard deviation of SLE 2572658.137 billion. From the table above, it reveals that the revenue collected shows (SLE4680779.250) has a mean difference, this implies that the introduction of Treasury Single Account shows a positive impact on the public sector performance and it is statistically significant at the 5% (0.05) significant level, since the P – Value is less than 0.05. The result further shows the government expenditure has a mean difference of (SLE5143325.500) billion, in conclusion the TSA has a positive impact on the country performance and it is also significant at 5% level with a P – Value of 0.006.

From the result above, it shows that the introduction of Treasury Single Account has greatly improved the domestic revenue collection in Sierra Leone. The result also reveals that the domestic revenue significantly increases during the implementation of Treasury Single Account in the country. From the table above, the mean value of government collected revenue before the implementation of TSA is (SLE4060494.25) billion, government collected revenue after the TSA shows a mean value of (SLE8741273.50) billion leading to an increase by (SLE4680779.25) billion. The result shows that the government expectation towards the revenue mobilization was achieved towards the implementation of TSA in the MDAs. In relation to the TSA impact on economic growth, it is obviously that the government expenditure improved after the TSA has been implemented from a yearly average of (SLE5774022.75) billion to (SLE10917348.25) billion. Further findings revealed that this improvement was statistically significant. This result is in tandem with the findings of Oguntodu, Alalade, Adekunle, & Adegbie (2016), who confirmed that Treasury Single Account has a positive and significant impact on the country's economic growth.

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

Based on the result the pre – post analysis been carried out on the impact of Treasury Single Account on the public sector performance; the research conclude that Treasury Single Account implementation has greatly improved the revenue collection in Sierra Leone, however the performance measured using Government Expenditure was positively and significantly affected by the new accounting system.

Given the foregoing, the following recommendations are being put forward;

- i. Appraisal of each revenue generating sector should be made periodically so that some sectors that are not performing as they ought to will not feel covered by those that are doing better.
- ii. The government should initiate policies and various means to make sure that proper accounting of the funds into the Treasury Single Account follows due process and any subsequent foul play by any agencies, or even the BSL is duly prosecuted.

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Tarih Boyunca Mısır Arap Toplumunda Ermeniler Armenians in Egyptian Arab Society Throughout History

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Öz: Ermenilerin tarihçesi, MÖ 6. yüzyıla kadar uzanmakta, Kafkasya ve Anadolu'nun bazı bölgelerinde ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu dönemlerde Ermeniler, bağımsız veya bağımlı krallıklar olarak varlıklarını sürdürmüşlerdir. Ermeniler tarih boyunca, Pers İmparatorluğu, Roma İmparatorluğu, Bizans İmparatorluğu, Araplar, Selçuklular, Moğollar ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu gibi birçok farklı egemenlik altında çeşitli derecelerde siyasi ve dini özerklikler kazanmış olarak yaşamışlardır. 16. yüzyıldan itibaren Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun hâkimiyeti altında yaşayan Ermeniler "millet-i sâdıka" sayılmış, Hristiyan halklar arasında hizmet bakımından en samimleri ve Osmanlıya başkaldırıların en sonuncusu olmuşlardır. Yüzyıllar boyu Osmanlı hâkimiyetinde yaşayan Ermeniler sadakatleri ve kendilerine has yetenekleri ile imtiyazlı konumlar elde etmişler ve üst düzey görevlere kadar yükselmişlerdir. 19. yüzyılın sonlarından itibaren milliyetçilik akımlarına kapılan Ermeniler, Rusya, Fransa ve İngiltere'nin bağımsızlık vaatleriyle kışkırtmaları sonucu Osmanlıya başkaldırmaya ve terör eylemlerine başlamıştır. 1894, 1895, 1896 ve 1909 yıllarında Sason isyanı, Osmanlı Bankası baskını, Bâb-ı Âli ve Eski Çarşı'ya saldırı, Sultan Abdülhamid'e suikast girişimi ve Adana ayaklanması gibi eylemler gerçekleştirmişlerdir. Ermeniler, 1. Dünya Savaşı esnasında Ruslara destek sağlayarak önüne gelen Türk köylerini yağmalayıp, katliamlar yapıp Osmanlı'ya ihanet edince,

Osmanlı hükümeti bu durumu vatana ihanet suçu saymış, sınır ve cephe bölgelerinde yaşayanları iç bölgelere tehcir kararı almıştır. İşte bu tehcir kararı ve yaşanan can kayıpları nedeniyle Ermeniler çeşitli Arap ülkelerine göç etmişlerdir. Bu çalışma Mısır'a göç eden Ermenilerin tarihi arka planını incelemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ermeniler, Tehcir, Göç, Mısır'da Ermeniler, Ermeni Diasporası.

Abstract: The history of Armenians dates back to the 6th century BC, appearing in some regions of the Caucasus and Anatolia. During these periods, Armenians continued their existence as independent or dependent kingdoms. Throughout history, Armenians have lived under many different dominations such as the Persian Empire, Roman Empire, Byzantine Empire, Arabs, Seljuks, Mongols and Ottoman Empire, gaining various degrees of political and religious autonomy. Armenians living under the rule of the Ottoman Empire since the 16th century were considered the "loyal nation" and were the most sincere among the Christian peoples in terms of service and the last of those who rebelled against the Ottomans. The Armenians, who lived under Ottoman rule for centuries, rose to privileged positions, including the elderly and senior positions, thanks to their loyalty and talents. Armenians, who were caught up in nationalist movements since the end of the 19th century, began to rebel against the Ottoman Empire and commit acts of terrorism as a result of the provocations of Russia, France and England through epidemic seasons. In 1894, 1895, 1896 and 1909, they carried out actions such as Sason rebellions, Ottoman Bank oppression, attacks on Bâb-ı Âli and the Old Bazaar, assassination attempt on Sultan Abdülhamid and Adana uprising. When the Armenians plundered the Turkish villages that were in the way of supporting the Russians during World War I and betrayed the photographs of the massacres to the Ottoman Empire, the Ottoman government deemed this a crime of treason and decided to deport those living in the border and frontline areas to the inner regions. Because of these failures and losses, Armenian migration to various Arab countries increased. This study examines the historical background of Armenians who immigrated to Egypt.

Keywords: Armenians, Deportation, Migration, Armenians in Egypt, Armenian Diaspora.

Giriş

Bu makalede anavatanlarından savaş, sosyal çalkantılar ve ekonomik sebepler gibi nedenlerle Ortadoğu ve Kuzey Afrika Avrupa ülkelerine göç eden Ermenilerin göç ettikleri ülkelerin siyaset, ekonomi, ilim ve kültürel hayatlarına etkileri bağlamında Mısır'a göç eden Ermeniler incelenmiştir. Özellikle 1915 Tehcir kanunu sonrasında Anadolu'nun güney ve doğusundan göç ettirilen Ermenilerin Anayurtları Ermenistan veya Rusya ve İran gibi ülkelere göç etmek yerine başta Lübnan ve Suriye olmak üzere Irak, Ürdün, Filistin ve Mısır gibi Arap ülkelerine göç etmelerinin nedenleri ele alınmıştır. Bu bağlamda adı geçen Arap ülkelerinin tarihinde Ermeni varlığının ilk ortaya çıkışından 1915 Tehcir kanununa kadar geçen süreçte Mısır Arap toplumunda Müslüman Arap halkla iç içe, Hristiyan yerli Kipti halkla yan yana varlığını sürdüren, kimi zaman asimilasyon derecesinde Arap toplumuyla kaynaşan, kimi zaman adaptasyon sürecini başarıyla yöneterek hizmetine girdikleri devlette vezirlik, valilik, ordu komutanlığı gibi üst düzey görevlere yükselen, Sultanların özel hazinelerinin, devletin maliye ve gümrük yöne-

timlerinin kendilerine tevdi edildiği Ermenilerin Mısır Arap toplumuna kendilerini kabul ettirme stratejileri araştırılmıştır.

Gerek tehcir kanunu öncesinde gerek sonrasında Arap ülkelerinde Ermeni varlığı ve nüfuzları konusunda Arapça kaynaklara dayanılarak bir araştırmanın yapılmaması bizleri bu araştırmaya iten sebeplerinin başında yer almaktadır. Nitekim Anadolu'da yaşayan veya özellikle Amerika gibi batı ülkelerine göç eden Ermenilerle ilgili Türk araştırmacılar tarafından birçok araştırma yapılmışken, Arap ülkelerine göç eden Ermeniler hakkında dilsel ve siyasal problemler nedeniyle yeterince araştırma yapılmamıştır. Bu noktadan hareketle Mısır Arap halkı nezdinde Ermeni imajını ve Ermenilerin Arap toplumuna bakışlarını Arapça kaynaklara dayanarak ortaya koymak bu makalenin temel amacını oluşturmaktadır.

Mısır Ermenileri hakkında bilgiler aktaran Arapça kaynakları üç gruba ayırmak yerinde olacaktır. Birinci grupta yer alan eserler Ermeni yazarlar tarafından Ermenice veya yaygın batı dillerinde kaleme alınan, daha sonra Arapçayı iyi bilen Ermeni yazar ve çevirmenler tarafından Arapçaya aktarılan çeviri eserlerdir. İkinci gruptaki eserleri Arap toplumuna adapte olmuş, Arap kültürünü görünüşte benimsemiş ve Arapçayı çok iyi öğrenmiş, buna karşılık aile ortamında veya mensubu olduğu Ortodoks veya Katolik Ermeni grubu içerisinde Ermeni kimliği ve kültürünü muhafaza eden Ermenilerin Arapça kaleme aldıkları telif eserlerdir. Üçüncü grubu ise el-Makrîzî gibi Arap tarihçi, coğrafyacı ve gezginlerin eserleri oluşturmaktadır. Araştırmada başvuru kaynakların büyük bir kısmını ilk iki gruptaki eserler oluşturmaktadır. Dolayısıyla bu eserler Ermeni diasporasının birçok ülkede ve farklı dillerde dile getirdiği "Ermeni soykırımı" iddialarıyla bire bir örtüşmektedir. Müslüman Arap toplumu genelinde, Mısır halkı özelinde Arap toplumu, Fatimiler döneminde olduğu gibi, zaman zaman "Ermeni dönemi" olarak isimlendirilebilecek düzeyde yönetimde söz sahibi olsa da çoğu zaman bir köşeye çekilerek sanat ve zanaatla ilgilenen Ermenileri, yönetimi ve gücü elinde bulunduran Selçuklu ve Osmanlıya tercih etmiştir. Arapça çok sayıda roman, film ve tiyatroya esin kaynağı olan soykırım iddiaları karşısında Mısır aydını ve entelektüel kesimi tercihlerini Ermenilerden yana kullanarak sessiz ve tepkisiz kalmışlardır. Türk tarihi araştırmacıları tarafından kesin kanıtlarla çürütülen, ancak Arapça yayınlarda ısrarla tekrarlanan soykırım iddialarına ve Ermenilere methiyeler düzme alışkanlığına karşı cevap vermek uzmanlık alanımızı da bu makalenin sınırlarını da aşacaktır. Amacımız yalnızca bir Arap'ın zihnindeki Ermeni imajını ortaya koymaktır; yoksa Arap isimleri kullanarak, Arapça yazan bir akademisyen kisvesine bürünerek Ermeni olduğunu gizlemeye çalışan araştırmacıların Ermeniler hakkındaki sitayiş dolu ifadelerini aktarmak değildir.

İslam Öncesi Dönemde Mısır'da Ermeni Varlığı

Ermeniler tarih boyunca çeşitli aşamalarda Amerika, Avrupa, Asya ve Afrika ülkelerine bireysel ya da toplu olarak göç etmiş ve oralarda yerleşmişlerdir. Bu anlamda Ermeniler Mısır'a hem tehcir öncesinde hem de tehcir sonrasında göç etmiş ve yerleşmişlerdir.

Elliott Smith Ermenilerin ilk Firavun Ailesi Döneminden itibaren Toros dağlarından Mısır'a gittiklerini ve Firavun devletinin kurulmasına ve medeniyetini oluşturmaya yardım ettiklerini belirtmektedir (el-Boyacıyan, 1960: 1'den Akt. Azazyan, 1993: 127). Ermeniler Mısır'a Firavunların Suriye'ye saldırıları neticesinde gelmişlerdir. Firavunlar Fırat Nehri'ni geçip Ermenistan'ın Güney bölgelerine ulaşmışlar ve birçok Ermeni'yi esir olarak Mısır'a götürmüşlerdir. (el-Boyacıyan, 1960: 1'den Akt. Azazyan, 1993: 127). Ermeni araştırmacı Nazarit M. Agazarim Ermenilerle Mısırlılar arasındaki ticari ilişkilerden söz ederken Ermeni isminin eski Mısır yazıtlarında geçtiğinden bahsetmektedir (Agazarim, 1911: 1-2'den Akt. Azazyan, 1993: 127).

Bazıları, Ermenilerin Mısır'a göçünün eski Mısır hanedanları dönemine kadar dayandığını ve daha sonra Bizans yönetimi (527-640) sırasında arttığını ifade etmektedirler. Ancak Ermeniler, Mısır'ın Müslümanlar tarafından fethinden itibaren Mısır'da görülmeye başlamışlardır. Bu İslami fetih (639-642) İslami Mısır'ın ilk başkenti olan Fustat'ta "Vartan Çarşısı" olarak bilinen bir çarşı kuran komutan Vartan (Vardan) el-Rûmî gibi Müslümanlığı kabul edenler de yer almışlardır. Halife Osman b. Affân onu Mısır'a emir olarak görevlendirmiştir. Aynı şekilde, İbn Tagrıberdî'nin Ermeni asıllı olduğunu söylediği Emir Ali b. Yahya gibi bazı Müslüman Ermeniler, Abbasi yönetimi (750-1258) sırasında da Mısır emiri olarak görevlendirilmişlerdir (İbn Tagrıberdî, 2: 246-255'ten Akt. el-İmâm, 1999: 65).

Hunharca katledildiğini iddia ettiği Ermeni şehitlerin anne, baba, eş, kardeş ve çocuklarına "Mısır ve Filistin Ermenileri siyasetten uzak" adıyla bir eser ithaf eden Mâcîd İzzet İsrail ise İncil'de Hz. Yusuf'un rüyasında oğlu ve hanımını alarak Mısır'a gitmesi emrinin varlığına atıfta bulunarak Mısır'daki Ermeni cemaatinin tarihsel köklerini, eski Mısır hanedanları dönemine kadar götürmektedir. İsrail, Bizans döneminde Ermenilerin sayısında nisbî bir artış olduğunu ancak Mısır'ın Müslümanlar tarafından fethedilmesinden sonra bazı Anadolu Hristiyanlarının Mısır'a göç ettiğini, Ermenilerin Mısır'da daha çok görülmeye başladığını belirtmektedir. Ayrıca Abbasiler döneminde Ermeni nüfusun daha da arttığını, özellikle Fatımîler Döneminde Ermenilerin dini, kültürel ve ticari olarak tamamen özgür bir topluluk olduklarını da vurgulamıştır (İsrail, 2017: 26-27).

İsrail eskiden yeniye Ermenilerin göç serüveni hakkında şunları ifade etmiştir (2017: 12): "MÖ 6. yüzyılda Perslerin Mısır'ın kontrolünü ele geçirmesinden itibaren birçok Ermeni Mısır'a akın etti. Bunun en eski kanıtı, MS 3. yüzyılın sonlarına ait Yunanca bir yazıttır. MS 11. yüzyılda Ermenistan'ın Bizans yönetimi sırasında, özellikle Fatımî döneminde Bedrüddin el-Cemâli'ye nispet edilen Cemâli Ailesinin ülke yönetiminde bulunması nedeniyle birçok Ermeni Ermenistan ve Kudüs'ten Mısır'a göç etmişlerdir. Memlûk Sultanları döneminde (1250-1517) özellikle Sultan el-Melik ez-Zâhir Seyfuddîn Berkûk (1339-1399) döneminde de sayıları artmıştır. Ermeniler 1517'de Osmanlı'nın Mısır'ı işgalinden sonra, Mısır ve Filistin'deki en büyük Hristiyan yabancı topluluk olmuşlardır.

Miladi 5. asrın başlangıcından itibaren Ermeniler çeşitli gayelerle Mısır'a geldiler ve bazıları Sina manastırına ve Mısır çöllerindeki diğer manastırlara sığındılar (Kardaşyan, 1986, 2:5'ten Akt. Azazyan, 1993: 130). Feyyum şehrinde Yunanca öğrenmek için Mısır'a gelen bir Ermeni tarafından yazıldığına inanılan tarihi miladi 5., 6. veya 7. asra giden Yunanca ancak Ermeni harfleriyle yazılmış papirüs kağıdından el yazmasına rastlanmıştır (el-Boyacıyan, 1960: 9-10'dan Akt. Azazyan, 1993: 130). Ermeni öğrenciler çoğu eğitimlerini İskenderiye'de aldılar. Önde gelen ilk tercümanlar onlardandır. Miladi 5. ve 6. yüzyıllarda o öğrenciler önde gelen tarihçilerin eserlerini Yunancadan Ermeniceye çevirdiler. Bazı Mısır ve Yunan nüshaları kaybolmuş, Ermenice tercüme günümüze kadar gelmiştir (Horinatsi, 1981: 427-429 ve Kardaşyan, 1986, 2:3'ten Akt. Azazyan, 1993: 130).

Müslümanlar Tarafından Fethinden Sonra Mısır'da Ermeniler

Arap tarihçiler, 9. yüzyılda Bizans ordularına karşı yapılan savaşlarda önemli rol oynayan önde gelen Ermeni devlet adamı ve askeri lider İbn Yahya el-Ermeni'den övgüyle bahsederler. İbn Yahya Gürcistan, Harran ve Dağıstan'ı içeren Ermenistan'ın hükümdarı, Ermeni asıllı Hüsameddin Lu'lu' donanmanın komutanı ve Fustat Fahram da Kahire şehrinin önde gelen yapı ustalarındandır (Hofhannisyen, 2007'den Akt. İsrail, 2017: 27).

11. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Selçukluların batıya doğru ilerleyişi öncesinde çok sayıda Ermeni Mısır'a kaçmış, bunun sonucu olarak da Mısır'daki Ermeni sayısı artmıştır ki bu olaylar Filistin ve Suriye'nin Fatimi egemenliğine girdiği döneme tekabül etmektedir (Ebu Zeyd, 1991: 32-43'den Akt. İsrail, 2017: 27).

Yaklaşık iki yüzyıl (969-1171) hüküm süren Fatimi dönemi siyasi, kültürel, ekonomik ve imar alanlarında Ermenilerin aktif rol oynadığı bir dönem olmuş, Mısır ve Ermeniler için "altın dönem" olarak nitelendirilmiştir. Hatta Gaston Wiet 11. asrın ikinci yarısını "Ermeni Dönemi" olarak adlandırmıştır (Wiet, 1932, 2: 216'dan Akt. Azazyan, 1993: 132). Ermeni kaynaklarına göre 11. yüzyılda Ermeni sayısı 30000'e ulaşmış ve Mısır'ın her tarafına yayılmışlardır (el-Boyacıyan, 1960: 29'dan Akt. Azazyan, 1993: 132).

El-İmâm da Fatimi Dönemiyle ilgili şunları aktarmaktadır: "Ermeniler, Mısır'da Fatimi yönetimi sırasında (969-1171) tam bir dini, kültürel ve ticari özgürlüğe sahip oldukları müreffeh bir dönem yaşadılar. Filistin ve Suriye'nin Fatimi yönetimine boyun eğdirilmesinden sonra Fatimi Mısır'da Ermenilerin sayısı artmış, 11. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Selçukluların Batı'ya ilerlemesi sebebiyle birçok Ermeni Mısır'dan kaçmıştır (Ebu Zeyd, 1991: 33-49'dan Akt. el-İmâm, 1999: 66). Bu noktada Ermenilerin adalet ve hoşgörüsüyle ün salmış Selçuklulardan korkarak Mısır'a kaçma ihtiyacı hissetmelerinin sebepleri ayrıca araştırılmalıdır.

Tarihçiler, Ermeni Bedrü'l-Cemâlî'nin Mısır'ın işlerini devraldığı zaman, vezirler çağını başlattığını söylerler. O andan itibaren asıl yönetim onların elindeydi ve halifeler vezirlerin gölgesinde kaldılar. "Ermeni Dönemi" olarak adlandırılan

bu dönemde vezirlerin çoğu, 11. yüzyılın ikinci yarısına kadar Fatımi devletinin yaşamında önemli bir rol oynayan Ermenilerdi. Bedru'l-Cemâlî (1070-1094), oğlu el-Efdal Şahinşah (1130-1131), Es-Sa'id Ebu'l-Feth Yanis el-Ermenî (1132-1134), Behrâm el-Ermenî (1135-1137), Talâ'i b. Râzik el-Ermenî (1154-1161) ve Râzik b. Talâ'i el-Ermenî (1161-1163) bu dönem vezirleridir (el-Munâvî, 1970: 77,91,104'ten Akt. El-İmâm, 1999: 66).

Tarihçiler 11. Yüzyılın sonlarında kilise ve manastırların Mısır'ın her tarafına yayıldığından bahsederler, El-Makrîzî de bu konu ve özellikle Ermeni Manastırı üzerinde çok durmuştur (Makrîzî 1:343, 2:501-519, 2:509; Tosun, 1935: 70-79; Deyr Mikâilyan, 1980: 97'den Akt. Azazyan, 1993: 134). Beyaz Manastır ve Theodoros Kisûnî adlı Ermeni sanatçı tarafından Ermeni tarzıyla yapılan çini süslemeli Ermeni kilisesi günümüzde hala ayakta olan en önemli yapılardandır (Kuşakyan, 1927: 244-245'den Akt. Azazyan, 1993: 134).

Fatımi egemenliğinin Selahaddin Eyyubi (1171-1193) tarafından yıkılmasından sonra Ermeniler Mısır'daki faaliyetlerini sürdürmenin imkansızlığını anladılar ve çok sayıda Ermeni 1172 yılında Kudüs'e göç etti. Bunun sonucu olarak Kürtler ile Ermeniler arasındaki geleneksel düşmanlık arttı. Kürtlerin Besâtin Manastırı Patriğini, rahiplerini ve takipçilerini kovmaları Mısır'daki Ermeni cemaatinin azalmasına yol açtı (Hevayt, 1997: 94-96'dan Akt. İsrail, 2017: 28).

Selahaddin Eyyubi 1187'de Kudüs'ü fethettiğinde, sadakat ve cesaretlerinden dolayı Ermenilere özel ayrıcalıklar tanımış ve kutsal topraklardaki tüm haklarını korumuştur. Keza, mühendis Bahaeddin Karakuş, Selahaddin'in donanmasının komutanı Lu'lu' el-Hâcib ve komutan Şerefu'd-Din Karakuş gibi bazı Ermeniler de Selahaddin'in hizmetine girmiştir (Mikâilyan, 1980: 136-170'ten Akt. El-İmâm, 1999: 67).

El-İmâm ve Azazyan Ermenilerin arttığından, refah düzeylerinin yükseldiğinden hatta Selahaddin Eyyûbî'nin Ermenilere özel ayrıcalıklar tanıdığından bahsederken İsrail, Eyyûbî'nin baskısı nedeniyle tekrar Kudüs'e göç ettiklerinden bahsetmektedir. Ermenilerin ve Ermeni sempatizanlarının eserlerinde bu tür tezatlar ve özellikle rakamlarda abartmalar sık sık gözlenmektedir.

Memlûkler Dönemi Mısır'da Ermeniler

El-İmâm Memluklerin Kilikya'yı (Küçük Ermenistan) bir dizi akından sonra 1375 hezime uğrattıklarını ve oradan getirdiği esirler nedeniyle Mısır'daki Ermeni sayısının arttığını belirterek Azazyan'ı teyit etmiştir. Ayrıca El-İmâm esir Ermenilerin ziraat ve sanayi işlerinde kullanıldıklarını belirtmiştir. Zira Ermeniler Eşyut'ta lüks halılar yapmakla ünlüydü ve kalitesinden dolayı onlara "Ermeni halıları" deniyordu. Ayrıca Eşmun'da kırmızı boya yapımlarıyla ünlüydüler. Yine Memlûkler, İslami eğitimden sonra Ermenilerden orduda da yararlanmışlardır. Memlûk Mısır'ındaki Hristiyan Ermeniler, dini ayinlerini yapabilmek için Kahire'nin Kum'u'l-Ermen mahallesinde Aziz Minas Kilisesi'ni inşa ederken Sultan'ın hoşgörüsünden istifa-

de etmişlerdir. Aynı şekilde Memlûk Mısır'ında Sultan ez-Zahir Berkûk'un veziri Muhâfiz'ud-Dîn Ebu'l-Ferac, oğlu vezir Tâcu'd-Dîn Abdu'r-Râzik ve kardeşi Sultan Zâhir eş-Şakmakî'nin müsteşarı Hâkim Yahya Zeynu'd-Dîn gibi bazı Ermeniler bu dönemde ön plana çıkmışlardır (el-Îmâm, 1999: 67-68).

14. yüzyılın başında Ermeni Kilisesi'nde bir bölünme meydana gelmiş, Patrik Sargis el-Makdisî, Memlûkler'in hükmü altındaki topraklarda ikamet eden Ermenilerin Kudüs'teki Ermeni Patriği'nin yetkisi altına girmesi için Sultan el-Melik el-Nâsir'den bir ferman çıkarmasını talep etmiştir. Tarihçi Ermen Karıdyan'ın da belirttiği gibi, Mısır'a gelen muhalif Ermenilerin dinlerini özgürce yaşamalarına izin verilmiş ve kiliselere cömert bağışlarla hizmet edenler onlara yardım sağlamıştır. Böylece Patriğin Ermeni toplumu üzerindeki hakimiyeti genişlemiştir (Az-tak el-Arabî, 2010'dan Akt. İsrail, 2017: 29). Bunların en ünlüsü, Sultan el-Zâhir Berkuk'un veziri olan Muhâfizu'd-Dîn Ebu'l-Ferac, bir emir ve vezir olan oğlu Tâcu'd-Dîn Abdu'r-Râzik ve Tagrıberdî el-Ermeni el-Haskî'dir.

Osmanlı Devleti Döneminde Mısırda Ermeniler

Osmanlı döneminin başlarında (1517-1789), Mısır'a gelen Ermenilerin sayısı azalmıştır (el-Sayrafi, 2002: 89 Akt. İsrail, 2017: 29). Osmanlı devleti Rumlarla rekabet edebilmek için, Ermenilerin büyük bir kısmını tecrübelerine uygun olarak uzman oldukları işlerde kullanmak üzere İstanbul'a göndermiştir. 15. yüzyılda Osmanlı padişahlarını tedavi eden eczacı ve doktor Emiru Devlet el-Umâsî, 16. yüzyılda mimar Sinan Paşa Kelfiyan ve 18. yüzyılın sonlarında İstanbul'daki İsveç büyükelçiliği tercümanı, 1791 yılında Osmanlı Padişahı III. Selim tarafından Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun gerileme nedenlerini tartışmak ve işlerin nasıl düzeltileceğini araştırmak üzere görevlendirdiği heyet üyelerinden biri olan Ermeni tarihçi ve yazar Muradcı Hasûne Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun hizmetinde tanınmışlardır (Hafız, 1986: 190'dan Akt. İsrail, 2017: 29-30).

Bazı Ermeni kaynakları bu dönemde Kudüs Ermenileri ile Mısır Ermenileri arasındaki karşılıklı ilişkilerin iyi olduğunu belirtmektedir. Kudüs'teki Ermeni patrikliğinin koltuğuna beş kez Mısır Ermeni'si oturmuştur ki bunlar: Patrik Krîkor el-Mısırî (1386-1391), Mardîrus el-Mısırî (1419-1430), Abraham el-Mısırî (1441-1454), Hofhannis el-Mısırî (1485-1491) ve Patrik 2. Sirkis el-Mısırî (1393-1412) (Azazyan, 1993: 144-145).

Ermeni kaynaklarına göre 1605-1630 yılları arasında Mısır'da İran'ın Celfa şehrinden gelen ve dünyanın birçok bölgesine Hint malları taşımakla tanınan çok sayıda Ermeni tüccar yaşıyordu. Türkiye'de 16. yüzyılın sonları 17. yüzyılın başlarında cereyan eden Celali isyanlarının akabinde yaklaşık 200 Ermeni ailesinden oluşan bir Ermeni grubu Mısır'a göç etmiştir (Kardaşyan, 1986: 2:12 ve Abrahamyan, 1964: 1:43'ten Akt. Azazyan, 1993: 146). Bu Ermeniler ticaret, serbest meslekler ve zanaatlarda ehildiler. Kimi Ermeniler ise Osmanlı döneminde de yüksek idari ve askeri mevkileri işgal ederek özellikle Mısır'ın imarında büyük rol oynamışlardır (el-Boyacıyan, 1960: 50-51'den Akt. Azazyan, 1993: 146).

16. yüzyılda Osmanlı devleti ve Safevî devleti aralarındaki savaşın ardından Osmanlı ve Rusya Ermenistan'ı paylaşmışlardır. Rusya, Doğu Ermenistan'ı ilhak ederken, Osmanlı, yönetimi altındaki Ermenilere kendi bölgelerinde özerklik vermiştir. Ancak Ermeniler Hristiyan oldukları için ayrımcılığa maruz kalmış, haklarını yerel ve uluslararası düzeyde aradıklarında, Abdülhamid'in (1876-1909) gözetiminde ve İttihatçıların yönetiminde (1919-1923) gerçekleşen (1894-1896) Hamidiye katliamları, 20 bine yakın Ermeni'nin canına mal olan 1909'da gerçekleşen 'Adana' katliamı ve Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda özellikle (1915-1917) yaşanan soykırımlar da dahil olmak üzere birçok katliama maruz kalmışlardır (İsrail, 2017: 12).

Osmanlı Mısır'ında (1517-1798) Ermenilerin sayısı 16. yüzyılda nispeten azalmış, 17. yüzyılda tedrici olarak artmıştır. İskenderiye'nin Reşid ve Dimyat şehirlerinin yanı sıra Kahire'nin Hanu'l-Halîlî ve Kumu'l-Ermen mahallerinde ikamet etmişlerdir. Ermeniler etrafını kabristan yaptıkları Marmina Manastırını ve Aziz Serkis Kilisesini inşa etmişlerdir. Altın ve silah alanlarında uzman Ermeni zanaatkarlar Hanu'l-Halîlî'de yayıldılar. Ayrıca Ermeni tüccarlar Hindistan, Arap Yarımadası ve Habeşistan'daki piyasalarla ticari ilişkiler kurdular. Buna rağmen o dönem Mısır Ermenileri en fakir halktı (İrâkî, 1985: 383'ten Akt. el-İmâm, 1999: 68).

Mısır donanmasını kuran Murad Bey'in Ermeni olduğuna inanılmaktadır. Ayrıca Mısır Donanması'nın Genel Komutanı Nîkogos ve İstanbul'dan gelen denizcilerin çoğu da Ermeni idi. Bu Ermeniler 1798 de Napolyon'un Mısır'a saldırısını önlemede Nîkogos'un komutasındaki Mısır Donanmasına katıldılar. Ermeniler Osmanlı'nın zulmünden kurtulması konusunda özellikle de 1769 yılındaki Ali Bey devriminde Mısırlı kardeşlerinin yanında oldular (Azazyan, 1993: 146-147).

Napolyon Ordusunun İşgali Sonrasında Mısır'da Ermeniler

Fransızların Mısır'ı işgali (1798-1801) Mısırlı Ermeniler tarafından hoş karşılanmamıştır. Yerli halk Kiptilerle anlaşan Fransızlar Ermenilerin ticari imtiyazlarına son verdiler. Öte yandan Müslümanlar Mısır'daki tüm Hristiyanlara Fransız müttefiki gözüyle baktılar. Böylece Mısırlılar Ermenilere düşmanca siyasete yöneldiler (El-İmâm, 1999: 69-70).

Mehmet Ali Paşa'nın Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun valisi olarak Mısır yönetimini üstlenmesiyle (1805-1848) ülke büyük ölçekli Ermeni akınına tanık olmuştur. Osmanlı valisi olmasına karşın bağımsızlık hesapları yapan Mehmet Ali Paşa, Osmanlı karşıtı bütün etnik unsurlara karşı dostluğa dayalı bir politika izlemiş, etnik ve dini grupların önde gelen etkin kişilerini çeşitli görevlerde istihdam etmiştir. Bu bağlamda Ermenilerin de devlet hizmetindeki rolleri artış gösterdi ve özellikle 19. yüzyılın ilk yarısında Mısır'ın tanık olduğu bazı radikal değişimler Ermenilerle ilişkilendirilmiştir (Mehâfiz ez-Zevât Turkiy, 1805: 1/39'dan Akt. İsrail, 2017: 30). Bilge bir kişiliğe sahip olan Mehmet Ali Paşa ülkenin tüm yetkilerini ele geçirenceye kadar yavaş yavaş tüm düşmanlarını ortadan kaldırmış, 1819'da Hicaz'ı, ardından 1820-1822 yılları arasında Sudan'ı Mısır'a ilhak etmiştir. Hatta Osmanlı

Devleti'ni ortadan kaldırmanın eşiğine gelmiştir. Ancak Osmanlı Sultanını koruyan Rusya, İngiltere ve Fransa'nın baskılarıyla geri çekilmek zorunda kalmıştır. İngiltere, Mehmet Ali Paşa'yı Mısır pazarını Avrupa ürünlerine açan 1838 tarihli Balta Liman Antlaşmasına bağlılığını teyit eden 1840 Londra Antlaşması'na mecbur etmiştir (Rivlin, 1968: 252'den Akt. İsrail, 2017: 31). Mehmet Ali Paşa'nın nihai hedefi, Mısır'ı Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na bağlılığını sona erdirerek bağımsız bir devlet haline getirmektir (Hofhannisyan, 2007'den Akt. İsrail, 2017: 31).

Mehmet Ali Paşa, Fransızlara karşı Osmanlı harekâtının bir parçası olan Arnavut birliklerine katıldığında, bir askerî harekât hazırlayacak maddi gücü yoktu. Bunun için Ermeni tüccar Gayazar Emir Pedrosyan'dan hiçbir teminat olmaksızın büyük miktarda borç aldı. Mehmet Ali Paşa Mısır'ın hükümdarı olduğunda, Gayazar'a olan güveninden dolayı, iyiliğine karşılık olarak onu İstanbul'da bir sarraf yaptı (Afaf, 29-30) Sonra onu Mısır'a çağırdı ve onu hazinenin başına "Sarraf Başı" olarak atadı (Terâcim Mulahasât Defâtir Turkiy, 1234 H: 2/3/138'den Akt. el-İmâm, 1999: 71).

Mehmet Ali Paşa, ülkeyi ilerletmek için eğitimde ve orduda da reformlar yapmıştır (Hilal, 1893'den Akt. İsrail, 2017: 31). Bu reformlarla Mısır, 19. yüzyılın ilk yarısında Osmanlı Devleti'nin en güçlü vilayeti haline gelmiş ve Mısır'ın İstanbul'a olan bağımlılığı azalmıştır. Mehmet Ali'nin politikası yalnızca Mısırlılardan değil, dillerini daha iyi bildikleri ve Avrupa pazarında Mısırlılardan daha büyük deneyimleri olduğu için devlet işlerinde güvendiği Ermeniler de dahil olmak üzere diğer milletlerden tam destek almıştır (Hofhannisyan 2007'den Akt. İsrail, 2017: 31).

Mehmet Ali Paşa da Ermenilere o kadar güvendi ki, onların haremde çalışmasına izin verdi. Örneğin, Hosrov Çırakyan, Mehmet Ali'nin haremde tercüman olarak çalıştı. Esteban Kevorkyan ise saray haremının özel doktoruydu (Kardaşyan, 1986: 2:231,268'den Akt. El-İmâm, 1999: 71). Ermeniler, Mehmet Ali'nin aile üyelerinin özel servetlerini de yönetmişlerdir. Örneğin, Artin ve Hosrov Çırakyan kardeşlerin babası Sokyas Çırakyan, Tosun b. Mehmet Ali'nin mali işlerini yönetmiştir. (Artin Bey, 1895, 2:424'ten Akt. el-İmâm, 1999: 71).

Osmanlı Ermenileri, Mehmet Ali Paşa döneminde kendileri için bağımsız bir devlet kurulmasını istemiyorlardı. Sonuç olarak, siyasi korumaya ihtiyaçları vardı ve kısa sürede sadakatleri karşılığında kendilerine bu korumayı sağlayan Mehmet Ali Paşa'yı bulmuşlardı. Ayrıca Ermeniler sivil işlerde çalışacakları için Mehmet Ali Paşa'yı askerî olarak tehdit etmeyecekler ve Hristiyan oldukları için de devleti ele geçirme hırsı içinde olmayacaklardı (Adalian, 1980: 117'den Akt. el-İmâm, 1999: 72).

Mehmet Ali Paşa ve Ermeniler

Mehmet Ali Paşa'nın yetenekli zanaatkârlar olarak gördüğü Ermenilerden büyük beklentileri vardı. Osmanlıya karşı bağımsızlık ilan etmeden önce siyasi otoritesinin dayanaklarından birisini de Mısır ekonomisinin büyümesi için önemli olan

Ermeni tüccar ve bürokratlar oluşturuyordu. Ermeniler Mısır'da matbaa sanayini kurarak, Avrupa dillerinden birçok kitabı tercüme edip Arapça olarak neşrettiler. Artin Şarkıyan, Mehmet Ali 'nin kişisel emriyle Niccolò Machiavelli'nin *Prens* adlı kitabını tercüme etmiştir. Muhammed Ali, Ermenilerin entelektüel yeteneklerini, yeterliliklerini, becerilerini ve Mısır'daki çeşitli faaliyetlere katılımlarını çok takdir etmiş ve onlara tam bir güven vermiştir. Böylece birçok Ermeni onun hükümetinde, özellikle dışişleri, ticaret, eğitim ve ulaşım bakanlıklarında yüksek mevkilere gelmişlerdir. Başta Bogos Yusuf Artin Şükri'nin bulunduğu Mısır'ın Ermeni dışişleri bakanları ön plana çıkmıştır. Bogos Ailesi, 19. yüzyıl boyunca Mısır yönetiminde ve siyasetinde önemli bir yer işgal etmişlerdir. Böylece Dışişleri Bakanlığında bir Ermeni tekeli oluşmuştur (Hofhannisyen, 2007'den Akt. İsrail, 2017: 32).

Ermeniler, Ticaret ve Yabancı İşleri Bakanı olan Bogos Bey Yusufyan'ın (1768-1844) varlığından ve Mehmet Ali'nin Mısır'a göç ederken ona duyduğu güçlü güvenden yararlandılar. Boğos, Yusufyan, Nubaryan, Abroyan, Çırakyan, Hakıkyan gibi çok sayıda Ermeni ailesini Mısır'a davet etti. Bunlar 19. yüzyılda Mısır yönetiminde hizmet etmeye devam eden ailelerdir. Ayrıca Bogos, Ermenilere nasihat ve rehberlik etmiş, bazılarını imtiyazlar bahşetmiş, Mehmet Ali'yi bazıları için başka imtiyazlar vermeye ikna etmiş, bir kısmına da daha fazla eğitim, iş imkânı, güvenlik ve koruma sağlamıştır. Dikran Abroyan'ın babası Esteban Abroyan Bogos'un ölümünden sonra Mısır'daki Ermeniler için duyduğu korkuyu dile getirdiğinde Mehmet Ali'nin ona şu yanıtı vermesi yeterlidir: "... Ben ve oğullarım hayatta olduğu sürece benden bir şey istemeye hakkı olan Ermeniler özellikle de Bogos'un akraba ve tanıdıklarına hiçbir korku yoktur." (Araryan, 1844'den Akt. el-İmâm, 1999: 74).

Abbas'ın yönetimi, Avrupalıların, Rumların, Şamlıların ve Ermenilerin Kahire ve İskenderiye'yi geçerek ülkenin içlerine girmesini engellediği için karşı göçlere tanık olmuştur. Aynı şekilde, Abbas yönetimi, genel olarak Hristiyanlara karşı dini fanatizme tanık olmuş, onları ibadet özgürlüğünden mahrum etmiş ve vakıflarına el koymuştur. Şüphesiz ki bu durum, birçok Ermeni'nin anavatanına dönmesine yol açmıştır. Bunun üzerine Abbas, Mehmet Ali'ye sadık ve kendisinin siyasi sistemine uyum sağlamayan çalışanlara zulmetmiştir. Ayrıca Fransa'nın destekçisi sayılanları da görevden almış, Ticaret ve Dışişleri Müdürü Artin Çırakyan'a kaçmak zorunda kalana kadar zulmetmiştir. Ayrıca 1850-1853 yılları arasında Dışişleri Müsteşarı olan İstafan Demirciyan'ı görevden almıştır (Bekr, 1982: 81-82'den Akt. El-İmâm, 1999: 76). Ancak Said Paşa'nın saltanatının (1854-1863) başlangıcından itibaren Mısır'da yabancılara imtiyazlar tanınmaya başlamış, I. Abbas döneminde süregelen Avrupalı ve Hristiyan düşmanlığı azalmış ve Hristiyan misyonerlere birçok imkânlar ve izinler verilmiştir. Böylece Mısır'daki Ermeni cemaatinin durumu nispeten iyileşmiştir. Demiryolu İdare Bakanlığı pozisyonuna Nubar Nubaryan, Hartum Valisi pozisyonuna Arakel Nubaryan ve Dışişleri Bakanlığı pozisyonuna İstafan Demirciyan atanmak suretiyle görevden uzaklaştırılan Ermeniler tekrar yüksek görevlere iade edilmişlerdir (Senior, 1882, 1: 132'den Akt. el-İmâm, 1999: 76).

Hidiv İsmail (1863-1879) ve sonrasında halefleri Mısır yönetimini devralınca yabancıların sayısı genel olarak artmış ve yaklaşık yüz bine ulaşmıştır. Ruslar, Almanlar, Amerikalılar, İngilizler, Fransızlar ve en kalabalık olarak ta Ermenilerden oluşan bu yabancıların çoğunluğu, ticari olarak fırsatlar sunan Kahire ve İskenderiye şehirlerinde yoğunlaşmışlardır (Abdu'l-Hamid 1976: 57'den Akt. İsrail, 2017: 32). Mısır'ın ilk başbakanı olarak ünlenen Nubar Nubaryan Mısır'ın gerçek bağımsızlığını güçlendirmek için çok şey yapmış, 1870'lerden 1890'lara kadar Mısır'daki en önde gelen siyasi şahsiyet olmuş, tecrübesi ve bilge politikası nedeniyle Mısır'ın bir dizi Hidivi tarafından defalarca başbakan olarak atanmıştır (İsrail, 2017: 33).

Süveyş Kanalı'nın kazılması ve Amerikan İç Savaşı (1861-1865) sırasında küresel pazarda Mısır pamuğu ve şekerine olan talebin artması nedeniyle Mısır'da çok sayıda işçi ve teknik elemana ihtiyaç hasıl olmuştur (Deeb, 1978: 9:14-15'ten Akt. El-İmâm, 1999: 77). Ekonomik araçları olmayan Ermeni köylüler, geçimlerini sağlamak için mütevazı ve zor işlerde Van, Bağış, Muş, Siirt ve Sason'dan Mısır'a göç etmişlerdir (Tobozyan, 1979: 37'den Akt. El-İmâm, 1999: 77). Ancak Amerikan İç Savaşı'nın sona ermesi ve küresel pazarda Mısır pamuğu ve şekerine olan talebin azalmasının ardından Mısır'da işler ciddi şekilde kötüleşti. Mısır'daki Ermeni Başpiskoposu Gabriel Mar'ası'nın (1830-1867) gazetelere verdiği bayanda, "...Mısır'a gelmeyin, çünkü Mısır'da karlı bir iş bulmak için sadece İngilizce bilmek yeterli değil. Meslekte ustalaşmak ve özellikle Arap dilini bilmek gerekiyor." ifadeleri kullanılmıştır (Araradyan, 1866'dan Akt. el-İmâm, 1999: 77).

El-İmâm'a göre (1999: 79) Mısır'a Ermeni göçleri 19. yüzyıl boyunca devam etmiştir. Mehmet Ali döneminde istikrarlı bir şekilde sığrama yapmış, on dokuzuncu yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Mısır, Osmanlı ve Avrupa siyasi, ekonomik ve sosyal ilişkileriyle bağlantılı olarak zaman zaman dalgalanmalara, tersine göçlere ve kesintilere maruz kalmıştır.

Mısır Ermenileri Dışişleri Bakanlığında parlamışlar, Adalet Bakanlığında ıslahatlar gerçekleştirmişler, Harp ve İçişleri Bakanlığı, suların ıslahı, Genel İşler Bakanlığı, Belediyeler, Eğitim-Öğretim Bakanlığı ve basın alanında hizmetlerde bulunmuşlardır. Ticaret alanında Ermeniler iletişim ve posta hizmetlerinin düzenlenmesi ve geliştirilmesinde ön plana çıkmışlardır. Ermeniler Mısır maliyesinde de parmak izlerini bırakmışlardır. Ayrıca Mısır'ın uzman doktorlarının çoğu Ermeni'dir (Azazyan, 1993: 155).

Mehmet Ali Paşa 1819'da Ticaret ve Satış Dairesi'ni kurduğunda ticari işlerini yöneten bankacı ve tüccar ünlü Ermeni Bogos Yusufyan'ı bu dairenin başına getirdi ve İskenderiye'deki tacirlerle devlet arasındaki ticari ilişkileri düzenlemekle görevlendirdi. Mesela Mısır pamuğunun en ünlü tüccarları olan Lorno, Priscus ve Bersky olan İngiliz tüccarların her biri için pamuk miktarını belirleyip bedelini peşin olarak tahsil etmiş ve vergilerini de Divan-ı Bahr'a ödetmiştir. Bogos Paşa'nın bilgisi olmadan bir miktar pamuk satmaya çalışan pamuk tüccarı Rüştü Bey'den bedelini tahsil ettirmiştir (İsrail, 2017: 40).

Mehmet Ali zamanında Ermenilerin en çok iştiğal ettikleri mesleklerin başında sarraflık gelmektedir: “Diğer ticari meslek gruplarına girebilmek için kişinin taşıması gereken şartlara ek olarak, sarrafların okuma yazma bilmeleri, aritmetik işlem kurallarını bilmeleri, para türleri konusunda deneyim sahibi olmaları, tedavülde olan, sahte ve orijinal paraları, ağırlıklarını ve ayrımlarını bilmeleri, hata yapmamak ve birlikten ihraç cezasına varan cezalara maruz kalmamak için bu iş hakkında yüksek bilgi sahibi olmaları gerekmektedir. Mısır Tüccarlar Konseyi’nin Nisan 1854 sayımına göre, Ermeniler de dahil olmak üzere genel olarak Kahire ve İskenderiye gibi büyük şehirlerde yoğunlaşan sarrafların sayısı yüz otuza ulaşmıştır (İsrail, 2017: 41-42).

El-İmâm’a göre (1999: 184) çok sayıda Ermeni çeşitli daire, büro ve bölgelerde sarraf olarak çalışmasına ek olarak 19. yüzyılın ilk yarısında, “sarraf başi-hazine baş sarrafı” görevine de getirildiler. Ermeni sarrafların çoğu, konumlarını kötüye kullanarak çok fazla parayı zimmetlerine geçirmiş, Mehmet Ali, devlet sarraflarının hesaplarında yolsuzluk yaptıklarının farkına varınca, 1826 tarihinde onların faaliyetlerini izlemek ve durum tespiti için emir vermiştir. 1827’de, bölgelerde, merkezlerde ve gümrüklerde çalışan bütün sarrafların hesaplarının dökümünün yapılması, zimmete geçirilen meblağların kendilerinden, güçlerinin yetmediği kısmın kefillerinden tahsil edilmesini ve yerlerinin değiştirilmesini emretmiştir. Bu denetim Ermeni sarrafların hesaplarında önemli dolandırıcılık ve zimmete para geçirme olaylarını ortaya çıkarmıştır. Bunun üzerine Mehmet Ali, 1828 yılında, bölgelerde, memurluklarda ve diğer dairelerde çalışan tüm Ermeni sarrafların kovulması ve yerlerine Yahudi ve Mısırlıların getirilmesi yönünde bir karar vermekten çekinmemiştir (Türk Maiyyet Divanı 1244 H. 36/25-316’dan Akt. El-İmâm, 1999: 186). Ancak bu karar Yahudi ve Mısırlıların bankacılık işlemlerini bilmemeleri nedeniyle tam olarak uygulanamamıştır (Türk Hidiv Divanı 1244 H. 760/107-307’den Akt. El-İmâm, 1999: 186).

Pek çok Ermeni ticaret ve dışişleri alanında tercüman, kâtip (sekreter) vb. görevlerde bulunmuştur. Bunun pek çok dile hâkim ve Hristiyan olmalarından kaynaklandığı kaydedilmektedir. Hamont, çalışanların büyük bir kısmının Ermeni olması nedeniyle ticaret ve dışişleri alanını “Ermeni Divanı” olarak adlandırmıştır (Hamont, 1843: 280’den Akt. El-İmâm, 1999: 194). Ayrıca Andon Efendi Garabid, Aristagis Altunyan, Arakel Abroyan, İskender Bey Bozari, Nubar Paşa’nın yeğeni Cerabid Bey Şirdicyan, Artin Efendi İstibyan ve Dikran Abroyan gibi çok sayıda Ermeni tercüman olarak çalışmıştır (Türk Maiyyet Divanı, 1250 H: 59/89/291’den Akt. el-İmâm, 1999: 194).

19. asrın sonlarında Mısır Sanayiini Ermeniler yönetiyordu. El sanatları tamamen Ermenilerin elinde idi. Ayrıca nakış sanatını Mısır’a Ermeni kadınları getirmiştir (Azazyan, 1993: 155).

Sky News Arabia muhabiri Ahmed el-Kâdi Nisan 2021’de İsrail’in “Adana” katliamı olarak tabir ettiği 1909 olaylarını dönemin Ezher Şeyhi Selim el-Bişri ta-

rafından bir fetva ile kınandığını, Şeyhin Osmanlı yetkililerini ikaz ettiğini haber yapmış ve belgeyi de yayınlarak soykırım iddialarını pekiştirmeye çalışmıştır. Konuyu ayrıca Âra Serkis Aşçıyan (2012: 1) da gündeme getirmiştir. Mektubun içeriğinden de anlaşıldığına göre Ezher Şeyhi, Ermeniler tarafından kendisine aktarılan birtakım duyumlar üzerine, duyumların doğruluğunu araştırmadan, Osmanlıya söz konusu Ermeni kıyımına son vermesi çağrısında bulunmak için bu fetvayı yayınlamıştır.

Resim 1. Ezher Şeyhi Selim el-Bişrî'nin Fetvası

Ermeniler, başta tütün olmak üzere ithalatta aktifleşmişler, 1888'de Portekiz uyruklu Suriyeli Ermeni Halil Hayyat Bey, İran tütünü ithalatında tekel olmuştur ve 1890'dan 1897 yılına kadar, farklı bölgelerden her türlü tütün ithalatını tekel olarak yürütmüştür. Tütün ithalatından hem Halil hem de devlet yüksek gelir elde etmiştir (Lehîta, 1944: 479-481 Akt. El-İmâm, 1999: 118) On dokuzuncu yüzyılın son yirmi yılında Mısırlı Ermeniler, Avrupa mallarını Habeşistan'a ithal etme sürecinde Avrupalılarla çalışmayı tercih etmeyen Habeş Kralı'nın Addis Ababa'da ticarethane açmalarına izin vermesi üzerine bu faaliyeti yürütmüşlerdir. Mısırlı-Ermeni tüccar, Habeş ticareti yoluyla kendilerini zenginleştirmeyi umarak gıda maddeleri, yünlü, ipekli ve pamuklu ürünler, inşaat malzemeleri, fotoğraf makineleri, depolama tankları, kâğıt, zinet eşyaları, lüks eşyalar vb. ithalatını gerçekleştirmişlerdir (Pankhurst, 1955: 489-507 Akt. El-İmâm, 1999: 118). Kahire, İskenderiye ve diğer bölgelerde ticarethaneler açarak çok sayıda Ermeni'nin ticaretle meşgul olması Mısır'daki İngiliz komiser Cromer'in Mısır'daki Ermeni cemaatinin çoğunlukla esnaftan oluştuğunu söylemesine yol açmıştır (Cromer, 1911: 630'dan Akt. el-İmâm, 1999: 118-119).

Ermeniler Mısır'da ziraatla uğraşmamışlar, fakat büyük tüccarlar, tarım arazilerini kiralayarak kendi hesaplarına pamuk gibi nakit getiren ürünleri işleyerek Mısır'ın istihdamına katkıda bulunmuşlardır. Hâretü'l-Yehûd'da Sarkis Bey tüccar ve sarraf olarak Özbekiye'de, Karabit el-Cevahirci altın ve gümüş işlemede ön plana çıkmışlardır. Ermeniler perakende pamuk, tuz, toptan ve perakende sigara ticareti gibi çeşitli işlerde tekel oluşturmuşlar, saat tamiri ve ticareti, boyama, dikiş, nakış, kürk vb. el sanatlarında yetenekleriyle ön plana çıkmışlardır (İsrail, 2017: 46).

Ermeniler, özellikle çivit otu (indigo) ve haşhaş ekimi uzmanları olarak Mısır tarımına katkıda bulunmuşlardır. Hükümdarlığından önce de yetiştirilen çivit otu, Mehmet Ali'nin (1816) tekelinde tuttuğu ve büyük ilgi gösterdiği ilk mahsullerden biri olmuş, bu da türünün iyileştirilmesine, ekiminin genişletilmesine ve renginin iyileştirilmesine yol açmıştır. Mehmet Ali üretim kalitesini arttırmak için Hint ve Çin çivit otu tohumlarını ithal etmiştir. Çivit tohumu ve fidesi ithal eden elçilerin çoğu, bu alanda tecrübe ve üne sahip kendileri gibi Ermenilerden temin ettikleri için Mehmet Ali çivit otu yetiştirme konusundaki deneyimlerinden büyük ölçüde yararlanmış ve bu amaçla konunun uzmanı bazı Ermenileri Mısırlılara

en son yöntemlerle yetiştirmeyi öğretmek üzere Mısır'a davet etmiştir (el-Hatte, 1950: 219-220'den Akt. el-İmâm, 1999: 121).

Ermeniler, Mehmet Ali'yi sıcak para akışı sağlayan haşhaş üretimine teşvik etmiş ve bazı ilaçların yapımında kullanılan haşhaş ekiminde uzman olarak çalışmışlardır. Mehmet Ali 1823'de Bogos Bey'e, Yukarı Mısır'da 5.000 dönümlük bir alana ekilecek haşhaş tohumlarının ve ekimi konusunda uzman yirmi kişinin getirilmesi emrini vermiştir (Mehâfiz Ebhâs, 1239 H., No:49'dan Akt. el-İmâm, 1999: 123). Nitekim ertesi yıl (1824) haşhaş ekiminde uzmanlaşmış bir dizi İzmirli Ermeni Mısır'a gelmiştir (Rivlin 1967: 236'dan Akt. el-İmâm, 1999: 123). Yetenekli ve tecrübeli Ermeni uzmanlar köylülere uygulamada nelerin izlenmesi gerektiğini göstermişler ve köylüler de onların tavsiyelerine uymuşlardır (el-Hatte, 1950: 147'den Akt. el-İmâm, 1999: 123). Ermeni uzmanlar tarafından yetiştirilen haşhaş örnekleri İstanbul'da üretilenlerin kalitesini bile geride bırakmıştır (Mengin, 1839: 204'ten Akt. el-İmâm, 1999: 123). "İyi haşhaş" olarak Avrupa pazarında ün yapmıştır (el-Hatte, 1950: 262'den Akt. el-İmâm, 1999: 123).

Ermenilerin Mısır tarımına yaptığı katkıların en ünlüsü Yusuf Efendi'nin mandalina ağaçlarını tanıttmasıdır. 1826'da Ermeni Yusuf Efendi, tarım biliminde yüksek öğrenimini tamamlamak için ilk eğitim misyonunun bir parçası olarak Fransa'nın Roville kentine gönderilmiştir. 1832'de Mısır'a dönüşünde gemi Malta'da bozulmuş ve orada üç hafta kalmıştır. Uzak Doğu'dan içinde Mandalina meyvesi taşıyan bir gemi oraya uğramış, Yusuf Efendi de kabuğunun kolay soyulduğunu ve güzel bir tada sahip olduğunu fark edince ondan sekiz fidan ve on kutu satın almıştır. Mısır'a vardığında onu Mehmet Ali'ye sunmuş, o da hayran kalıp Şubra'daki özel mülklerinde yetiştirilmesini emretmiş ve Yusuf Efendi'yi sorumlu yapmıştır. Mehmet Ali Mısır'a sevgi ve bağlılıkla hizmet edenlerin güzelliğini kabul ettiği bilinsin diye bu meyveye onu getirenin adının verilmesini emretmiştir. Çiftçiler "Yusuf Efendi'nin Portakalı", "Yusuf Efendi" ve "Yusufları" olarak adlandırmışlardır. İstanbul'da da "Yusufçuk" olarak tanınmıştır (el-Muwelhi, 1940'dan Akt. el-İmâm, 1999: 124).

19. yüzyılın ilk yarısında Ermeniler çeşitli sanayi alanlarında usta ve uzmanlar olarak faaliyet göstermişlerdir. 1818 yılında Kahire'nin Karnuş mahallesinde ilk ipek üretim fabrikası kurulmuş ancak beklenen üretimi vermemiş, ardından İstanbul'dan gönderilen kumaş işleme ve sıрма (altın, gümüş ve değerli taşlarla işleme) konusunda uzman olan Ermenilerin yönetiminde Burket'ul-Fil fabrikasında ikinci girişimde bulunulmuştur. Onların önerileri doğrultusunda Vadi Tuleymat ile Feyum ve Asyut bölgelerinde ipek üretimini geliştirmek için "10.000.000" dut ağacı dikilmiş, İstanbul ve Hint ürünlerinin kalitesine denk yılda 60.000 okka sarı ipek üretilmiş ve bir yandan da pek çok Mısırlı Ermeni uzmanların gözetiminde ipek endüstrisini öğrenmiştir. Tekstilleri beyazlatmak ve farklı renklerde basmak için Şubra, Bulak, Şebın, Mahelletu'l-Kubra ve Mansura'da birkaç tribün inşa edilmiştir. 1829'da bu tribünlerde çalışan Mısırlılara zanaatını (kumaş üzerine işleme) öğretmesi şartıyla 300 Kuruş maaşla Basmahane'de ressam olarak Garabid

Beyin oğlu Artin'in atama emri Şubra İşletme Müdürü Hafız Efendi'ye bildirilmiştir (Tosun, 1932: 1'den Akt. el-İmâm, 1999: 125).

19. yüzyılın seksenlerinden itibaren başta tütün olmak üzere bazı sanayilerin gelişmesinde Ermenilerin rolü oldukça artmıştır. Ermeniler, Matosyan, Malyokonyan, Camsracan, İbikyanyan, Macaryan vb. isimli Mısır'da birkaç tütün işleyen fabrika kurmuşlardır. Bu fabrikalardaki işçilerin çoğunluğu farklı milletlerden sıradan insanlarken yöneticiler, muhasebeciler, sekreterler, teknisyenler vb. çalışanların hepsi Ermenilerden oluşmuştur. Bu fabrikalar, Avrupa'dakilere benzer şekilde, tütün, ambalaj kâğıdı ve paket hazırlama konusunda uzman kişilerle kurulmuştur. Farklı kaynak ve kalitedeki tütünün insan gücü yerine makine kullanılarak karıştırılması neticesinde büyük miktarlarda üstün kalite aromalı markalar üretilmiştir (Topuzyan, 1979: 96'dan Akt. el-İmâm, 1999: 127-128).

Ermeni zanaatkarlar, 19. yüzyılda Mısır'da zanaat alanında önemli bir yer tutmuşlar, Mısır pazarının Avrupa ürünleri tarafından işgal edilmesinden önemli ölçüde etkilenmelerine rağmen, modern yönelimlere hızla uyum sağlayarak kuyumculuk, terzilik, nakış, kürk endüstrisi ve diğer zanaatlarda zirveye ulaşmışlardır (el-İmâm, 1999: 132).

Kuyumculuk, Mısır'daki Ermeniler tarafından icra edilen gümüş ve mücevher imalatını da içeren en eski ve en önemli zanaattır. Ermeni kuyumcularının çoğu, 18. yüzyılın sonlarından itibaren Kahire'deki Han el-Halîlî'de toplanmıştır. Mehmet Ali'nin döneminde tıp fakültesinin dekanı olan Klot Bey, Mısır'daki kuyumcuların çoğunluğunun İstanbul'dan gelen Ermeniler olduğundan bahisle «... ve onlar, Türk büyüklerinin ve ileri gelenlerinin kullandığı değerli taşları işleme konusunda inanılmaz bir bilgiye sahipler ve Margaş mahallesinde mercan ve kehribar kullanarak kolyeler ve tespihler yaparlar...» şeklinde bilgiler aktarmaktadır. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda genel olarak Hristiyanlar kuyumculuk alanında tekell oluşturmuştur. Mısır'daki kuyumculuk İstanbul'daki kuyumcular çarşısıyla yakın ticari ilişkiler kurarak büyümüştür Bu kuyumcuların en ünlü aileleri: Cevherciyan, Mumcuyan, Yercinyan, Arifyan, Kevorkyan, Benderyan, Hantimyan vb. (Topuzyan, 1979: 106'dan Akt. el-İmâm, 1999: 132-134).

Mısır'daki Ermenilerin faaliyet gösterdikleri ikinci zanaat terziliktir. Kahire'de sıradan insanlar için sıradan ve mütevazı giysiler diken birçok Mısırlı terzi bulunmaktaydı. Klot Bey hem Ermeni hem de Rum terzileri, üst sınıf insanlar için modelli ve renkli giysiler diktikleri için yerel meslektaşlarına göre üstün olarak vasıflanmıştır. Mısırlı terziler kadın ve erkekleri birlikte dikerken, Ermeni terziler her biri için ayrı ayrı dikim konusunda uzmanlaşmıştır. Yetenekli ve isim yapmış bazı Ermeni terziler yükselerek saraylarda yöneticilere hizmet etmişlerdir (Klot Bey, 473'den Akt. el-İmâm, 1999: 135).

Ermeniler İstanbul'da bu zanaatı icra ediyorken Mısır'a da götürmüşler ve 19. yüzyılın sonlarına kadar tekellerinde tutmuşlardır. Klot Bey, maharetlerini şu sözlerle tasdik etmektedir: " ... İşlerinde hünertililer, ipek veya altın sırmayı elbiseye

işlemede, güzel işlemeli şekiller ve çok ince çizimlerle süslemede tam mahirdirler...". Klot, çok az Avrupalının onları geçebileceğini ifade etmektedir. 154 Bu nakışçılar ayrıca, bükülmüş metal ipliklerle (sırma) işlemeli havlular ve sırma saçaklı yük şilteleri yapmalarıyla da ün kazanmışlardır (Hafâcî, 1977: 91'den Akt. el-İmâm, 1999: 136-137).

Kürkçülük zanaatı, giyimi bilginler ve büyükler olmak üzere iki sınıfla sınırlandırılması nedeniyle Mısır'da en az yaygın olan zanaatlardan biri olmuştur. Klot Bey, Mısır'daki birkaç kürkçünün Ermeni ve Rum olduğundan bahsetmiştir. 159 Ayakkabıcılık, Ermenilerin Mısır'da iştigal ettikleri en ünlü zanaatlardan biri olmuş, Kahire ve İskenderiye'de yaygın olarak icra edilerek doğu tarzı yemeni, postal ve terlik imal edilmiştir (Heridî, 1985: 70'den Akt. El-İmâm, 1999: 137).

Tahta, metal ve benzeri maddeleri işleme zanaatı 19. yüzyılın sonlarından itibaren Mısır'daki Ermenilerin en ünlü zanaatlarından. Evlerde süs eşyası olarak kullanılmak üzere ahşap yüzeyin belirli bir desene göre çizilerek işlenmesidir. Taş üzerine renkli baskı yapılmasıdır. Çelik resim ve ev gereçlerinin üzerine kalıp ve süslemeler işlenmesidir. Çinko üzerine işleme de matbaacılıkta kullanılmıştır. Bu zanaatla iştigal eden ünlü aileler: Fendiyan, Karakaşyan, Arakilyan, Minasyan vb. (Topuzyan, 1979: 106'dan Akt. el-İmâm, 1999: 138).

Ermeniler sınırlı da olsa bir dizi başka zanaatlarla da iştigal etmişlerdir. Mehmet Ali, bir dizi Ermeni'yi tesisler, fabrikalar, okullar, hastaneler, depolar vb. yerlerde tamirci, marangoz, demirci ve inşaatçı olarak çalıştırmak üzere davet etmiştir. Ayrıca istatistikler, az sayıda Ermeni'nin saat tamiri, müzik aletleri tamiri, berberlik, nakış, fescilik, döşemecilik, aşçılık, değirmencilik ve şerbetçilik gibi teknik zanaatlarla iştigal ettiklerini göstermektedir (Katolik Ermeni İstatistikleri, 1885-1897'den Akt. el-İmâm, 1999: 139). Kahire'de konuşlanan Ermeni zanaatkarlar Ermeni olmayan hiçbir çocuğu eğitmemişlerdir. Böylece Ermeniler Cevherciyan, Terzibaşyan, ve Demirciyan gibi isimlerinden de anlaşıldığı üzere zanaatlarını tekellerinde tutmuş ve başka bir iş yapmamışlardır. Ermeni zanaatkarlar, halkın zevkine, bilgisine ve geleneklerine neyin uygun olduğunu çok iyi bildikleri için Mısır'da dikkate değer bir başarı elde etmiş ve pazarları sürekli gelişmiştir (İsmail, 1977: 173'ten Akt. el-İmâm, 1999: 140). Konuyla ilgili Ermeni basını, Ermenilerin şöhretinin usta zanaatkarların yeteneklerinden kaynaklandığını ifade etmiştir. (Âzad Bim, 1907'den Akt. el-İmâm, 1999: 140).

Mehmet Ali, Mısır'ı modern ülkeler safına en hızlı ve en kısa şekilde dönüştürme arzusunun gerçekleşmesine katkıda bulunmak için seçilmiş ve sadık çalışanlardan oluşan bir yapı oluşturmak amacıyla çeşitli disiplinlerde Avrupa'ya eğitim misyonları gönderme politikası takip etmiştir (Alain, 1980: 17'den Akt. El-İmâm, 1999: 171). Yusuf Hakikyan, 1817'de mühendislik okumak üzere İngiltere'ye, 1826'da dört Katolik Ermeni Fransa'ya gönderilmiştir (Râfi'i, 1982: 408-411'den Akt. El-İmâm, 1999: 171). Bunlar idarî alanda eğitim alan Artin-Hosrov Çırakyan kardeşler ile İstafan Demirciyan ve ziraat alanında eğitim alan Yusuf el-Ermeni'dir

(Tosun, 1934: 35, 39, 44, 106'dan Akt. El-İmâm, 1999: 172). 1844'te yönetim ve hukuk alanında ihtisas yapan İstafan-Artin Haçador kardeşler, Ohan-Yusuf İstafan kardeşler ve Nubar Efendi, tıp alanında ihtisas yapan Petro Efendi eğitim misyonuna seçilmişlerdir. 1855'te de Margosov kardeşler tıp ve mühendislik okumak üzere Fransa'ya gönderilmiştir (Tosun, 1934: 304-305, 328-332'den Akt. El-İmâm, 1999: 172). Mehmet Ali devlet memurlarını yetiştirmek üzere çeşitli okullar kurmuş ve Temmuz 1825'te kurulan el- Kasr el-Aynî Okulu gibi okullara Ermeniler de kaydolmuştur (Abdu'l-Kerîm, 1938: 87, 221-222'den Akt. El-İmâm, 1999: 173).

Eğitilmiş Ermeniler gibi yeterli eğitimi alamamış Ermeniler de çeşitli hükümet işlerinde çalışmıştır. Ermeniler, kamu hizmetindeki ekonomik rollerinin bir sonucu olarak değil, daha ziyade Ermenilerin hükümdarlarla olan yakın ilişkileri ve yeteneklerine duyulan ihtiyacın bir sonucu olarak on dokuzuncu yüzyılda neredeyse Mısır devlet kurumlarının çoğunda çalışmışlardır (el-İmâm, 1999: 173).

Görüldüğü gibi Ermeni öğrencilerin çoğu, Mehmet Ali tarafından çeşitli Avrupa ülkelerine gönderilmiş; idare, hukuk, mühendislik, ziraat ve tıp gibi modern bir devlet kurmak için gerekli olan bilimlerde uzmanlaşmıştır. Mehmet Ali'nin eğitim için Ermenileri göndermesi manidardır. Mehmet Ali'nin Ermenilere aşırı güveniği anlaşılmaktadır. Ancak daha sonra bu güvenini kaybetmiş olmalı ki, eğitim misyonlarına daha çok Mısırlıları seçmiştir. Her hâlükârda kalifiye eleman yokluktan Ermenilerin eğitimlisinin de eğitimsizinin de hükümet işlerinde istihdam edilmek zorunda kaldığı anlaşılmaktadır.

Mehmet Ali döneminde eğitimi düzenlemek ve geliştirmek için hazırlanan 1836'daki Okul Düzenleme Kurulu'ndan başlayarak 1837'de Okul Şura Meclisi, Okul Divanı ve 1841'de Eğitim Düzenleme Kurulu gibi komite ve kurulların çoğuna Yusuf Hakikyan, Artin Çırakyan ve İstafan Demirciyan katılmıştır. (Abdu'l-Kerîm, 1938: 93, 95, 98, 100,128,132'den Akt. el-İmâm, 1999: 176-177).

Farklı okullarda eğitim müfredatlarının hazırlanması için gerekli kitapların tercümesi sürecinde de Ermeniler aktif rol almışlardır. İstafan, Artin Hakikyan ve Yusuf el-Ermeni'ye Avrupa dillerinden Türkçe ve Arapçaya veya tersine çeviri emri verilmiştir (Türk Maiyyet Dîvânı, 1248 H. : 83, 121'den Akt. el-İmâm, 1999: 178-183).

Ermeni geleneklerine göre kilise ve manastırlarla birlikte el yazması kopyalama merkezleri de yayılıyordu. Ermeni dilinde 1099-1856 yılları arasında Mısırdaki kopyalanan el yazması sayısı 17'dir (Mikâilyan, 226-233'den Akt. Azazyan, 1993: 156). Mısır'ı yurt edinmiş gruplar arasında Avrupa tarzı okulları ilk kuranlar Ermenilerdir. 1828 yılında Ortodoks Patrikhaneye bağlı Kalusdiyan Babulak Okulunu kurmuşlardır (Paşa, 1917: 13'den Akt. Azazyan, 1993: 156). Şu hâlde Kahire'deki ilk Ermeni okulu 1828'de ve ikincisi de 1854'de kurulmuştur. İskenderiye'de ise ilk Ermeni okulu 1851'de kurulmuş ve günümüze kadar varlığını sürdürmüştür (Ambartsumyan, 1974: 3:3-482 ve Atikyan, 1985:41'den Akt. Azazyan, 1993: 156).

İlk dernek 1851 de kurulmuştur. Uluslararası faaliyet gösteren ve Ermeni hayır derneklerinin en büyüğü sayılan “Ermeni Genel Hayır Derneği” 1906’da ve uluslararası faaliyet gösteren Hamazkayin Kültür Derneği 1928’de Kahire’de kurulmuştur (Azazyan, 1993: 157).

Mısır’daki Ermeni Kilisesi, Mısır’daki Ermeniler ile ana vatanları arasındaki sosyal bağların pekiştirilmesinde, atalarının mirasının korunmasında (Süryani Manastır Belgeleri, 1806: 2138) ve Mısır’daki Ermenilere sosyal hizmetlerin sağlanmasında büyük bir role sahip olmuştur (Araştırmalar Arşivi, 1841: 52’den Akt. İsrail, 2017: 47).

el-Vatan Gazetesine açıklamalarda bulunan Ermeni Matbaacı Jassia Türklerin kendilerine karşı gerçekleştirdiği katliamlardan kaçarak Mısır topraklarına göç eden Ermeniler arasında matbaanın yaygınlaştığını, Mısırdaki Ermenilerin kurduğu matbaa sayısının 55 adete ulaştığını belirtmektedir. Jassia büyükbabasının katliamlardan kaçarak Kayseri’den geldiğini ve ofset baskıyı Mısır’a ilk getirenlerin Ermeniler olduğunu, Ermeni alfabesinde matbaa olmamasından dolayı matbaaya çok önem verdiklerini ifade etmiştir. Damanhour Üniversitesi’nde tarih profesörü olan Dr. Muhammed Rifat El-İmâm ise Mısır’daki Ermenilerin, Kahire’de 28, İskenderiy’e 13 matbaa kurduklarını ve matbaacılıkta öncü olduklarını söylemektedir (Muhammed el-Lisî, 2015:1).

Ermeniler sanat alanında da harika eserler vermişlerdir. Mısır’ın en eski Ressamı “Beyaz Manastır”da eser bırakan Siyotoros Kisoni’dir. 18. yüzyılda Ressam Kutsi Ermeni Hofhannis ön plana çıkmaktadır. Resimleri hala Kahirenin en eski kilisesi olan meşhur Muallaka Kilisesi’nin duvarlarını süslemektedir. Mısırdaki Mehmet Ali Sarayı Türk sanatlarına meyyaldi. İstanbul’dan Mısır’a birçok Ermeni müzik adamı geldi. Aleksander Tamoryan ve Nizan Zeynup onlardandır. Mısırdaki en büyük müzik aletleri dükkanları 1895 yılında Con Papazyan tarafından kurulmuştur (el-Boyacıyan, 1960: 214’den Akt. Azazyan, 1993: 158).

Ermeni Kilisesi, kökenleri, ayinleri ve teolojisi açısından en eski Doğu kiliseleri arasında sayıldığı için Mısır’da uzun bir geçmişe sahiptir. Tarih boyunca çeşitli nedenlerle Ermenilere kapılarını açan dünyanın en önemli ülkelerinden biri olan Mısır’a göç eden Ermenilerin çoğunluğu belki de Kıptiler gibi, Çocuk İsa’nın hepsini kutsadığı inançlarının doğası gereği Kahire’ye yerleşmiştir (Melnordus, 1986: 34’ten Akt. İsrail, 2017: 57). Mısır’a gelen çok sayıda Ermeni, diasporadaki tebaasına manevi yaşam sağlamak, iletişimlerini, karşılıklı bağlılıklarını, dillerini, inançlarını ve Ermeni geleneklerini korumak için Ermenistan’daki ana kilisenin pastoral faaliyetlerinde bir artışa yol açmıştır (Piskopos Aziz Tyros, 2011’den Akt. İsrail, 2017: 58). Karabağ piskoposlarından birinin “Hristiyan olmayan bir Ermeni Ermeni sayılmaz ...” sözü Ermenileri kiliseleri arasındaki güçlü birlik, dayanışma ve bağı teyit etmektedir. Dolayısıyla Ermeni müminler, nerede olurlarsa olsunlar, mezhepsel veya siyasi farklılıklarına rağmen, kendilerini millî medeniyet, ortak tarih ve Hristiyan inancı bakımından birleştiren güçlü bir birlik hissetmektedirler

(Salezyan, 2014'ten Akt. İsrail, 2017: 58). Bu nedenle Ermeni Kilisesi, Mısır'daki cemaati için öncelikle Ermeni Kilisesi ile aynı inancı paylaşan Kıpti Kilisesi'nin yardımına müracaat etmiştir. Böylece belki de zengin Ermeniler tarafından yenilenip dekore edilecek olan Kıpti Kiliseleri kapılarını Ermenilerin ibadetine açmıştır. İkinci bir adım olarak Kıpti Kilisesi, Kıpti halkının rızasıyla bazı kilise ve manastırları Ermeni Kilisesi'ne devretmiştir (Piskopos Aziz Tyros, 2011'den Akt. İsrail, 2017: 58). Papa II. Kyrollos döneminde (1078-1092), Osmanlı döneminde Ermenilere kendi dini ayinlerini yapma fırsatı vermek için Kıptiler kiliselerini Ermenilere vermeye devam etmişlerdir (Afifi 1992: 286'dan Akt. İsrail, 2017: 59). Ayrıca Papa 6. Markos döneminde (1646-1656) Yuhanna el-Ma'medân Kilisesi Ermenilere verilmiştir (Nahle, 2001: 109'dan Akt. İsrail, 2017: 59). Ermeni Kilisesi, İktidar makamından yeni Ermeni kiliseleri kurmak veya Kıpti Patriği'ni seçkin bir konuma sahip bazı kilise ve manastırlardan vazgeçmeye zorlamak için kararlar alırken Mısır'da ege-men konumlarda bulunan bazı mensuplarını suistimal etmiştir (İsrail, 2017: 59).

Mısır, 5. yüzyıldan önce var olmayan Katolikliği tanımaya başlamıştır. Miladi 1. yüzyıldan 451 yılındaki Kalkadon 4. Ekümenik Konsey'e kadar mezhep ayrımı yokken bu tarihten itibaren hizipleşmeler başlamıştır (Habib ve Afifi, 1994: 80'den Akt. İsrail, 2017: 63). Ortodoks'un Katolik inancına geçmesi çok zor olmasına rağmen 17. yüzyıldan itibaren Katolik doktrini Mısır'da yayılmaya başlamıştır (Tevfik, 1989: 167'den Akt. İsrail, 2017: 63). Mısır'a ilk Katolik misyonları on sekizinci yüzyılın başlarında gerçekleşmiştir. Misyonerler, herhangi bir Kıpti'yi ortodoks doktrinine bağlı kalmaktan vazgeçiremediği için, buna aldırış edilmemiştir. Ancak Mısır'da ikamet eden birçok Ermeni, Süryani ve Rum'u Katolik inancında bir araya getirmeyi başarmışlardır (Mahmud, 2005: 217'den Akt. İsrail, 2017: 64-66). 19 yüzyılda Katoliklik yayılmaya devam etmiş, Mehmet Ali de projelerini gelen yabancılarla gerçekleştirdiği için Katolikliği teşvik etmiştir (Şahıslar Arşivi, 1809: 132/129'dan Akt. İsrail, 2017: 64). İskenderiye'deki Katolik Ermeniler önce ibadetlerini Latin Kilisesi'nde ifa etmiş ve cenazelerini Latin Mezarlığına defnetmişlerdir. Bu, Piskopos Akşehirliyan'ın içine küçük bir sunak ve rahibin yatacağı bir yer yaptığı bir ev kiralayınca kadar devam etti. Burası İskenderiye'de kutsanan ilk resmi sunak olmuştur (İsrail, 2017: 65). Özellikle 18. Yüzyılın başlarından itibaren artan bir özenle kiliseler çeşitli resim ve sembollerle süslenmiştir. Sembol (ikon), kutsal bir kişinin ruhunun ortaya çıktığı resimdir. Ahşap üzerine çizilmedikçe bir resim bir sembol (ikon) olarak kabul edilmez. Amacı, Aziz Basil'in dediği gibi "dikkat çekmek ve temsil ettiği gerçeği zihninizde daha sevimli, daha derin, daha hızlı ve ruhlarmızda daha etkili kılmaktır." Diğer amaç ise, bize bazı tarihi ve teolojik gerçekleri öğretmektir. Sanatçı azizlerin ve şehitlerin resimlerini yaparken, müminleri onları takip etmeye teşvik eden gerçekçi bir şekilde erdemlerini vurgulamaya çalışır (es-Süryânî, 1990: 56-77'den Akt. İsrail, 2017: 65).

Azazyan, Artin Bey Çırakyan, İstafan Demirciyan, Yusuf Bey Hekikyan, Nubar Paşa Nubaryan, Yakup Artin Paşa, Dikran Paşa Dabro el-Bakradunî, Ermeni Yusuf Efendi, Bogos Paşa Nubaryan ve Aristakis Altonyan (Alton Devri Bey) isimlerin

Mısır tarihine damga vuran Ermeniler olduğunu ifade etmiştir. Türkçe, Ermenice, Fransızca, İngilizce, İtalyanca ve Yunancayı çok iyi bilen bu isimler memur, tercüman, gazeteci, müdür, mühendis ve hatta bakan olarak hizmet etmişlerdir (Azazyan, 1993: 150-155).

Ermenilerin Mısır Halkına İhanetlerine Dair İki Örnek

Tarih boyunca Ermenilere kapılarını açan, bütün imkânlarını önlerine seren Mısır halkı Ermenilerden aynı insani davranışı görememiştir. Özellikle 1879 Fransız ihtilali sonrasında yüksek sesle dillendirilen “Özgürlük, kardeşlik ve eşitlik” ilkeleri Ermenilerin de milliyetçilik akımlarına katılarak buldukları toplumlarda siyasi ve ekonomik imtiyazlar elde etmek için çalışmalarına neden olmuştur. Mısır toplumunda Dışişleri ve Maliye Bakanlıklarında tekelleşmeleri, ticarete karaborsaya yönelmeleri, kuyum sektörünü tamamen ele geçirmeleri ve devletin mali kayıtlarıyla oynayarak yolsuzluk yapmaları bunun en güzel kanıtıdır. Müslümanlara karşı daima Hristiyanların yanında yer almışlar, Sünni Müslümanlara karşı her zaman ihanet etme potansiyeli olan vali ve komutanların etrafında toplanmışlardır. Selçuklu ve Osmanlıya karşı Fatımi ve Memluk devletlerinde yaşamayı tercih etmişlerdir. Osmanlının fethettiği, kolay idare edebildiği yerleri terk ederek Suriye'nin dağlık kesimi, Lübnan dağları ve Mısır'a göç etmişlerdir. Aşağıda aktaracağımız iki olay Ermenilerin Müslüman toplumlara karşı ikiyüzlü davranışlarının birer kanıtıdır.

1. İstanbullu Ermeni bir aileye mensup olan Nikola et-Türk, iyi derecede Fransızca ve Arapça bilmekteydi. Mısır işgali öncesinde Napolyon ordusunun Arapça ve Fransızca bilen çevirmenler aradığını duyunca İskenderiye'ye gelerek Fransız ordusunu karşıladı. Mısır Ermenileri adına Napolyon'a hitaben 30 beyitlik bir şiir okuyarak Mısır işgali sebebiyle Napolyon'u tebrik etti, 11 makâmesi ile şöhret buldu (et-Türk, 1949: 344-388). Fasih Arapçayı çok iyi kullanan Nikola'nın Arapça şiirlerinden oluşan bir Divan'ı da bulunmaktadır. Ayrıca Napolyon'un Mısır'ı işgalini bir zafer olarak görüp, Napolyon'u tebrik eden 30 beyitlik bir de şiir kaleme aldı. Arap tarihi, düşüncesi ve kültürü uzmanı olan Philippe de Tarrâzi (1865-1956) onun Katolik Ermeni olduğunu, torunlarından birisi olan Ovidis Türkyan'ın Maraş olayları sırasında Türkler tarafından öldürüldüğünü söyler. Yağya Nacaryan da Tarrâzi'nin bu görüşüne katılır. (Nacaryan, 2005; Sarıkaya, 2021: 141).
2. Ünlü Arap tarihi roman yazarı ve edebiyat tarihçisi Corci Zeydan'ın 1874 yılında Kahire'ye göç ettiğinde bir süre çalıştığı Arapça olarak yayınlanan ez-Zemân gazetesinin sahibi de Aleksan Sarrafyan isimli bir Ermeni idi. 1884 yılında İngiliz ordularının Kahire'yi işgal etmesinin ardından adı geçen gazete İngiliz işgalini alkışlayan, İngilizleri kutlayan yayınları ile dikkat çekmişti. Kahire'deki bütün gazete ve dergileri kapatan İngilizlerin yayın hayatına devam etmesine izin verdiği tek gazete Sarrafyan'ın bu ez-Zemân adlı gazetesiydi (Ahmed, 2017: 190).

Sonuç

Ermenileri konu edinen kaynaklar, Ermeni Halkının alışlagelen bilgilerin aksine sadece tehirden sonra değil tarihin ilk dönemlerinden itibaren çalışmamıza konu olan Mısır'a gittiklerini, oralarda yaşadıklarını ve bu ülkeyi iyi tanıdıklarını ifade etmektedir. Tarih boyunca zaman zaman dalgalanmalar ve gelgitler yaşayan isteğe bağlı veya zorunlu Ermeni göçlerinin, göç konusunda Ermenileri son derece tecrübeli yaptığı ve Mısır'la ilgili bilgileri gelecek nesillere aktardıkları anlaşılmaktadır. Göçe alışık olmak ve git gel yaşanan bu ülkeye ait bilgilere haiz olmak Ermenilerin uyum sürecini kolaylaştırmıştır. Her ne kadar Hristiyan bir halk olarak Müslüman bir topluma sığınmanın zorluğu olsa da Ermenilerin göç ettikleri Mısır'da dini yaşayışlarında serbest bırakılmaları uyum sürecini olumlu etkileyen diğer bir faktör olmuştur.

M. S. 301 yılında Hristiyanlığı kabul eden Ermeniler tarih boyunca göç ettikleri yerlerde kendi kiliselerini tesis etmişler ve kiliseler arasında güçlü bağlar kurarak hep iletişimde olmuşlardır. Göç eden Ermeniler bu vesileyle ilk etapta kiliselere sığınıp etraflarında barınaklar edinmişlerdir. Kiliseler de muhacirleri bağrına basmış her türlü kolaylığı göstermiş ve destek sağlamıştır. Göç neticesinde Mısır'a gelen Ermeniler aynı mezhebe ait olan Kıptî Kiliseleri tarafından desteklenmiş hatta bazı Kıptî Kiliseleri geçici ya da kalıcı olarak Ermenilere tahsis edilmiştir. Böylece Ermeniler göç sarsıntısını kolay atlatmışlar ve hızla Mısır toplumuna uyum sağlamışlardır.

Ermeniler Mısır'da Fâtımiler Devleti zamanında en parlak dönemini yaşamışlar, en üst düzey görevler yaparak imtiyaz sahibi olmuşlardır. 969'da Mısır'ı fetheden Halife Muiz-Lidînilâh ve diğer Fâtımî halifeleri birçok Ermeni'yi vezirlik görevine getirmiş ve adeta ülkeyi Ermenilere teslim etmiştir. Ermeniler idare, ekonomi, ticaret ve ziraat alanlarında birçok görev üstlenmiş ve kendi halklarını Mısır'a çekmişlerdir.

1805 yılında Mısır Valisi olan Mehmet Ali Paşa dönemi de Ermenilerin Mısır'daki diğer bir parlak dönemi olmuştur. Mehmet Ali Paşa Osmanlıya karşı kullanabileceğini çok iyi bildiği Ermenilere üst görevler vermiş, güçlü bir yapı oluşturmak için Avrupa'ya eğitim misyonları göndermiş ve çoğunlukla Ermenileri tercih etmiştir. Ermeniler Mehmet Ali'nin güveniyle Mısır'daki hayatın tüm alanlarına hâkim olmuşlardır. Böylece Mısır'daki Ermeni nüfusu artmış, Ermeniler hükümette nüfuzlu bir konuma gelmiş ve Mısır'daki her türlü ticari faaliyetlerin içinde olarak toprak sahibi olup zenginlik elde etmişlerdir. Gerek Fâtımî ve gerekse Mehmet Ali döneminde Mısır'da çok etken bir konuma gelen, kiliseler kurup Mısır'a damga vuran Ermeniler bu tarihi arka planla tehcir sonrasında Mısır'daki hayata uyum sağlamada zorlanmamışlardır.

Osmanlı'nın millet-i sâdıkası olan ve isyan etmemiş Ermeniler, maruz kaldıkları sözde katliamlar nedeniyle Mısır'a göç etmek zorunda kalan mazlumlar olarak

Arap halkı ve bağımsızlık talepleri nedeniyle Osmanlıyı ortak düşman kabul eden siyasi otoriteler nezdinde destek bulmuştur. Ermeniler diğer göç bölgelerindeki Hicaz Hâkimi Şerif Hüseyin, Irak Hâkimi Faysal b. Şerif Hüseyin ve Suriye Hâkimi Hafız Esad gibi siyasi otoriteler tarafından desteklendiği gibi Ezher Şeyhi Selim el-Bişrî tarafından da 1909 Adana olaylarının akabinde yerel basından duyduklarının doğru olması durumuna binaen Osmanlı'yı kınayan bir fetva ile desteklenmiştir. Yerel halk ve yöneticilerden destek bulan Ermeniler, Müslüman Arap toplumlarında olduğu gibi Mısır'da da uyum konusunda zorlanmamışlardır. Diğer Arap ülkelerinde olduğu gibi Mısır halkının da Ermenilerle bir problemi yoktur; dolayısıyla tarihi kaynaklarda ve günümüz medya araçlarında tehcir kanunu ile akabindeki Ermeni göçü ve Ermeni kaynaklarca iddia edilen soykırım iddiaları Mısır Arap toplumunun ilgisini çekmemiştir. Yine de Ermeniler Arapça telif ve çeviri kitaplar, kurdukları gazete, dergi ve internet siteleri aracılığıyla Ermeni soykırımı iddialarını gündemde tutma çabası içerisindeyler. Niceliksel olarak bir kıyaslama yapılacak olursa Osmanlı Devleti ve Türkiye'nin tezlerinin haklılığını savunan yayınların sayısı bir elin parmaklarını geçmez.

Tarih boyunca nadiren kendi krallıklarını kuran, daha çok bir otoriteye hizmet eden Ermeniler Mısır Arap toplumunda üst düzey görevlere kadar yükselmişlerdir. Osmanlı'da da çok önemli imtiyazlar elde etmişlerdir. Hal böyleyken Fransa'da ateşlenen milliyetçilik akımının etkisiyle İngiltere, Fransa ve Rusya'nın bağımsızlık vaatlerine kanarak isyan etmişler ve hain konumuna düşerek her türlü imkanlarını kaybederek Arap ülkelerine göç etmek zorunda kalmışlardır. Bu süreci yaşayan Ermeniler göç ettikleri ülkelerin çok azı istisna olmak üzere, siyasi bir faaliyet içerisinde, hele hele bağımsızlık arayışında olmamışlardır. Onca üzücü yaşantılardan sonra Ermenilerin bu tavır sergilemeleri yerel halk ve otorite tarafından kabul görmelerini sağlamıştır. Mısır'da da Ermenilerin hiçbir siyasi faaliyetin içinde olmadıkları, bağımsızlık gibi söylemlerden hep uzak durdukları, Mısır'ın asli unsuru olduklarını her fırsatta vurguladıkları ve mevcut hükümetle daima iyi ilişkiler kurdukları müşahede edilmektedir. İsrail'in telif ettiği kitaba "Mısır ve Filistin Ermenileri Siyasetten Uzak" ismini vermesi manidardır.

Siyasi bir faaliyet içerisinde olmayan Ermeniler çok dilli olmaları nedeniyle gittikleri ülkelerin Avrupa ile bağlantılarını sağlayan vazgeçilmez aktörleri olmuşlardır. Zira Ermeniler ortalama Arapça, İngilizce, Fransızca, Türkçe, İtalyanca, Yunanca hatta Latince ve İbraniceyi biliyorlardı. Bu haslet dil konusunda geri durumda olan bir toplumda Ermenileri hem siyasette hem de ticarete öne geçirmiştir. Avrupalılar Ermeniler sayesinde Arap ülkelerinde güvenebilecekleri Hristiyan elemanlarla siyasi, ekonomik, zirai ve ticari işlerini rahatça halledebilmişlerdir. Bu durum her iki taraf için de Ermenileri vazgeçilmez kılmıştır.

Ermeniler bu durumu kişisel yetenekleriyle de birleştirerek çok iyi değerlendirmişler, üst düzey görevleri elde ederek nüfuz sahibi olmuşlar ve aynı zamanda ticari imkanları değerlendirerek servet edinmişlerdir. Mehmet Ali'nin her bakı-

dan desteklediği Ermeniler ticaret, sanayi, ekonomi ve ziraatta adeta tekel olmuşlardır. Hatta bankacılıkta da tekel oluşturan Ermeniler, Mehmet Ali dahil birçok üst düzey bürokrata faizle kredi vermişlerdir. Bu şekilde zenginleşen Ermeniler sonraki göçmen tebaasına destek olup kol kanat germişlerdir.

Ermeniler kiliselerinin yanı sıra kendi okullarını kurmuşlar ve çocuklarını kendi kültürlerine göre yetiştirme imkânı bulmuşlardır. Rahatlıkla iletişim kurdukları Hristiyan Batı ülkelerinde çocuklarına eğitim imkânları sağlamışlardır. Özellikle Mehmet Ali'nin eğitim misyonlarıyla Avrupa'ya gönderdiği öğrenciler, eğitim alarak diasporadaki yaşantılarına vasıflı elemanlar olarak dönmüş, gelişmemiş o ülkedeki her türlü imkân ve imtiyazı elde etmişlerdir. Ayrıca her türlü yeniliği getiren, tanıtan, uygulayan ve pazarlayanlar olmuşlardır.

Ermenilerin kendilerine has zanaatları ihtiyaçları karşılama noktasında kendilerini o topluma mecbur etmiştir. Zira Ermeniler ipek üretimi, boyama, tabaklama, tamir, terzilik, fotoğrafçılık, halı ve kilim dokuma, nakış, bakır işleme, matbaa zanaatları, kumaş üzerine işleme, saat tamiri, müzik aletleri tamiri, berberlik, fesçilik, döşemecilik, aşçılık, değirmencilik, dericilik ve şerbetçilik gibi birçok zanaatta uzmandılar. Kendi çocuklarından başkasına öğretmedikleri için de birçok zanaatta tekeldiler. Bu yeteneklerine çalışkanlık, hoşgörü ve güler yüz de eklenince toplumda kabul görmeleri kaçınılmaz olmuştur. Mısır'a daha önceden göç eden Ermenilerin 1915 tehcir kanunu sonrasındaki Ermeni göçlerine çok güçlü bir arka plan ve zemin oluşturdukları görülmektedir.

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The Army and The Mauritanian Political System

Ordu ve Moritanya Siyasi Sistemi

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Abstract: This study examines the role of the army in Mauritanian politics and the answer to the question: what will civil-military relations look like in the event of a transition to a democratic political system? The study focuses on the role of control and accountability in making the military institution accountable to the National Assembly in order to reduce its influence in political life, and on the importance of reforming it in order to strengthen the democratic transition in Mauritania. This study assumes that the reasons for the military intervention are due to the fact that the colonizer left no institutions, since France did not meet the requirements of the nascent Mauritanian state. The Mauritanian political system adopted democracy before the establishment of a strong state, with an institutional character that increased participation in political life. The study concludes that the difficult experience of working in Mauritania requires a great deal of time and patience, and that the country's chances of achieving a democratic transition are greater than before if the army is removed from the political process and competitive elections are held.

Keywords: Mauritania, military, political system, civilian control, democracy.

Öz: Bu çalışma, Moritanya siyasetinde ordunun rolünü ve bununla ilgili olarak şu sorunun cevabını aramaktadır: Demokratik siyasal sisteme geçiş durumunda sivil-asker ilişkileri nasıl olacaktır? Çalışma, askeri kurumun siyasi yaşamdaki etkisini azaltmak amacıyla Ulusal Meclis'e karşı hesap verebilir hale getirilmesinde kontrol ve hesap verebilirliğin rolüne ve Moritanya'da demokratik geçişin güçlendirilmesi için reform yapılmasının önemine odaklanmaktadır. Bu çalışma, askeri müdahalenin nedenlerinin, Fransa'nın yeni oluşan Moritanya devletinin gereksinimlerini karşılamaması nedeniyle sömürgecinin hiçbir kurum bırakmamasından kaynaklandığını varsaymaktadır. Moritanya siyasi sistemi, siyasi hayata katılımı artıran kurumsal bir karaktere sahip, güçlü bir devletin kurulmasından önce demokrasiyi benimsemiştir. Çalışma, Moritanya'da çalışmanın zorlu deneyiminin çok fazla zaman ve sabır gerektirdiğini ve ordunun siyasi süreçten uzaklaştırılması ve rekabetçi seçimler yapılması halinde ülkenin demokratik geçişe ulaşma şansının eskisinden daha yüksek olduğu sonucuna varıyor.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Moritanya, Ordu, Politik sistem, sivil kontrol, demokrasi.

Introduction

After the two world wars, the army played an increasingly important role in political life. The militarization of politics became a way of life in Latin America, while the wars of liberation that preceded the occupation phase in the first quarter of the last century created the conditions for military intervention in politics and governance.

As for the countries of the African continent, from the mid-1960s to the present day, they have been hit by a rapid wave of military coups, the most recent of which occurred in Mali, Guinea and Burkina Faso in 2022. In fact, most African countries have been under military rather than civilian rule since independence. Nigeria, Ghana and Benin are clear examples (Abdel R. Hassan, 1996). The phenomenon of military governments emerged when armies went beyond their military function to play political, economic and security roles (Mady, 2021).

In the Arab region, the phenomenon of military coups has become widespread, with the military seizing power in Syria, Iraq, Algeria, Libya, Yemen, Egypt, Sudan and Mauritania. Most of the regimes in the Arab world, and in the so-called Third World in general, are the result of military coups, since it can be said that it is the military that has ruled the modern Arab state, with the exception of a few periods in which civilians had a share of power, even if nominally (Al-Anani, 2019). The events of the Arab Spring, the army returned after a brief democratic experience to take power and abort the process of democratic transformation, as in the case of Egypt. The Arab reality shows us that Arab armies have been influenced in their formation and organization by the history and composition of society, as well as by the nature of the political system of the countries to which they belong. Each army has been a special case that has provoked special reactions during the Arab revolutions (Ghomari, 2019).

Samuel Huntington distinguishes between political systems that have achieved a high degree of institutionalization and those that have achieved only a low degree of participation by identifying three levels: at the lowest level, participation is limited to a small, traditional aristocratic or bureaucratic elite; at the intermediate level, the middle class enters politics; in a highly participatory political entity, the elite, the middle class, and the masses - as a whole - participate in political activity (Huntington Samuel, 1968). Every political system is the image of a social substance, that is, the embodiment of a social system in which natural and cultural, social and political, historical and environmental factors act and struggle to shape its process. This observation is all the more necessary when the discourse of democracy, as a system of supremacy of legal institutions, is applied to a country like Mauritania, which has not yet experienced the institution of the state in its entirety, except for the institution of the army (Huntington. Samuel, 1968).

In addition, the French colonialists spared no effort to differentiate between the components of Mauritanian society and to drive a wedge between its races and ethnicities. This is demonstrated by the adoption of a policy based on the distinction between Arab Mauritians and their black and African counterparts in terms of conscription and taxation. With regard to military conscription, black Mauritians were subject to a system similar to that applied to the local population in French colonies in West Africa. As for the Arab Mauritians, only those who chose to do so voluntarily had to register for military service. Such a situation is fraught with difficulties and risks, including the fact that the colonizer did not establish any infrastructure in the country or public institutions on which the new authority could rely to administer the country. And since Mauritania was at that time the object of many regional claims, the civilian regime in power at the time sought to shake the foundations of the traditional structure of the system, recognizing the impossibility of coexistence between these traditional structures and the state in its modern sense, based on the ideas of citizenship, equality and the rule of law (Ndary. Ahmed, 2017: 101).

This study assumes that the problems of the Mauritanian state lie in the fact that the colonizer did not leave behind any institutions and in the adoption of a democratic system before the establishment of a strong state and the existence of a political system that carries out political organization of an institutional nature that increases participation in political life and provides basic services. The study believes that Mauritania must build a strong state with a controlling political system that provides political organization of an institutional nature that increases participation in political life and provides public services. This is what Mauritania's political system needs. Because Mauritania was born by force, the colonizers did not leave any institutions. Mauritania did not have a highly institutionalized political system of an organized nature, and the political

system did not establish political and administrative institutions based on the political institutions of the state. In fact, from independence to the present day, Mauritania has not known a state in the modern sense, i.e. a state of laws and institutions, and it still faces obstacles on several levels, including the influence of the tribe and the army and their control over the state.

The absence of these institutions gave the army the opportunity to seize power and control the Mauritanian political system since 1978. Despite the change, which did not go beyond the head of the regime and did not include the social composition of political power, the political system itself remained the same.

This study relies on the historical approach and the comparative analytical approach to learn more about this phenomenon, to reveal the differences between the historical stages that the country has gone through and the possibility of reforming the military institution in Mauritania.

This study also seeks to answer the question of the nature of the relationship between the state and the military in Mauritania from the first coup until today. What are the main achievements of the military? What is its impact on the political system? What stages has the military institution gone through? What is its role in the political process in Mauritania? What is the role of the parliament in fighting corruption in relation to the military institution by activating transparency and accountability?

The military in political life

Mauritania's political system has undergone changes and political instability, and the country has been subject to military rather than civilian rule. The Mauritanian army, like most African armies at the time of independence, was created three days before the declaration of independence on November 25, 1960. In 1968, the army received 1.4 percent of the total gross domestic product, and by 2020, military spending had reached 12.5 percent. According to a 2021 report by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, Mauritania's military spending since independence has reached \$1.8 billion. If we look at the social sphere, we see that the huge expenditure on the military budget is twice what the government spends on education and health. In the absence of parliamentary control, this increases the level of corruption within the military institution, and the legislative institution is not immune to dependency and corruption. This is normal in a country like Mauritania, where the parliament is part of the political system. "Therefore, in practice, given the army's control of the presidency and parliament through the ruling party, as well as the membership of relatives of army commanders in key parliamentary committees, particularly that of "Justice, Interior and Defense". In committee, it is difficult to make a serious statement on parliamentary control of the army's budget, given the legal

and practical considerations and the lack of transparency and information". Le Mauritanien with great precision" (Sayed, 2015). All this requires a high level of control, transparency and accountability in the management of the military institutions, as well as control over the relations between them and the civilian institutions of the state (Mady, 2021).

It can be noted that there are two basic stages that Mauritania has gone through since its independence: the stage of military coups and the stage of democratization of the political system.

In the first phase, after independence, Mauritania witnessed coups d'état that later evolved into a struggle between the military for power and political and financial influence, with one soldier replacing another in a corrupt political system. In the second phase, the political system changed from a military regime to an authoritarian regime led by Lieutenant Colonel Maaouya Ould Sid Ahmed Taya.

The post-independence period was less corrupt than the democratization phase of the early 1990s. After independence, the country was not ready for institutional governance, which created an institutional vacuum in the Mauritanian political system. It increased the chances of the army coming to power at the expense of the opposition and political parties. The country was moving from a civilian to a praetorian system.

The Praetorian regime began to justify its rise to power by describing the guardian as the protector of the country and responsible for the political system from outside interference (the Desert War), which later became an ideology that governs the political system and stands in the way of establishing democracy in the country.

But the decisive military intervention began with the Sahara War. This war changed the structure of the Mauritanian army, whose numbers multiplied nine times in two years, from 2,000 to 18,000 (Ould Saad and Abdel-Hay, 2009). During the last phase of the Sahara War, the country experienced an unprecedented deterioration of its general conditions at all levels. On the economic level, the war has exhausted all the country's internal resources, foreign aid has stopped, and the export of iron has been disrupted by the Polisario's attacks on the train that carries it from the Zouerate mines to the export port of Nouadhibou. As for the home front, it has begun to disintegrate, as the length of the war and its high cost have caused voices to be raised against the war in one way or another.

In this reality, the idea of a coup against the regime of Mokhtar Ould Daddah was born. A coup d'état was the only way for the military to stop this war, given the insistence of the regime and the president himself to continue the war. It is known that the first to think about the coup was Colonel Mostafa Ould Mohamed Salek and Major Salek was born. At the beginning of 1978, the regime gave the

soldiers a “precious gift”, without realizing it, by appointing Al-Mustafa as the commander of the general staff. They began to intensify their meetings, some of which took place in the General Staff or in some places affiliated to the Sixth Military District. These meetings also began to deal with detailed matters such as discussing the statement that would be issued after the coup. which will be issued after the coup, the formation of the Military Committee, the treatment of senior officers loyal to the regime and other details. In addition to the civil wing that stood with them in the “July 10” project, such as our Sheikh Ould Muhammad Al-Aghdaf and other figures from the people of the east, as well as some leaders of political movements (Ould Haidalla, 2012). Since the success of the 1978 coup d’état and the appointment of the army chief of staff, Colonel Mustafa Ould Mohamed Salek, to the presidency of the Military Committee for the Salvation of the Nation, as well as to the presidency of the State, the abolition of the Constitution and the dissolution of the Parliament, it has become clear that the country is on the verge of military domination of politics. The new rulers see the state as a prize to be taken by force of arms (Ould B. Boune, July 21019).

The military did not have a clear vision of politics and the management of public affairs in Mauritania, and its prolonged exercise of power, management of political life and exploitation of the many privileges of power led it to cling to power and to try to return to it and to interfere in it constantly, which led Mauritania into a vicious circle of backwardness and tyrannical rule (Ould, Salek, 2014).

During the reign of Mokhtar Ould Daddah, the army was exposed to its worst conditions because it failed its first test in the face of the external threat due to its small size and the weakness of its tools. Subsequently, the army was isolated in its use of force and domination, which led to these disasters, development backwardness and instability. Many of Mauritania’s misfortunes were due to the failure of military rule in the country, and the military allied itself with traditional notables, tribal leaders and religious sheikhdoms to achieve its interests, and this alliance directly affects the decisions of the authority.

The Military’s Struggle for Power

From 1978 to 1991, the struggle for power within the army intensified and a succession of officers ruled the country. This military intervention was due to the weakness of the institutions established after independence and their lack of control over the military establishment, as well as the growing role of the military in political life due to the absence of opposition and deteriorating economic and social conditions. This justified the rise of the army and established military rule for over forty years.

Since the 1978 coup d’état, the military’s political influence has remained very strong. All of the country’s presidents since then have been army officers (Al-Ayoubi. Nazih, 2010).

The military institution, in the form in which it took power in 1978, is a concentrated caricature of the comprador class. At the beginning, despite the presence of elements with a clear composition in its ranks, it represented a marginal nucleus that formed in isolation from the nascent civilian movement, since it was not able to attract young people and activists of the nascent civilian space, except on a marginal level.

Its takeover of the regime, as we saw earlier, was a takeover of the state and all its institutions, that is, it was a takeover of the regime - the state. It was subordinated to various other state institutions (Al-Murabiti, 2022).

During this period, the Mauritanian political system underwent many reorganizations, including many attempts to return to a normal constitutional and political system. At the constitutional level, Mauritania saw many "constitutional charters" in 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981 and 1985. On the political level, Mauritania has had four presidents: Colonel Mustapha Ould Mohamed Salek (1978-1979) and Colonel Mohamed Mahmoud Ould Ahmed Louli (1979-1980), Lieutenant Colonel Mohamed Khouna Ould Haidala (1980-1984), and Lieutenant Colonel Muawiyah Ould Sayed Ahmed Taya (Bbout, A. Salem, 2018).

Thus, the subsequent coups, whether declared or silent, took on a significance beyond that of a conflict within the same limited group. At most levels, it was an expression of the conflict of pre-national authorities and affiliations, half-spoken or partially expressed in informal forms of communication, which at the time seemed to be the most widespread and effective in the face of contemporary social transformations and formations (Al-Murabiti, 2022: 86-87).

With the replacement of the civilian system by a military one, and the prohibition of all popular and political practices except within the structures of mass culture (Ould, S. Baba, 2005). the citizen was confronted with the most complex and controlling systems. Mass culture represented a dangerous and active intelligence system that provided the regime with comprehensive information on the political orientations of citizens, and then distributed the privileges of power according to the logic of carrots and sticks, and the new regime often tried to reorganize roles and create its own political class through which it consolidated the pillars of its power, relying on the principle of loyalty (Ould Deddah, winter 2011: 52).

At this point, the army could no longer do without the civilians and vice versa, and coups became the norm rather than the exception, some succeeding, others failing. In principle, these coups did not have the same motivations, but in form they represented a phenomenon, even if they differed in their motivations and origins (Al-Karawi, Summer 2011: 134). After seizing power, the military regimes failed to achieve development and stability due to the divisions and conflicts within the ranks of the army for power since 1978. With each coup d'état and

military takeover, the coup plotters justify their seizure of power under the pretext of fighting corruption, achieving development or saving the state from collapse and transitioning the country to democracy, while the country is subjected to tyranny under their regime. This race for power is all about wealth, personal interests and position in the political system.

There is no way for officers to seize power and change their status except through a military coup. The army leaves a corrupt legacy at the social, economic and political levels. This prompted a call for help from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The "structural reform" came as a panacea for this type of situation (Ould, Mottaly, 1992). However, the implementation of this reform caused a deficit in the general budget and in the balance of payments, an increase in debt, an inflation rate, a collapse in the value of the currency, and the liquidation of public institutions. Unemployment increased, anxiety reigned, and despair gripped the people (Ould, A. Zekeria, 2004).

The economic crisis of the 1980s played a crucial role in the democratization of the political system, but it did not change the nature of the Mauritanian state, and society itself remained unchanged. Clientelism, political favoritism and rampant corruption in the political system continued to dominate the Mauritanian state, even though the regime was capable of reform. Despite the change in the political system, the basic structure of society remained unchanged.

In 1988, Maaouya Ould Taya led a successful coup against President Mohamed Khouna Ould Haidalla. Colonel Ould Taya's government introduced reforms and announced the establishment of a new political system. Since 1991, his government has entered a period of limited political openness. During this period, a new constitution was drafted for the country, the Constitution of July 20, 1991, which allowed political pluralism and freedom of the press for the first time since independence in 1960. In this context, a series of civil institutions were established, the most important of which are: a bicameral parliament (deputies and senators), elected municipal councils, an appointed constitutional council, and an Islamic parliament, in addition to numerous presidential, legislative, and municipal mandates (Bin Muhammad, May 2007: 61). This transition to a pluralist party system, through which President Muawiyah was unable to build institutions and his regime evolved into an authoritarian individual system. During this period, Mauritania witnessed a notable increase in the influence of tribal frameworks of assembly and political action, particularly the growing economic, political, and security weight of the tribe of the Supreme Guide himself. Here, tribal "general assemblies" are openly encouraged to be used to disseminate decisions emanating from "structures designed to cultivate the masses. They are also used to grant personal loyalty to the Colonel-President in the form of the "Sultan's" oath of allegiance during his visits to the interior of the country. These visits intensified, in a festive, almost regal atmosphere, as

his authority grew stronger. On such occasions, senior administrative officials (ministers, directors, etc.) must return to their tribes to formalize their submission to the king. They must be active in both administrative and tribal capacities (Ould, Sheikh, 2017: 9).

Nepotism in the country has reached such a level that some employees receive their salaries from the state without knowing where they work. In addition to nepotistic appointments to government jobs and senior administrative positions at the expense of those with qualifications and credentials. Recently, the current regime has begun to organize competitions and examinations for access to public employment, through which it is trying to reduce favoritism in appointments to government posts and reform the public sector.

The Democratic Series in Mauritania: Democratic Transformation or Dictatorship in The Guise of Democracy?

Democratic transition depends to a large extent on the agreement of the political forces seeking peaceful change on a democratic system of government with its recognized foundations, principles, mechanisms, controls and guarantees, as an alternative to the system of government by one or a few individuals (Alkuwari and Mady, 2009: 9). The absence of such a consensus is one of the main obstacles to the completion of the transition to democracy in Mauritania. This may be due to the fact that democracy in Mauritania was imposed by donor countries (Mohamed Horma, E. February 2022: 51). with the external factor playing an important role in the so-called democratic process in Mauritania, as external pressure began to demand political reforms in Mauritania in the early 1990s, opening the door to political openness and the holding of pluralistic elections in the country. This made it easier for the dictator, Maouya Ould Taya, to embrace democracy and describe what was happening as a democratic transition to ease the pressure. Maouia then abandoned his military uniform and began to appear in civilian clothes, ruling Mauritania for two decades. Under his rule, the country was transformed into an army and tribal state, with loyalists and sons of notables in high positions.

Ould Taya based his regime on traditional structures and a group of relatives and notables to control the state. The democratic transformation of the 1990s had little impact on economic, political, and social aspects. In fact, the regime tried to harmonize government policies with those of donors and international financial institutions. These policies have had a significant impact on Mauritania's domestic politics. On the other hand, these programs and policies have also led to the emergence of what is known in international studies as democratic conditionality. This was explicitly crystallized in Mitterrand's speech at the La Baule Summit, when he linked the provision of economic aid to African countries to their degree of commitment to liberal values, particularly those related to democracy and human rights (Ould M. Ibrahimat, June 2018: 77).

Although Mauritania held three multi-party presidential elections in 1992, 1997 and 2003, the winner was always Colonel Ould Taya. It can therefore be said that the dominant feature of this limited political openness has remained chronic political tension, characterized by the permanent restriction of public freedoms, sometimes even their denial through the dissolution of political parties and the confiscation of independent newspapers (Bin Muhammad, 2007: 62).

Muawiyah was unable to establish political institutions and limited himself to a formal democracy, which resulted in political chaos. The 1991 constitution contributed to the institutional dominance of the President of the Republic over the political system.

The 1991 Constitution also emphasized the prohibition of political parties based on tribe, region, ethnicity or religious affiliation, which the political regime of the time used as an excuse to prevent the Islamic Umma Party from obtaining a license.

The tribe allied itself with the ruling dictatorship, and this alliance and the clientelism network played an important role in the survival of the dictator Muawiyah over a long period in power. We note that all successive regimes in the country promised to establish a democratic system, but failed to do so, as is the custom with authoritarian regimes, and it later became clear that this was an approach by the rulers to legitimize their power.

The impact of ethnic, tribal and regional diversity on the path of democratic transformation in Mauritania, and with the change in the path of democratic transformation during this period, Mauritania was almost exposed to civil war, and bitter rhetoric about the humanitarian legacy multiplied, and accusations were made against the Ould Taya regime related to human rights violations, "represented by illegal arrests and kidnappings. There were also cases of torture. Among the most notorious of these arrests are those that took place in 2003 and 2004 against certain symbols of the Islamic movement and its leaders. One of the most striking and painful cases was the kidnapping of the engineer Mohamedou Ould El-Salahi by the Mauritanian authorities and his extradition to the United States, where he ended up in the Guantanamo detention center (Ndary, January 2021: 55). Since the mid-1980s, Mauritania's political system has suffered from problems that international human rights organizations have described as violations justifying condemnation of the military regime in power in Mauritania, particularly those related to the physical liquidation and torture in military prisons of black Mauritians, some of whose officers attempted to overthrow the regime on two occasions (1986-1987), known locally as the African Flame Uprising (Ould S. Baba, 2004).

In addition, Muawiyah's regime repressed Islamists and prevented them from participating in elections throughout his tenure. And his party had a

monopoly on political participation. This emboldened the Islamists - who supported Saleh Ould Hanna's coup - to revolt and attempt to overthrow him. Most previous coups during the Ould Taya period did not come from the top of the military establishment and did not receive the support of the army chiefs, which hindered their success. After Saleh Ould Hanna's coup and the increase in popular pressure, the army seized the opportunity to further control the political system, strengthen its position in power, and seize power.

The transition to democracy resulted in the existence of a strong political system, but an incomplete democracy. This contributed to the fact that the dictatorial regime established a constitution that was not based on the realization of democracy and allowed traditional structures to dominate the regime and benefit from the country's wealth.

All of this was done in the name of reform and democracy in favor of the traditional forces and in the service of the dictator Ould Taya, resulting in widespread corruption in the army and state institutions, as well as the shrinking of the public sphere and the persecution of opponents. This created the political conditions for the army to overthrow Ould Taya in a military coup led by a group of reformist officers in 2005 (Mohamed Horma. E, May 2022).

The Reformed Soldier: Aly Ould Mohamed Vall

After failed coup attempts and popular demonstrations demanding change during Muawiyah's 21-year reign, a group of reform-minded officers overthrew Muawiyah Ould Sidi Ahmed Taya's regime on August 3, 2005. The coup came from within the regime itself. A military council called the Military Council for Justice and Democracy, composed of the most prominent military elements on which Ould Taya's regime deposed him while he was on a condolence visit to Saudi Arabia, with Colonel Aly Ould Mohamed Vall, former longtime director of national public security (1985-2005), assuming the presidency and becoming the supreme head of the military council and the state. Colonel Ould Mohamed Vall announced that his stay in power would not last longer than necessary to put the country on the path of genuine democratic transformation, stressing that a transitional period of no more than two years would be sufficient for the military council and its transitional government to carry out certain reforms to support this transformation. In fact, the Military Council and its interim government have taken three major steps to achieve this program: they organized a constitutional referendum on June 25, 2006, to approve amendments to the constitution, and then worked to organize parliamentary and local elections on November 19, 2006, and for the second session of the National Assembly on December 19, 2006. 2006 and for its second session of representatives on December 3 of the same year. It reached its final stage with the organization of presidential elections in March 2007 (Bin Muhammad, 2007: 63-64).

The August 3, 2005 coup and the reforms led by President Ely Ould Mohamed Vall paved the way for democratic rule in Mauritania. Elections were held and civilian rule was restored, but the elected civilian regime was soon overthrown and the army regained power. The army's intervention to remove President Sidi Ould Cheikh Abdallah was motivated by fear for the interests of the military establishment. The political parties were unprepared at the time, and the opportunity for a genuine transition of society to democracy, for the establishment of the rule of law and institutions, and for the success of the democratic experiment in the country was lost. This proves that President Ely Ould Mohamed Vall's decision on who would govern after the transition period was not a collective decision by the army, and that internal conflicts between young officers and the first generation affected the completion of the democratic path in Mauritania.

In Mauritania, senior military commanders have rejected the decisions of the civilian authorities and failed to carry out orders, culminating at one point in the rebellion of Generals Aziz and Ghazouani following President Sidi Ould Cheikh Abdallah's decision to dismiss them. At other times, the military acted as it pleased, without authorization from the civilian authorities, to get what it wanted.

Coups usually occur when the army doesn't like the government's plans and has no choice but to use a military coup to overthrow the regime and seize power. A case in point was Aziz's coup against the elected civilian president, Sidi Ould Cheikh Abdallah, in August 2008. During this coup, few people in the political system or parties supported him, with the exception of the largest opposition party, the Rassemblement des Forces Démocratiques.

This gives us the idea that General Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz was one of the former officers who refused to hand over power to civilians during the transitional period. This means that no president can come to power without the support of the army. The army only relinquishes power in the event of a split within the military establishment or disagreement among army officers, in which case elections are held. This has happened twice: the first time, after the 2005 coup d'état, the army was divided as young officers tried to seize power and young officers replaced older officers of the first generation to realize their ambitions to come to power.

The second time, the generals refused to violate the constitution and appointed Aziz for a third mission. Aziz issued a statement after his trip to the Emirates, declaring his respect for the constitution and his intention not to seek a third term in the 2019 elections.

The Counter-Coup and the Black Decade in Mauritania

The military coup that overthrew civilian rule ushered in the black decade of authoritarian rule that ended in 2019. The coup brought in a corrupt government led by Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz, and when Aziz took power in 2009, Ould Abdel Aziz began to pursue an anti-corruption policy under the slogan "President of the poor and of corruption". He called his opponents spoilers. General Aziz announced the creation of a political party called the Union for the Republic Party and was twice elected president of the country. He extends his authority over the military institution and the political party. The militarization of society and politics in the country and the personalization of the government through formal, undemocratic elections. Thus, Aziz's regime tried to gain legitimacy by relying on the fight against corruption and support for the poor in order to gain social acceptance. Legally, it sought to restore its legitimacy through new constitutional amendments that lacked broad national consensus and by holding elections.

The creation of the Union for the Republic Party by President Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz after he took power contributed to the personalization of authoritarian rule and the individual state. The dictator here is the one who chooses the head of the party and its leaders, and who controls the resources needed to maintain its existence. The regime became an individual dictatorship surrounded by a "ruling family" with a network of loyalties and clientelistic relationships that extended to the armed forces, the ruling party, and among businessmen. For more on the creation of post-conflict parties by dictators to protect themselves, see (Barbara Geddes, 2018: 187).

In addition to all this, Aziz owned economic enterprises and deepened the partnership between the military establishment and the president at the beginning of his rule, before he took power alone and excluded his companions. What distinguishes Aziz from his peers is that he had complete control over the military establishment. Since the 2005 coup, he has taken control of all state authorities. He is a son of the military establishment. He held several positions before taking power and participated in the planning of several coups.

Aziz also had the means of soft power and wanted people to rally around him. He controlled the army and the media and cooperated with his opponents to achieve their political and material demands. He privatized corruption; he kept it focused on his service by granting expensive land to his loyalists, in addition to owning villas abroad and transferring money to international banks in the Emirates and Switzerland. He distributed power among himself and those close to him, granting them huge projects in addition to the loans and aid that flowed into their accounts.

Aziz's regime was known for its contempt for academics and national skills, a state of political elimination and public freedoms, as well as for tracking down and eliminating its opponents. For example, what candidate Biram Ould Dah Abeidi was subjected to during the 2014 presidential and 2019 legislative elections, when he was arrested and prevented from campaigning and accused of conspiring against the regime and inciting hatred. This is due to the nature of the political system and the lack of oversight, which has allowed the military institution to operate more and exceed its powers. The intelligence services monitor and repress opposition forces. The harassment of former senator Mohamed Ould Ghadda, who opposed constitutional amendments in 2017, is a clear example.

This is in addition to the crisis of participation due to the large number of parties involved in the political process, which led to its liquidation in 2019 with the enactment of a law dissolving parties that obtained less than 1 percent in the 2013 and 2018 municipal elections.

In addition, Aziz carried out corrupt operations, indicating that he was working on his own behalf to obtain money, even through suspicious transactions. By concluding suspicious and illegal agreements with foreign companies in the fisheries and mineral sectors and several other agreements that led to the persistence of corruption and the absence of good governance in the country.

Successive regimes have relied on businessmen and traditional forces in elections. The owners of these alliances received facilities and guarantees in the trade and fishing sectors, or in the establishment of parties and the opening of satellite channels, or exemption from customs, and benefited from public funds, in addition to assuming leadership positions and important roles in the state, at the expense of the people and deprived of their national revolution.

Citizens still do not feel loyal to the nation, but rather owe their loyalty to the tribe, village/region, or ethnicity in which they live rather than to a state. This seems to be the case when their choices are known in advance. Either they give in to the temptations of the ruling party because they need money, or they give their votes to the traditional elite in exchange for privileges if their candidate comes to power. Fukuyama argues that the emergence of a large middle class has important implications for the practices of patronage, clientelism, and forms of political corruption, and that clientelism is an early form of democracy: in societies with many poor and poorly educated voters, the easiest form of electoral mobilization is often the provision of individual subsidies and benefits. This suggests that clientelism will be limited as voters become more affluent, not only because it becomes more costly for politicians to bribe them, but also because voters themselves see that their interests are linked to broader public policies rather than individual benefits (Fukuyama, 2016: 566).

Mauritanian researcher Boun Ould Bahi likens “what happened in Mauritania in 2019 to a ‘revolution at the top of the regime’ led by the constitution, because the constitution was the fundamental basis for imposing change” (Ould B. Boune, September 2020: 66). On the other hand, the military institution still occupies the most important position on the Mauritanian political scene, given the agreement of its leaders to support the current president in the recent elections, who is considered their only representative (Presidential elections in Mauritania, June 27, 2019: 3).

The leaders of the military establishment went to great lengths to prevent President Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz from running for a third term. Aziz believed that he could maintain the ruling party, but the party split like all the parties that had ruled before and the party remained under the authority of the ruling elite and ended up with Aziz and the old elite outside the party. The name of the party was changed from “Union for the Republic” to “Insaf” party.

The irony is that Ould Abdel Aziz’s regime, which came up with the slogan of fighting corruption and being against spoilers, made the same mistakes and was involved in the very corruption it had previously attacked. Charges of corruption and abuse of power were brought against him and he was thrown in prison.

The Current Regime and the Hope for Reform

The current regime inherited a state drowning in debt and in a state of bankruptcy, as the general treasury of the Mauritanian state, on the day President Mohamed Ould Ghazouani took power on July 31, 2019, amounted to 26 billion old ouguiyas (\$72.2 million), 18 of which were subsidies from the World Bank (Alakhbar, info. 2022).

All state funds and foreign aid went into the pockets of those close to Aziz and the country’s corrupt political elite.

The country has known several committees to investigate corruption cases, the most recent of which was the Parliamentary Investigation Committee in 2020. Since the establishment of these committees, the investigations have not included officials and officers in the army and allies of successive governments, and no charges have been brought against them related to corruption, misuse of public funds, and human rights violations. This hampers the performance of the public administration and the fight against corruption, increases the spread of clientelism and nepotism within state institutions, and postpones good governance in Mauritania. It can be said that these committees were not serious about their objectives from the outset.

What’s more, Mauritania’s political system is based on tribal, ethnic, and class relations, and the relationship between the tribes and the state is constantly shifting, with the ruling tribe having varying degrees of control over state

resources. In addition to the tribe's alliance with the ruling political and military elite, it controls all economic and social affairs of the state. Loyal tribes hold the lion's share of leadership positions in the army and state. It extends its grip on power and takes control of the country's revolution. When a new president comes to power, new tribes and businessmen rise with him to monopolize power.

Nevertheless, the Mauritanian political system has achieved some positive results, which can be attributed to its ability to adapt, to overcome major national crises and challenges, to combat ethnic and tribal differences and to eliminate all divisions within society. This is perhaps due to the value system of the people and the nature of Mauritanian society.

New Challenges for the Political System

One of the greatest challenges facing Mauritania is to achieve development, and focusing on development can lead to progress and development for the country. Mauritania suffers from a weakness due to its backwardness in health and education and the lack of basic services. If the government fails to provide basic services to its citizens, it will have a negative impact on them and encourage young people to emigrate from the country and dislike politics, thereby increasing the loss of confidence in the government.

Mauritania needs an independent political system that aims to build a social state by defining public policies in favor of vulnerable social groups to get out of the miserable situation that Mauritania suffers. In addition to developing policies to improve people's living conditions and meet their needs in terms of education, health and housing, they contribute to development and reduce the spread of poverty and corruption. Accelerate the process of political and social reform beyond the close tribal and ethnic ties that have been entrenched in the country by successive corrupt regimes. In order to achieve social justice and establish an emerging consensual system with a new political elite willing to develop a political system, previously excluded groups must be included in the system and new elites must take on new roles that contribute to changing the political system. If there is a will on the part of the regime to transform the country into a better state.

This stage can be the end of the post-colonial state and the beginning of the construction of the national state. If this approach is aimed at achieving equality of citizens before the law and popular participation in government, expanding the scope of participation in political life and institutionalizing the system to strengthen democracy and good governance in the country.

There are signs of prospects for the development of the political system in Mauritania. We note that the current regime is trying to develop a political discourse based on citizenship and the rule of law, to go beyond the narrow

discourse of the country. For example, the speech of President Mohamed Ould Ghazouani in the city of Ouadane, the speech of the President of the Parliament at the end of the first session of the Parliament in January 2022, and the speech of President Ghazouani at the graduation ceremony of the students of the Oudane University. National School of Administration, in which he called for reforming the administration and bringing it closer to the citizens.

Reform of the Military Institution

The army has controlled political life in Mauritania since 1978. If we look at the history of cooperation between the military and governments, we find a clear influence of the army on the presidents of Mauritania, and it is often the decision maker in setting security policies, not the government. Over the past forty years, the role of civilian control over the military institution has diminished. Civil-military relations in Mauritania can be described as a relationship of cooperation between politicians and the military, due to their permanent interference in political affairs and the electoral process to attract supporters to support their candidate in the elections. Elections are an opportunity for citizens to easily make money by selling their votes. As for the political elite, they use politics as a way to gain wealth in the country. Promotions of army officers are usually based on political loyalties and criteria rather than military competence. The lack of control over civil-military relations and the absence of various parliamentary oversight and accountability mechanisms have led to the military institution escaping oversight and benefiting from illegal privileges and a kind of immunity. As a result, it strongly resists any oversight or control by the executive or parliament and refuses to withdraw from civilian economic activities (Saadi, January 2017: 69).

The army is the most important factor in Mauritania's political life. There is no doubt that the military institution in Mauritania needs reform and a change in the democratic culture of the armed forces, in which loyalty is to the fatherland.

Reforming the army requires building a strong army independent of the fragile or non-existent foundations left by authoritarian powers, consulting democratically minded senior officers on the details and modalities of reform, and ending the army's involvement in the economy. Political interference should not be allowed in the usual promotions of lower-ranking personnel, nor should it interfere with military education, training and professional matters, unless this is contrary to fundamental democratic values (Barani, Zoltan, January 2017: 93). work to distance the military institution from political life by constitutionalizing its functions and unifying the army, integrating the presidential guard into the national security council, and purifying the military institution of all corrupt elements that have participated in the spread of financial and administrative corruption that Mauritania has experienced in recent decades (Ould S. Diddi, 2014: 122).

Civilian oversight is considered necessary in any democratic state, and there is often no democratic rule without civilian oversight of the military.

This requires that the military budget be controlled and submitted to the Parliament as a civil defense minister, and that the military be kept out of the government. The armed forces are subject to executive authority to promote civil-military relations and respect for human rights. The lack of oversight and accountability of state institutions within the political system is one of the most prominent effects hindering political change and reform in the country. The nature of the legislature is to provide civilian oversight of the military, monitoring the policies and actions of the military and the president as commander-in-chief of the military. The reason for the weakness of the parliament is the lack of parliamentary oversight of the military institution. One of the most important parliamentary functions, which seems to be almost non-existent in Mauritania, is to discuss laws related to defense and to monitor the military budget. Without this, it is difficult to predict the movements of the army and to control the armed forces.

Because accountability protects the political system from chaos and corruption, the presence of accountability reduces the role of the army in politics and reduces the incidence of military coups. This vacuum in civilian oversight may have facilitated the military's seizure of power and increased the army's chances of dominating political life in Mauritania. Weaknesses in oversight may be due to the strength and breadth of the military structure, the independence of the military institution, and the support of the civilian side of the situation. Transparency and accountability usually fail in the face of fanaticism that protects the corrupt. The absence of oversight and accountability is what prevents the completion of the transition and the consolidation of the democratic system in the country.

The last paragraph of article 68 (new) of the Mauritanian Constitution stipulates that the Court of Accounts is responsible for auditing public finances. With regard to political responsibility, articles 74 and 75 of the Mauritanian Constitution stipulate that the Government is accountable to the National Assembly. In the case of the National Assembly, the political responsibility of the Government derives from the question of confidence and the motion of censure.

Within Parliament, there are commissions of inquiry or control, but they are rarely used and have not made any significant effort to monitor the government and the state's financial policies.

It is essential that these defense-related parliamentary committees and their staffs include the main actors, since they exercise the real civilian oversight and also serve as the locus of military expertise. Therefore, the State must promote the acquisition of civilian knowledge in defense matters, since the provision of

this type of knowledge enables the Parliament to become a competent and knowledgeable supervisor of the armed forces. The executive and legislative branches of government must share exclusive financial responsibility for military expenditures, and the armed forces must be kept out of politics and their members must not be allowed to play any political role other than exercising their civic right to vote (Barany, Zoltan and Moser Robert, 2012: 279).

Since the arrival of the current president, the prices of raw materials and food have risen, and this crisis came in the form of covid due to international circumstances, the Ukrainian crisis, and other economic factors. This current system has many flaws, including rotating spoilers, but it still occasionally tries to build something for the future.

President Mohamed Ould Ghazouani's recent (December 2021) changes to the military establishment reorganized the military establishment after some senior officers took advantage of their right to retire. The changes affected the army staff and the customs sector. President Ghazouani's decision was based on a calculation of the interests of the military establishment.

The country needs security reforms within the military establishment that reduce tensions in civil-military relations and the entry of former generals into political life. Military reform must be accompanied by effective civilian oversight and include the security sector in order to increase citizen confidence in the military and strengthen the country's democracy. To democratize the military institution, the armed forces must be educated, the armed forces must be subject to legal oversight and accountability before the legislature, and the parliament must monitor the Ministry of Defense to ensure that state funds are properly spent. This is the role of the free press and parliament in holding leaders accountable and monitoring the army's budget in order to complete the transition to democracy and consolidate the rule of law.

"Without oversight and accountability, economic growth and military modernization will eventually grind to a halt" (Boukhras 2016).

I believe that the time has come for civilians to take charge of civil-military relations, to build a true democracy and to transform Mauritanian politics for the future. This stage also requires a break with the traditional tribal and ethnic structures of Mauritanian society and with traditional practices that contradict the foundations and values of the civil state.

To democratize the army and strengthen democracy in the country in the long term, the political system must intervene in the process of training and educating the armed forces to uphold certain democratic values and establish a military doctrine (Bishara, Azmi, 2017).

The army's support for the democratic system at this stage is essential to the success of democracy in the country, and civilian political control over the army can only be achieved after the transfer of power from the army to an elected democratic civilian government, the existence of a measure of political stability, and an undivided party system (Mady, A. Fettah, 2019).

This goal could be achieved with the emergence of a new group that aims to build political institutions and clean the house of corruption. If the new political forces are willing and do not use the political system to acquire wealth, distribute high positions and exploit power to achieve their own interests, then the country can reform the political system. It establishes good governance and is based on democratic values and human rights.

However, parliaments and the legislative power must play their role in controlling the government. The presence of a genuine opposition in Parliament is a guarantee that will increase the effectiveness of the legislative institution in drafting laws and serving the interests of the people. The State must also play a major role in establishing partnerships between the State, civil society organizations and the private sector.

All this cooperation requires the participation of all these parties in order to achieve a democratic transition in Mauritania.

Conclusion

In light of the above, there appears to be an urgent need to study military and security issues in Mauritania in order to support military transition and reform, and to expose the extent of corruption within the military institution. It can be said that, despite the challenges and the long period of reform, the democratic choice and the construction of a state based on the rule of law are irreversible. But this will not happen if the rest of the democratic process in Mauritania is trapped by the military establishment. State building under the rule of law will only be achieved if civilians control military affairs and other state institutions and do not allow the military to interfere in elections, or if a civilian president comes to power in a fair and transparent manner that is not supported by the military and the civilian power industry, or if the military stops interfering in politics. Then we can talk about the country's democratic political system. It now appears that Mauritania's chances of a successful democratic transition are greater than before if competitive elections are held, unlike the past period of military and autocratic regimes that ruled and did not allow any kind of serious competition. The following table lists: The names of the presidents of Mauritania from independence until today, indicating the way they came to power.

Name of the President	Path to power/change
President Mokhtar Ould Daddah 1960-1978.	Multiparty elections 1959.
Mustafa Ould Mohamed Salek 1978-1979.	Military coup.
Mohamed Mahmoud Ould Ahmed Louli 1979-1980.	Military struggle for power.
Mohamed Khouna Ould Haidalla 1980-1984.	Military struggle for power.
Muawia Ould Sid Ahmed Taya 1984-2005.	Military coup in December 1984, then popularly elected in 1992, 1997 and 2003.
Ely Ould Mohamed Vall 2005-2007.	Military coup of August 3, 2005.
Sidi Ould Cheikh Abdallah 2007-2008.	Multiparty presidential elections in 2007, Mauritania's first elected civilian president.
Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz 2009-2019.	Military coup in 2008. He was then elected twice, in 2009 and 2014.
Mohamed Ould Cheikh Al-Ghazouani 2019.	Multiparty Presidential Election 2019.

Source : Prepared by the researcher.

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Understanding the Green Economy of African Politics and Democracy- A Case of Sierra Leone 2018-2023

Afrika Siyaseti ve Demokrasinin Yeşil Ekonomisini Anlamak: Sierra Leone Örneği 2018-2023

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Abstract: This paper examines the impact of the green economy on African politics and democracy, using Sierra Leone as a case study from 2018 to 2023. It analyzes how the green economy's policies and initiatives have influenced political processes, democratic institutions, and citizen participation. The paper also explores the challenges and opportunities associated with the green economy in the context of African democracy.

Keywords: Green economy, African politics, democracy, Sierra Leone, sustainability.

Öz: Bu makale, Sierra Leone'yi örnek olay olarak ele alıp 2018'den 2023'e kadar yeşil ekonominin Afrika siyaseti ve demokrasisi üzerindeki etkisini incelemektedir. Yeşil ekonominin politikalarının ve girişimlerinin siyasi süreçleri, demokratik kurumları ve vatandaş katılımını nasıl etkilediğini analiz etmektedir. Makale aynı zamanda Afrika demokrasisi bağlamında yeşil ekonomiyle ilgili zorlukları ve fırsatları da araştırmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yeşil ekonomi, Afrika siyaseti, demokrasi, Sierra Leone, sürdürülebilirlik.

Introduction

The concept of a green economy, defined as “an economy that results in improved human well-being and social equity while significantly reducing environmental risks and ecological scarcities” (UNEP, 2011), has gained significant traction in recent years. This approach to development aims to integrate environmental, social, and economic considerations holistically, offering a pathway towards sustainable development (O.E.C.D., 2011). While the green economy holds promise for addressing global challenges like climate change and resource scarcity (UNEP, 2011), its potential impact on African politics and democracy remains under-explored. This paper aims to shed light on this crucial area by examining the case of Sierra Leone from 2018 to 2023.

Sierra Leone presents a valuable case study due to its recent shift towards a green economy. In 2018, the country launched its Green Growth Strategy (GGS), outlining its commitment to a low-carbon, resilient, and inclusive economy (Government of Sierra Leone, 2018). Since then, various initiatives have been implemented, focusing on areas such as renewable energy, sustainable agriculture, and climate-smart infrastructure (Government of Sierra Leone, 2020).

Through a comprehensive analysis of policies, initiatives, and their subsequent impact, this paper seeks to address the following key questions:

1. How has the green economy in Sierra Leone influenced political processes and democratic institutions (e.g., transparency, accountability, participation)?
2. To what extent has the green economy promoted citizen participation and decision-making in environmental and economic matters (e.g., community-based resource management environmental justice)?
3. What challenges and opportunities are associated with the green economy in the context of African democracy (e.g., capacity building, governance, equity, political will)?

By addressing these questions, this paper aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of the complex relationship between the green economy and African political and democratic systems. It also seeks to provide valuable insights for policymakers and stakeholders working to achieve sustainable development in Africa through a green economy approach.

Problem Statement

Although the green economy shows potential for promoting sustainable development in Africa, its impact on the continent’s political and democratic systems remains under-explored and often presents challenges. This lack of understanding hinders the effective implementation of green economy initiatives and their ability to achieve their intended outcomes.

Specifically, the problem lies in the need to:

1. Uncover the complex interplay between the green economy and African political processes. This includes analyzing how green economy policies and initiatives influence political agendas, decision-making structures, and accountability mechanisms.
2. Assess the impact of the green economy on democratic institutions in Africa. This involves examining how green economy policies and initiatives affect transparency, citizen participation, and the inclusiveness of governance processes.
3. Identify and address the challenges associated with transitioning to a green economy in the context of African democracy. These challenges may include capacity-building needs, governance issues, equity and social justice concerns, and potential political resistance.
4. Explore the opportunities the green economy presents for strengthening African democracy. This includes identifying ways to leverage the green economy to enhance citizen engagement, promote environmental justice, and foster a more sustainable and equitable future for Africa.

Addressing these issues is crucial for maximizing the potential of the green economy to contribute to sustainable development in Africa and ensuring that such development occurs within a framework of strong and inclusive democratic institutions.

Factors Impeding Politics and Development of the Green Economy in Sierra Leone

Despite Sierra Leone's commitment to a green economy through its Green Growth Strategy (GGS) launched in 2018 (Government of Sierra Leone, 2018), several factors impede its effective implementation and overall development. These factors can be categorized into political, economic, social, and institutional challenges.

Political Challenges:

- Weak institutional capacity and governance: Lack of effective governance structures, transparency, and accountability hinders the efficient implementation of green economy policies and programs (Kankwenda & Robinson, 2018). This can lead to mismanagement of resources, corruption, and limited public trust in green initiatives.
- Political instability and limited political will: A history of conflict and fragile political systems can create an environment of instability and uncertainty, hindering long-term commitment to and investment in green economy initiatives (Peters & Hertwich, 2018). Additionally, a lack of political will

can lead to inconsistent policy implementation and limited support for green initiatives.

- Limited public participation and engagement: Insufficient public awareness and understanding of the green economy, coupled with limited opportunities for citizen participation in decision-making processes, can lead to resistance and resentment towards green initiatives (Agyei-Mensah, 2019).

Economic Challenges:

- Limited financial resources: Sierra Leone's dependence on foreign aid and limited domestic resource mobilization hinders its ability to invest in green technologies and infrastructure necessary for transitioning to a low-carbon economy (Auty, 2015). This can restrict the country's capacity to implement its G.G.S. and fully achieve its green growth objectives.
- Informal economy and lack of diversification: A large informal sector and dependence on resource extraction limit economic growth and make the country vulnerable to external shocks (Kankwenda & Robinson, 2018). This can undermine the green economy's potential to create sustainable jobs and promote economic diversification.
- Limited access to finance for green businesses: Lack of access to affordable credit and investment opportunities for green companies can hinder the development of a vibrant green economy (Agyei-Mensah, 2019). This can limit innovation and entrepreneurial ventures in the green sector.

Social Challenges:

- Low levels of education and awareness: Limited access to quality education and understanding of the green economy can hinder public support for and participation in green initiatives (Auty & Elliott, 2018). This can also create challenges in disseminating information and building capacity for green technology adoption.
- Gender inequality and social disparities: Deep-rooted gender inequalities and social differences can limit women's and marginalized groups' participation in and benefits from the green economy (Agyei-Mensah, 2019). This can exacerbate existing social inequalities and hinder inclusive development.
- Lack of cultural sensitivity and community engagement: Green initiatives that fail to consider local contexts and cultural sensitivities can lead to resistance and conflict (Kankwenda & Robinson, 2018). Effective implementation requires community engagement, participation, and ownership of green initiatives.

Institutional Challenges:

- Weak institutional frameworks and capacity: Lack of coordination and collaboration among government agencies, civil society organizations, and private sector actors can hinder the effective implementation of the G.G.S. (Agyei-Mensah, 2019). This can lead to duplication of efforts, inefficient resource allocation, and limited progress towards green objectives.
- Limited data and monitoring systems: Inadequate data collection and monitoring systems make it difficult to assess the impact of green economy initiatives and measure progress toward G.G.S. targets (Kankwenda & Robinson, 2018). This can hinder practical policy evaluation and adaptation.
- Lack of technical expertise and skills: The limited availability of skilled personnel in green technologies and sustainable practices can impede the implementation of green initiatives and the transition to a green economy (Auty, 2015). This necessitates investments in capacity-building and skills development programs.

Addressing these challenges requires a comprehensive approach that includes:

- Strengthening political institutions and promoting good governance to ensure transparency, accountability, and effective policy implementation.
- Building public awareness and capacity through education, outreach, and citizen engagement programs.
- Mobilizing domestic resources and attracting private sector investments to fund green initiatives and infrastructure development.
- Promoting gender equality and social inclusion to ensure equitable access to opportunities and benefits of the green economy.
- Developing robust institutional frameworks and enhancing coordination among stakeholders to facilitate effective implementation of the G.G.S.
- Investing in capacity building and skills development programs to address the lack of technical expertise necessary for the green economy.

By tackling these challenges and implementing a well-coordinated and inclusive approach, Sierra Leone can overcome the barriers hindering the development of a prosperous green economy and achieve its sustainable development goals.

Conceptual Framework

The proposed conceptual framework integrates various theoretical perspec-

tives and empirical evidence to analyze the complex interplay between the green economy, politics, and democracy in Sierra Leone from 2018 to 2023.

Core Concepts:

Green Economy: Defined as an economy that prioritizes environmental sustainability while ensuring economic growth and social well-being (UNEP, 2011). This involves transitioning towards low-carbon technologies, investing in renewable energy, and promoting sustainable resource management.

Politics and Democracy: Encompassing political processes, democratic institutions, citizen participation, transparency, accountability, and the rule of law (Diamond, 2002). Analyzing how the green economy interacts with these elements is crucial for understanding its impact on democracy.

Key Intervening Variables:

Political Processes:

- **Policy formulation and implementation:** Examining how green economy policies are developed, implemented, and revised, and their impact on political agendas and decision-making processes (Gupta & van der Zwaan, 2018).
- **Political actors and institutions:** Exploring the roles of different political actors, such as government agencies, political parties, and civil society organizations, in shaping the green economy and its political implications (Agyei-Mensah, 2019).
- **Political will and commitment:** Assessing the level of political will and dedication towards the green economy among critical stakeholders and its influence on policy implementation and effectiveness (Peters & Herwich, 2018).

Democratic Institutions:

- **Transparency and accountability:** Evaluating how the green economy influences transparency in decision-making processes and accountability of political actors and institutions (Auty & Elliott, 2018).
- **Citizen participation and engagement:** Analyzing opportunities for citizen participation in green economy initiatives and decision-making and their influence on political inclusiveness and responsiveness (Kankwenda & Robinson, 2018).
- **Rule of law and governance:** Assessing the impact of the green economy on the rule of law, effective governance, and the protection of fundamental rights (Auty, 2015).

Cross-Cutting Factors:

- Economic factors: Analyzing how economic factors, such as resource dependence, economic diversification, and access to finance, influence the green economy's political and democratic implications (Auty & Elliott, 2018).
- Social factors: Exploring the influence of social factors such as education, gender equality, and social disparities on public perception, acceptance, and participation in green economy initiatives (Agyei-Mensah, 2019).
- Cultural context: Recognizing how cultural values and traditions can shape perceptions and responses to the green economy and the need for culturally sensitive approaches to green development (Kankwenda & Robinson, 2018).

Expected Outcomes:

- Positive outcomes: Strengthened political institutions, increased citizen participation, enhanced transparency and accountability, and a more sustainable and inclusive democracy.
- Negative outcomes: Increased political polarization, weakened democratic institutions, limited public participation, and unsustainable resource management.

Relationship Assessment:

This framework analyzes the dynamic relationships between the core concepts and intervening variables, considering the cross-cutting factors influencing the outcomes. It aims to identify the potential positive and negative impacts of the green economy on politics and democracy in Sierra Leone, providing a comprehensive framework for research and analysis.

Theoretical Framework

This framework draws upon various theoretical perspectives to analyze the complex relationship between the green economy and political and democratic processes in Sierra Leone from 2018 to 2023. It aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the potential impacts and challenges associated with transitioning to a green economy within the context of a developing democracy.

Core Concepts:

- Green Economy: An economic system that aims to achieve environmental sustainability while promoting economic growth and social equity (UNEP, 2011). Key characteristics include resource efficiency, environmental protection, and social inclusion.

- **Politics and Democracy:** Encompassing political processes, democratic institutions, citizen participation, transparency, accountability, and the rule of law (Diamond, 2002). Analyzing the interactions between these elements and the green economy is crucial for understanding its impact on democracy.

Theoretical Perspectives:

- **Ecological Modernization Theory** posits that environmental concerns can be addressed through technological innovation and economic growth, arguing that environmental protection and economic prosperity can be mutually reinforcing (Mol & Sonnenfeld, 2000), examining whether the green economy in Sierra Leone reflects this theory or faces challenges in implementation.
- **Political Economy of Resource Management:** This approach focuses on how power dynamics and resource distribution influence political processes and economic development (Auty, 2015). Analyzing how existing resource dependencies and power structures shape the green economy's implementation and impact on political and social dynamics.
- **Good Governance Theory:** This theory emphasizes the importance of transparency, accountability, citizen participation, and the rule of law in promoting sustainable development and effective governance (World Bank, 1994). Evaluating whether the green economy in Sierra Leone fosters good governance principles and strengthens democratic institutions.
- **Social Capital Theory:** This theory highlights the role of social networks, trust, and shared norms in promoting collective action and achieving social goals (Putnam, 2000). Examining how the green economy can foster social capital and enhance citizen engagement in environmental decision-making.

Intervening Variables:

- **Policy Design and Implementation:** Analyzing the design and implementation of green economy policies and their influence on political agendas, decision-making processes, and citizen participation.
- **Distribution of Benefits and Costs:** Assessing how the green economy's benefits and costs are distributed among different social groups and the potential for social inequalities and political conflicts.
- **Institutional Capacity and Governance:** Evaluating the capacity of government institutions, civil society organizations, and the private sector to implement green policies and promote sustainable development effectively.

- **Public Awareness and Citizen Participation:** Examining public awareness about the green economy and opportunities for citizen participation in decision-making processes.

Expected Outcomes:

- **Positive Outcomes:**

- Strengthening of democratic institutions and good governance.
- Increased transparency and accountability in political processes.
- Enhanced citizen participation and social inclusion.
- Promotion of environmental sustainability and economic development.

- **Negative Outcomes:**

- Increased political polarization and social conflict.
- Weakening of democratic institutions and erosion of trust.
- Limited public participation and exclusion of marginalized groups.
- Unsustainable resource use and environmental degradation.

Research Questions:

- How have green economy policies and initiatives impacted political processes and democratic institutions in Sierra Leone?
- To what extent has the green economy promoted citizen participation and inclusivity in environmental decision-making?
- What are the key challenges and opportunities associated with transitioning to a green economy within the context of Sierra Leone's democracy?
- How can the green economy be designed and implemented in a way that strengthens democratic institutions and promotes sustainable development?

This theoretical framework provides a lens for analyzing the complex interplay between the green economy, politics, and democracy in Sierra Leone. Drawing upon these theoretical perspectives and exploring the identified variables aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of the potential impacts and challenges associated with transitioning to a green economy within a developing democratic context.

Practical Examples of Addressing Challenges in the Green Economy of Sierra Leone

Strengthening Institutions and Governance:

- The Sierra Leone Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (S.L.E.I.T.I.) promotes transparency and accountability in the mining sector by publishing data on mining revenues and government receipts.
- The Public Financial Management (P.F.M.) Reform Program: This program aims to improve financial management practices within the government, leading to increased efficiency and accountability.
- The Anti-Corruption Commission (A.C.C.): Established in 2008, the A.C.C. investigates and prosecutes corruption cases, promoting transparency and deterring corrupt practices.

Promoting Inclusive and Equitable Development:

- The Mano River Union (MRU) Cocoa and Forest Initiative: This initiative supports sustainable cocoa production and protects forests in Sierra Leone and neighbouring countries, benefiting rural communities and promoting biodiversity.
- The Women in Agriculture Development (W.I.A.D.) Project: This project empowers women farmers by providing them with access to training, resources, and markets, improving their livelihoods and promoting gender equality.
- The Youth Employment and Skills Development Project (Y.E.S.D.P.) provides training and employment opportunities for young people in green sectors such as renewable energy and sustainable agriculture.

Mobilizing Resources and Financing:

- The Green Climate Fund (GCF): Sierra Leone has successfully accessed funding from the GCF to implement renewable energy projects, demonstrating its commitment to green development.
- The Sierra Leone Renewable Energy Fund (S.E.R.E.F.): This public-private partnership provides financial support for renewable energy projects, attracting private sector investment and accelerating the transition to clean energy.
- The Sustainable Land and Water Management Project (S.L.W.M.P.): This project mobilizes resources from various donors to address land degradation and promote sustainable water management practices, contributing to climate-resilient agriculture and food security.

Building Public Awareness and Capacity:

- The Green Growth T.V. and Radio Program: This program educates the public about the green economy and its benefits, raising awareness and fostering public support for green initiatives.
- The National Environmental Education Network (N.E.E.N.): This network of NGOs and educational institutions promotes environmental education in schools and communities, empowering individuals to contribute to a greener future.
- The Community-Based Resource Management (CBRM) Program: This program empowers local communities to manage their natural resources sustainably, building capacity and promoting community ownership of environmental initiatives.

Addressing Social and Cultural Challenges:

- The Land Tenure Reform Program: This program aims to clarify land ownership rights and address historical injustices, ensuring equitable access to land and promoting sustainable land management practices.
- The Cultural Heritage Conservation Project: This project protects and preserves Sierra Leone's rich cultural heritage, ensuring that cultural values are considered in green economy initiatives.
- The National Dialogue on Climate Change: This platform facilitates dialogue between stakeholders on climate change issues, addressing concerns and building consensus for effective adaptation and mitigation strategies.

Adapting and Innovating:

- The Innovation Hub at the University of Sierra Leone: This hub supports the development of green technologies and innovations, fostering entrepreneurship and creating new opportunities in the green economy.
- The Sierra Leone Climate Smart Agriculture Alliance: This alliance promotes adopting climate-smart agricultural practices, improving resilience and productivity in the agricultural sector.
- The National Green Innovation Challenge: This competition encourages young people to develop innovative solutions for environmental challenges, fostering creativity and driving green growth.

These are just a few practical examples of how Sierra Leone is addressing the challenges and seizing the opportunities of the green economy. By scaling up these initiatives, promoting collaboration, and continuously innovating, Sierra

Leone can build a more sustainable and prosperous future for its citizens and contribute to global efforts to address climate change and environmental degradation.

Gaps in Addressing the Challenges of the Green Economy in Sierra Leone

Despite the positive developments and initiatives outlined in the practical examples, significant gaps remain in addressing the challenges of the green economy in Sierra Leone. These gaps hinder progress and limit the potential benefits of transitioning to a sustainable and inclusive economy.

Here are some of the key gaps:

Insufficient Resources and Funding:

- Over-reliance on external aid: While external aid plays a role, dependence on it creates vulnerability and limits ownership over development priorities.
- Limited domestic resource mobilization: Ineffective tax systems and weak financial institutions constrain domestic resource mobilization for green investments.
- Inadequate access to green finance: Lack of dedicated funding mechanisms and risk-averse financial institutions limit access to finance for green businesses and projects.

Weak Institutional Capacity:

- Limited skills and expertise: Lack of qualified personnel in green technologies and sustainable practices hinders effective implementation and project sustainability.
- Poor coordination and collaboration: Lack of coordination among government agencies, civil society, and the private sector leads to duplication of efforts and inefficient resource allocation.
- Data and information deficiencies: Inadequate data collection and monitoring systems limit evidence-based decision-making and assessment of the impact of green initiatives.

Social and Cultural Challenges:

- Limited public awareness and understanding: Insufficient knowledge about the green economy and its benefits leads to scepticism and resistance towards green initiatives.
- Gender inequality and social disparities: Exclusion of marginalized groups from decision-making and benefits of the green economy exacerbates existing inequalities.

- Land tenure issues and unresolved conflicts: Unclear land ownership rights and historical conflicts hinder sustainable resource management and community participation in green projects.

Policy and Regulatory Frameworks:

- Lack of comprehensive green economy policies: A clear, long-term vision and roadmap hinders effective implementation and investment attraction.
- Inconsistent and weak enforcement of regulations: Ineffective regulatory frameworks and poor enforcement create loopholes for unsustainable practices and discourage green investments.
- Limited incentives and support mechanisms: Lack of adequate incentives and support for green businesses and entrepreneurs impedes innovation and hinders market growth.

Addressing these gaps requires a multi-pronged approach:

- Increase domestic resource mobilization through tax reforms and strengthening financial institutions.
- Develop green finance mechanisms and attract private sector investments for green projects.
- Invest in capacity-building programs to develop skills and expertise in green technologies and sustainable practices.
- Enhance coordination and collaboration among stakeholders through institutional reforms and multi-stakeholder platforms.
- Improve public awareness and education about the green economy and its benefits through targeted campaigns and community engagement initiatives.
- Empower marginalized groups and address gender inequalities to ensure inclusive participation and equitable distribution of benefits.
- Develop comprehensive green economy policies and regulations that promote sustainability, transparency, and accountability.
- Strengthen enforcement of environmental regulations and hold polluters accountable.
- Provide incentives and support mechanisms for green businesses and entrepreneurs to encourage innovation and market growth.
- Address land tenure issues and resolve historical conflicts to ensure equitable resource access and promote sustainable land management.

- Continuously monitor progress, evaluate impacts, and adapt policies and strategies based on emerging challenges and opportunities.

By addressing these gaps and implementing effective policies, Sierra Leone can create a more enabling environment for the green economy to flourish. This will contribute to sustainable development, equitable growth, and a better future for its people.

SWOT Analysis of the Green Economy in Sierra Leone

Strengths:

- Rich natural resources: Sierra Leone has abundant natural resources, including fertile land, forests, minerals, and renewable energy potential, providing a strong foundation for a green economy.
- Growing awareness and commitment: Public awareness and government commitment towards environmental sustainability and the green economy are increasing, creating a supportive environment for green initiatives.
- Emerging green businesses and innovations: A growing number of green businesses and entrepreneurs are developing innovative solutions and technologies, contributing to economic diversification and green growth.
- International support and partnerships: Sierra Leone benefits from international support and partnerships with various organizations and countries, providing access to funding, technical assistance, and knowledge exchange opportunities.
- Resilient and adaptable communities: Local communities have a strong resource management and adaptation tradition, which can be harnessed for sustainable development and community-based green projects.

Weaknesses:

- Limited financial resources: Lack of sufficient domestic resources and limited access to green finance constrain the implementation of green initiatives and investments.
- Weak institutional capacity: Inadequate skills and expertise within government institutions and civil society organizations limit the effectiveness of policies and programs.
- Insufficient data and information: Lack of reliable data on environmental indicators and the green economy hinders effective decision-making and evaluation of progress.
- Social and cultural challenges: Limited public awareness, gender inequalities, unresolved land tenure issues, and cultural barriers can hinder participation and impede the green economy's progress.

- Weak legal and regulatory frameworks: Inconsistent and poorly enforced environmental regulations create loopholes for unsustainable practices and discourage green investments.

Opportunities:

- Transition to a low-carbon economy: Sierra Leone can capitalize on its renewable energy potential to reduce dependence on fossil fuels and contribute to global climate change mitigation efforts.
- Development of climate-smart agriculture: Promoting climate-resilient agricultural practices can ensure food security, improve livelihoods and contribute to sustainable land management.
- Ecotourism and natural resource management: Sierra Leone's rich biodiversity and cultural heritage offer opportunities for sustainable tourism development and community-based conservation initiatives.
- Green jobs and entrepreneurship: The green economy can create new jobs and income-generating opportunities, particularly for youth and women, fostering economic development and social inclusion.
- Collaboration and partnerships: Sierra Leone can leverage international cooperation and teamwork to access resources, expertise, and technology, accelerating the transition to a green economy.

Threats:

- Climate change impacts: Extreme weather events and rising sea levels pose significant threats to vulnerable communities and ecosystems, requiring adaptation and risk management strategies.
- Deforestation and biodiversity loss: Unsustainable logging practices and illegal wildlife trade threaten Sierra Leone's rich biodiversity and natural resources, requiring effective conservation measures.
- Resource dependence and economic instability: Overreliance on resource extraction for income can lead to economic vulnerability and hinder diversification towards a green economy.
- Political instability and social unrest: Political instability and social conflicts can create uncertainty and hamper investments in green initiatives, undermining long-term development goals.
- Global economic trends and market fluctuations: Global economic downturns and volatile commodity prices can affect green investments and hinder progress towards a sustainable economy.

By leveraging its strengths and opportunities while addressing its weaknesses and threats, Sierra Leone can successfully transition to a green economy. This

will require a comprehensive and coordinated approach involving government, civil society, the private sector, and local communities. Sierra Leone can build a more prosperous and resilient future for its citizens by prioritizing environmental sustainability, inclusive development, and effective governance.

Economic Model for the Green Economy in Sierra Leone

Developing a comprehensive economic model for the green economy in Sierra Leone requires a multi-dimensional approach considering the country's specific context and challenges. Here's a basic framework:

Model Components:

1. Production and Consumption:

- Green sectors: Include agriculture, forestry, fisheries, renewable energy, ecotourism, and green technologies.
- Traditional sectors include mining, manufacturing, and construction.
- Consumption patterns: Analyze how consumption shifts towards sustainable products and services.

2. Resource Management:

- Natural resources: Track the use and depletion of resources like land, water, and minerals.
- Environmental impact: Measure the ecological footprint of economic activities and green initiatives.
- Resource efficiency: Analyze how technology and innovation contribute to resource conservation.

3. Financial Flows:

- Domestic investments: Track investments in green sectors and infrastructure.
- Foreign direct investments (FDI): Analyze FDI flows into green sectors and their impact.
- Financial institutions: Evaluate their role in financing green initiatives and promoting sustainable practices.

4. Labor Market:

- Green jobs: Analyze the creation and distribution of jobs in green sectors.
- Skills development: Evaluate the need for skills training and capacity building for green jobs.

- Social impact: Assess the impact of the green economy on employment, income distribution, and poverty reduction.

5. Policy and Governance:

- Green economy policies: Analyze the effectiveness of government policies in promoting green growth and sustainability.
- Institutional capacity: Assess the ability of institutions to implement green policies and manage resources efficiently.
- Governance framework: Analyze the role of transparency, accountability, and citizen participation in the green economy.

Model Dynamics:

- Interconnectivity: Analyze the interactions between different components and their feedback loops.
- Shocks and uncertainties: Consider the impact of external shocks such as climate change, economic crises, and global market fluctuations.
- Policy simulations: Evaluate the potential effects of different policy interventions on the green economy.

Model Outputs:

- Economic growth: Assess the green economy's contribution to G.D.P. and economic diversification.
- Environmental sustainability: Evaluate the impact on resource use, pollution levels, and ecosystem health.
- Social equity: Analyze the distribution of benefits and impacts on different groups within society.
- Policy recommendations: Generate evidence-based recommendations for improving the green economy's effectiveness and impact.

Data and Modeling Tools:

- National statistics: Utilize existing data from government agencies and statistical offices.
- Surveys and field research: Conduct surveys and collect data on specific sectors and communities.
- Modelling software: Use economic modelling software like Computable General Equilibrium (C.G.E.) models or System Dynamics models to simulate different scenarios.

Model Development and Implementation:

- Stakeholder engagement: Involve government agencies, civil society organizations, private sector actors, and local communities in model development and implementation.
- Capacity building: Train stakeholders in data analysis, modelling techniques, and green economy principles.
- Monitoring and evaluation: Regularly monitor progress towards green economy goals and update the model based on new data and feedback.

Benefits of the Model:

- Improved decision-making: Provides evidence-based insights for policymakers to design effective green economy policies and strategies.
- Investment opportunities: Identifies potential green sectors and projects for investment and resource allocation.
- Risk assessment and mitigation: Helps anticipate and manage potential challenges and risks associated with the green economy transition.
- Public awareness and engagement: Increases public understanding of the green economy and promotes ownership of green initiatives.

Challenges and Limitations:

- Data availability and quality: Lack of reliable data can hinder model accuracy and limit its effectiveness.
- Model complexity: Balancing comprehensiveness with user-friendliness can be challenging.
- Uncertainty and unforeseen events: External shocks and unpredictable events can impact model predictions.
- Stakeholder engagement and trust: Building trust and ensuring stakeholder participation in model development can be challenging.

Developing an economic model for the green economy in Sierra Leone requires a collaborative effort among stakeholders with different expertise. By considering the specific context and challenges, this model can provide valuable insights for policymakers, businesses, and civil society organizations to navigate the transition to a more sustainable and equitable future.

Recommendations for Addressing the Challenges of the Green Economy in Sierra Leone

Based on the analysis of the factors impeding the green economy in Sierra Leone and the proposed solutions, here are some specific recommendations:

Strengthening Institutions and Governance:

- Review and reform existing legal frameworks to enhance transparency, accountability, and anti-corruption measures.
- Establish an independent Anti-Corruption Commission with adequate resources and power to investigate and prosecute corruption cases.
- Invest in capacity-building programs for government officials, civil society actors, and private sector stakeholders on green economy principles, sustainable resource management practices, and effective governance strategies.
- Develop a national Green Growth Strategy with clear goals, targets, and indicators to guide the transition to a green economy.
- Establish a multi-stakeholder platform for coordinating the implementation of the Green Growth Strategy and facilitating dialogue between different stakeholders.

Promoting Inclusive and Equitable Development:

- Conduct a national assessment of the potential impacts of the green economy on different groups within society, including women, youth, rural communities, and indigenous groups.
- Develop and implement targeted programs to address marginalized groups' specific needs and challenges, ensuring equitable access to the green economy's resources, opportunities, and benefits.
- Promote gender equality and empower women by eliminating discriminatory laws and practices, increasing access to education and training, and supporting women's entrepreneurship initiatives.
- Empower local communities and indigenous groups to participate in green economy projects and decision-making processes, respecting their traditional knowledge and land rights.

Mobilizing Resources and Financing:

- Diversify the economy by promoting private sector investment in value-added agricultural production, manufacturing, and renewable energy sectors.
- Create an enabling environment for green investments by providing tax incentives, subsidies, and guarantees for green projects.
- Establish a Green Investment Fund to mobilize domestic and international resources for green initiatives.

- Develop public-private partnerships (P.P.P.s) to leverage private sector expertise and resources for green infrastructure development.

Building Public Awareness and Capacity:

- Launch a nationwide public awareness campaign to educate the population about the green economy, its benefits, and individual contributions to its success.
- Integrate environmental education and sustainability principles into school curricula at all levels.
- Support developing and disseminating educational materials and resources on the green economy in local languages.
- Develop community-based training programs to equip local communities with the skills and knowledge to participate in the green economy.

Addressing Social and Cultural Challenges:

- Conduct social impact assessments for all green economy projects to identify potential adverse impacts and ensure their mitigation.
- Develop culturally sensitive green economy policies and initiatives that respect local traditions, values, and knowledge systems.
- Promote social dialogue and conflict resolution mechanisms to address potential conflicts arising from resource allocation and competing interests.
- Invest in programs that address social inequalities and empower marginalized groups to participate in and benefit from the green economy.

Adapting and Innovating:

- Develop a robust monitoring and evaluation framework to track progress towards the Green Growth Strategy's goals and objectives.
- Regularly review and update the Green Growth Strategy based on emerging trends, challenges, and opportunities.
- Encourage and support research and development in green technologies, sustainable resource management practices, and innovative solutions for environmental challenges.
- Facilitate knowledge exchange and collaboration with countries that have successfully transitioned to a green economy.

Implementing these recommendations requires a long-term commitment and collaboration from all stakeholders. By prioritizing transparency, accountability, inclusivity, and innovation, Sierra Leone can overcome the challenges

and seize the opportunities of the green economy, paving the way for a more sustainable, equitable, and prosperous future.

Conclusion and Summary

The transition to a green economy in Sierra Leone offers a promising pathway for achieving sustainable development, economic growth, and social equity. However, this transition is not without its challenges.

Key findings:

- Sierra Leone possesses significant natural resources and a growing commitment towards a green economy.
- Significant gaps in resource mobilization, capacity building, social and cultural challenges, and policy frameworks remain.
- Opportunities exist in low-carbon technologies, climate-smart agriculture, ecotourism, and green jobs.
- Effective implementation requires a comprehensive economic model considering production and consumption, resource management, financial flows, labour market, and policy and governance.
- Stakeholder engagement, data availability, and model complexity are key considerations.

Recommendations:

- Strengthening institutions and governance through transparency, accountability, and anti-corruption measures.
- Promoting inclusive and equitable development by addressing inequalities and empowering marginalized groups.
- Mobilizing resources and financing through domestic resource mobilization, green finance mechanisms, and attracting private investments.
- Building public awareness and capacity through education, training, and community engagement initiatives.
- Addressing social and cultural challenges through culturally sensitive policies, conflict resolution mechanisms, and respect for traditional knowledge and land rights.
- Adapting and innovating through continuous monitoring and evaluation, research and development, and knowledge exchange.

Overall, Sierra Leone has a unique opportunity to build a green economy that benefits all its citizens. By addressing the existing challenges and leveraging its strengths and opportunities, Sierra Leone can emerge as a model for sustainable development in Africa and beyond.

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Other Resources:

- Sierra Leone's National Green Growth Strategy
- The Sierra Leone Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (S.L.E.I.T.I.)
- The Mano River Union (MRU) Cocoa and Forest Initiative
- The Green Climate Fund (GCF)
- The Sierra Leone Renewable Energy Fund (S.E.R.E.F.)
- The National Environmental Education Network (N.E.E.N.)
- The Innovation Hub at the University of Sierra Leone

Maritime Crossroads: Unraveling the Maldives-Turkey Relations (1650-1900)

Deniz Ticaret Yolları Kesişim Noktası: Maldivler-Türkiye İlişkilerinin Çözümlemesi (1650-1900)

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Abstract: This article explores the historical relations between the Maldives and Turkey, with a specific focus on a period encompassing 250 years, ranging from 1650 to 1900. The Maldives, strategically situated at the confluence of ancient trade routes, played a central role in the sphere of maritime trade, contributing significantly to the broader landscape of international diplomacy and cross-cultural exchanges. Numerous historical cues affirm that the Maldives was far from an obscure entity to the Ottoman Turks. This is substantiated by explicit references to the Maldives found in historical sources, such as Ali Macar Reis' atlas from 1567, Katib Çelebi's 17th Century magnum opus 'Cihannüma', cartographic depictions by Mahmud Raif Effendi (1803), accounts documenting the sporadic anchoring of Ottoman vessels in Maldivian ports, a well-documented tradition tracing back to the 16th century of delivering 'hutbe' or Friday sermons in honour of the Ottoman Sultan, and the fact that during the latter part of the 16th century, the Maldives functioned as a vassal state under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire, providing assistance in their conflicts against the Portuguese. The Ottoman influence left an indelible mark on various aspects of Maldivian society, permeating diverse facets, including the judiciary, cuisine, language, litera-

ture, coinage, symbols, titles, fashion and Maldivian Chess (Raazuvaa). Paradoxically, although these historical affiliations underscore substantial interconnectedness between the Maldives and Turkey, academic scholarship has been limited. Addressing this scholarly gap, this paper employs a comprehensive research methodology, integrating archival research, and comparative cultural analysis to reveal the nuanced facets of diplomatic, cultural, religious and political relations. This research aims to bridge knowledge gaps, shed light on overlooked history, and contribute to a deeper understanding of the enduring relationship between the Maldives and Turkey.

Keywords: Ceylon, history, Maldives, Ottoman Relations, Turkey

Öz: Bu makale, Maldivler ve Türkiye arasındaki tarihi ilişkileri 1650 ile 1900 arasındaki 250 yıllık kapsayan belirli bir döneme odaklanarak araştırmaktadır. Antik ticaret yollarının birleşim noktasında stratejik olarak konumlanan Maldivler, deniz ticareti alanında merkezi bir rol oynamış ve uluslararası diplomasi ile kültürel alışverişin geniş perspektifine önemli katkılarda bulunmuştur. Maldivler'in Osmanlı Türkleri için tamamen bilinmeyen bir varlık olmadığını gösteren birçok tarihi işaret bulunmaktadır. Bunun kanıtları, 1567 tarihli Ali Macar Reis'in atlasında, Katip Çelebi'nin 17. yüzyıl başyapıtı 'Cihannüma'da, Mahmud Raif Efendi'nin (1803) haritalarındaki Maldivler'e dair açık referanslarda, Osmanlı gemilerinin Maldiv limanlarına düzensiz olarak demirlemelerini belgeleyen kayıtlarda, Osmanlı Sultanı'nın onuruna 16. yüzyıla dayanan Cuma hutbelerinin düzenli bir geleneği olarak ve 16. yüzyılın sonlarına doğru Maldivler'in Portekizlilere karşı Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun yanında vasal bir devlet olarak yer aldığı gerçeğindedir. Osmanlı etkisi, Maldivler toplumuna çeşitli şekillerde sirayet etti: Yargı, mutfak, dil, edebiyat, para, semboller, unvanlar, moda ve Maldivler Satranç (Raazuvaa) gibi çeşitli yönleri etkiledi. Paradoksal olarak, bu tarihsel bağlar Maldivler ve Türkiye arasındaki önemli bağlantıları vurgulasalar da, akademik araştırmalar sınırlı kalmıştır. Bu bilimsel boşluğa yanıt olarak, bu çalışma kapsamlı bir araştırma metodolojisi kullanarak, arşivsel araştırmayı ve karşılaştırmalı kültürel analizi entegre ederek diplomatik, kültürel, dini ve siyasi ilişkilerin nüanslı yönlerini ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu araştırma, bilgi eksikliklerini gidermeyi, göz ardı edilmiş tarihleri aydınlatmayı ve Maldivler ile Türkiye arasındaki kalıcı ilişkinin daha derin bir anlayışına katkıda bulunmayı hedeflemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Seylan, tarih, Maldivler, Osmanlı İlişkileri, Türkiye

Introduction

The Maldives, officially known as the Republic of the Maldives, an archipelagic state situated in the Indian Ocean within South Asia, has garnered worldwide recognition for its pristine beaches, crystal-clear lagoons, and resplendent coral reefs. This island nation which occupies a distinct position within the annals of South Asian and Indian Ocean history is strategically located to the southwest of both Sri Lanka and India, approximately 750 kilometers from the Asian mainland. The geopolitical significance of the Maldives is accentuated by its geographical layout—a chain of 26 atolls extending across the equator from the Ihavandhipolhu Atoll in the north to the Addu Atoll in the south. The historical importance of the Maldives is underscored by its central role in ancient maritime trade net-

works. It served as a crucial nexus for trading vessels originating from diverse regions, including Sri Lanka, South India, and South East Asia. These vessels often sought refuge in the Maldivian atolls, undertaking vital refitting and replenishment activities prior to embarking on their voyages to prominent trading posts in Africa. Similarly, maritime traders hailing from Europe, Ottoman Empire, Arabia, Persia, and Africa used the Maldives as a key stopover point for similar purposes. (Forbes and Ali, 1980; Reynolds, 1975; Romero-Frias, 1999). This geopolitical positioning, with a history dating back to antiquity, imparts an intrinsic value to the Maldives as an object of scholarly inquiry.

The historical names linked to the Maldives across the ages serves as an indelible testament to its intricate and time-honoured history, reaching far into antiquity. Among the earliest names for the Maldives was Dheeva Mahal, derived from the legend that its initial inhabitants were known as Dheyvis, and its first kingdom was named Dheeva Maari. (Al Suood, 2014; Jabyn, 2016; Mohamed, 2005). During the period spanning 1100 to 1166, the Maldives bore the appellation Diva Kudha. This term extends further to encompass the Laccadive archipelago, which was an integral part of the Maldives and was identified as Diva Kanbar. These names were recorded by the eminent Persian scholar and polymath al-Biruni (973–1048), who holds the distinction of being recognized as the founder of Indology. Furthermore, Sanskrit texts denote the Maldives as *mālā-dvīpa*, with *mālā* signifying garland and *dvīpa* denoting island. (Robertson, et al. 2005; Ganzenmüller, 1891). This etymological derivation encapsulates the meaning of Maldives as a “garland-island” in Sanskrit. The Sinhala texts of Sri Lanka, refer to the Maldives as *Maala Divaina*, which translates to “Necklace Islands.”

The Maldives’ historical existence finds reference in various ancient chronicles and inscriptions. The *Mahavamsa*, a 5th-century chronicle of Sri Lanka, serves as an early reference point to the Maldives. Likewise, South Indian Pallava dynasty inscriptions dating to the 7th century AD refer to the Maldives as *Dvīpa Laksham*, signifying ‘a hundred thousand islands.’ A 10th-century Tamil record from the Chola dynasty further extends this nomenclature, describing the Maldives as *Munnir Palantivu Pannirayiram*, which alludes to ‘twelve thousand islands and the ocean where three waters meet.’ In most Tamil sources and maps, the Maldives is identified as *Mālaitivu*, a phrase connoting “Garland of Islands.” This term extends into the realms of Malayalam, with variants like *Maladweepu* and *Kannada*, where *Maledweepa* all translate to “Garland of Islands.”

The historical chronicles of the Maldives encompass its interactions with foreign civilizations. Hiuen-Tsang, a prominent Buddhist monk who traversed India for religious studies between AD 629 and 645, is credited as the first Chinese writer to mention the Maldives. His reference to the islands as *Na-lo-ki-lo-chou* underscores the identification of the Maldives as ‘coconut islands’ by early Chinese explorers. Subsequently, Maldivian emissaries are believed to have undertaken

diplomatic missions to Tang dynasty China during the reign of Maldivian king Baladitiya in AD 658 and AD 662. These missions were marked by the exchange of gifts and valuables from the Maldivian archipelago, presented to the Chinese monarch, reflecting the diplomatic and trade dimensions of early Maldivian history. The diffusion of Islam in the Maldives, commencing from the 12th century, is attributed to North African, Arab (Yemeni) and Persian seafarers and traders who frequented the islands for water, dried fish, and coconuts. These visitors often established prolonged stays and played a pivotal role in the introduction of Islam to the region. (Maniku, 1986). Esteemed explorers such as Sulaimān at-Tājir (850 A.D.), Al Masudi, Al Biruni (1030 A.D.), al-Jawālīqī, and Al Idrisi (1150 A.D.) have provided detailed accounts of Pre-Islamic Maldives, designating it as either Divah or Dibadjat. (Mohamed, 2002). Their writings offer valuable insights into the produce of the islands, including ambergris and cowries, as well as the consummate craftsmanship evident in fabric weaving, ship and house construction, and various forms of artistic work. These sources also highlight the unique matriarchal and matrilineal social systems in the Maldives, where women played a prominent role in arbitration, and the governance of the islands was overseen by queens.

Moroccan Berber traveler Ibn Battuta, whose extensive sojourn in the Maldives occurred in the 14th century, referred to the islands as Maḥal Dibīyāt, which at the time of his visit was ruled by a Sultana (Queen) named Khadeejah Sri Raadha Abaarana Mahaa Rehendhi. Ibn Battuta's stay in the Maldives included multiple marriages and concubinage, culminating in the birth of children. He also held the position of a Qadi, functioning as a Muslim judge responsible for adjudicating both religious and civil matters. (Bell, 1883; Gray & Defremery, 1999; Metcalf, 2009). Throughout his comprehensive travelogue, Ibn Battuta provides in-depth insights into a wide array of topics, including his observations on the Maldivians' steadfast adherence to Islam, and their exceptional hospitality, particularly in his commendations of the Grand Vizier, who served as the prime minister of the Maldivian realm. The 16th century ushered in a transformative phase for the Maldives with encounters with Portuguese conquistadors, who identified the islands as *ilhas Maldivas* and *Ilha Dywe* before eventually occupying the archipelago. Subsequent European powers, including the Dutch and the British, also employed their own variants to identify the Maldives. The Dutch name for the archipelago was *Maldivische Eilanden*, whereas during the time when the archipelago was a British protectorate, which lasted for 77 years until the Maldives gained independence on July 26, 1965, the British introduced an Anglicized version of the local name. (Phadnis & Luithui, 1981). They initially referred to the islands as *Maldive* or *Maladiva* and later streamlined it to *Maldives*.

Considering the strategic geographic positioning of the Maldives and its historical significance in maritime trade, it is unsurprising that the Ottoman influ-

ence on Maldivian history, though often confined to archival records, has left a lasting mark. This study endeavors to rectify this historical oversight and comprehensively examine various dimensions of Turkey-Maldives relations, a subject heretofore insufficiently explored. Emphasizing the Ottoman era, a pivotal period when the Maldives established diplomatic ties with Turkey, this paper seeks to provide a nuanced understanding of this enduring relationship.

Research Question:

What were the key historical dynamics and dimensions of the diplomatic, cultural, religious and political relations between the Maldives and Turkey during the Ottoman era, particularly between 1650 and 1900?

Research Objectives:

- To explore the historical relations between the Maldives and Turkey, focusing on the period from 1650 to 1900, and unveil the intricate dynamics of diplomatic, cultural, and political interactions.
- To examine the multifaceted Ottoman influence on Maldivian society, encompassing the judiciary, language, literature, customs, symbols, titles, cuisine and elite fashion.
- To analyze historical cues and references that confirm the Maldives' significance within the context of the Ottoman Empire.
- To explore the impact of Ottoman influence on religious practices, cross-cultural exchange, and the broader narrative of Islamic diplomacy in the Indian Ocean region.
- To investigate the historical role of the Maldives as an Ottoman tributary during the latter half of the 16th century, particularly its support in Ottoman conflicts against the Portuguese, and understand its implications for the geopolitical landscape.

These research objectives aim to facilitate an academic exploration of the historical relations between the Maldives and Turkey during the Ottoman era, emphasizing their significance in the realms of diplomacy, culture, and politics, while rectifying the existing scholarly gap and contributing to a more profound comprehension of this enduring relationship. The ultimate objective however is to make this historical narrative accessible to contemporary researchers, academics, and the broader public, with a particular emphasis on younger generations of Maldivians and Turks who may be unaware of their shared history and heritage. This initiative is anticipated to contribute to a deeper understanding of these longstanding relations and fortify the bonds between the two nations.

Research Methodology

This study on “Turkey-Maldives Historical Relations” employs an interdisciplinary research methodology to explore their historical ties between 1650 and 1900. The methodology is designed to address the multifaceted nature of the topic and knowledge gaps:

- **Historical Documentation and Archival Research:** This comprehensive analysis involved an in-depth review of historical documents, archived materials, official records, manuscripts, books and correspondence from the specified period. Extensive archival research was conducted in both Sri Lanka (which houses significant archival information on the Maldives) and Turkey. This approach provides valuable insights into the diplomatic, cultural, and political relations between the Maldives and Turkey, shedding light on their historical context and interactions.
- **Comparative Cultural Analysis:** This method entails a detailed comparative analysis of Ottoman and Maldivian cultures, encompassing language, religious practices, symbols, titles, and fashion. It aims to understand the multifaceted influence of Ottoman culture on the Maldives.

By employing these research methodologies, this study aims to illuminate this overlooked facet of history, unveiling facts that have been confined to archives, libraries, and repositories, gradually fading into relative obscurity.

Literature Review

The historical narrative of the Maldives is characterized by its rich tapestry interwoven with linguistic, cultural, and geopolitical elements. Situated at the confluence of ancient trade networks and serving as a crossroads of civilizations, the historical discourse surrounding the Maldives presents a compelling subject of scholarly and international relations interest. Nevertheless, the historical interactions between the Maldives and Turkey during the Ottoman era have remained notably unexplored within academic literature. A comprehensive examination of this historical connection is conspicuously absent, even within works like “Ottoman-Southeast Asian Relations: Sources from the Ottoman Archives” (2020) by İsmail Hakkı Kadı and A.C.S. Peacock, which offer peripheral references to the Maldives, leaving the relationship largely unexamined.

The 16th and 17th centuries stand as a significant epoch in Maldivian history and its affiliation with the Ottoman Empire. Giancarlo Casale’s publications, namely, “His Majesty’s Servant Lutfi” (2005), “Global Politics in the 1580s” (2007), and “The Ottoman Age of Exploration” (2010), are notable references in this context. Casale’s works provide insights into the Ottoman influence, the correspon-

dences that transpired between the Ottoman Sultan, the Sultan of Aceh, and the Ottoman envoy Lord Lutfi and shed light on the profound allegiance and reverence of the Maldivians toward the Ottoman Sultan. Elizabeth Lambourn's "Khutba and Muslim Networks in the Indian Ocean" (2011) further highlights the Maldives' historical connections with the Ottoman Empire. While several works briefly allude to the Maldives within the broader context of Ottoman Empire and Turkish influence in the Indian Ocean, such as "Islam and Democracy in the Maldives; Interrogating Reformist Islam's Role in Politics" (2021) by Azim Zahir, "Winds of Spices" (2006) by K. S. Mathew and Joy Varkey, "Maritime India; Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean" (2010) by Pius Malekandathil, "Time, Place, and Connectivity in World History" (2018) by Aran MacKinnon, "Human Rights Commitments of Islamic States" (2021) by Paul McDonough, "The Ottomans; Khans, Caesars and Caliphs" (2021) by Marc David Baer, and "India in the Indian Ocean World" (2022) by Rila Mukherjee, none of these publications provide a comprehensive analysis of the historical relations between the Maldives and the Ottoman Empire. Their primary focus predominantly centers on different areas of inquiry, relegating the subject of Maldives-Turkey relations to the periphery.

Furthermore, an intriguing yet unexplored facet of history pertains to the roles and contributions of elite Maldivians appointed as Ottoman representatives or shahbenders, who served in Ceylon during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Their significance in fostering and strengthening the relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Maldives remains inadequately examined, resulting in a substantial knowledge gap. cursory references to Maldivians appointed as Honorary Turkish Consuls can be found in more recent Turkish literature, such as "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Seylan Adası ile İlişkilerine Methal" (2020) by Ekrem Saltik and "140 yıllık miras: Güney Afrika'da Osmanlılar" (2000) by Ahmet Uçar. In light of these historical gaps, this article endeavors to address these omissions and offer a comprehensive exploration of the history of Maldives-Turkey relations.

Moreover, a review of theses and journal articles from academic institutions, both within Turkey and abroad, reveals that the Maldives is predominantly mentioned in works primarily focused on topics such as the environment, global warming, tourism, healthcare, Indian Ocean affairs, recent political developments within South Asia, SAARC, religious extremism, trade, and contemporary issues. Consequently, a comprehensive overview of these publications is refrained from, as they do not directly pertain to the core subject matter of this study.

Historical Context:

The earliest documented references to the Maldives within the context of the Ottoman Empire date back to the reign of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (1494-1566). This historical connection is preserved in the letters exchanged

between Sultan of Aceh Alauddin Kahhar and the Ottoman Sultan Süleyman I in 1566. These correspondences, meticulously transcribed and translated by Giancarlo Casale (2005, 2007, 2011), provide valuable insights into the Maldives' allegiance to the Ottoman Empire and the profound reverence bestowed upon the Ottoman Sultan, who was esteemed as the Caliph of the Islamic world. Casale (2005) speculates that the information provided about the Maldives in the letters, including its geography, people, conflicts with the Portuguese, recent political developments, and trade, was more likely furnished by Lutfi Reis Paşa, an Ottoman official who traveled to the archipelago, rather than the Sultan of Aceh himself. The flowery language and descriptive details in the report suggest a travelogue rather than diplomatic correspondence, leading to the hypothesis that an Ottoman official, most likely Lutfi, composed the letter for the Sultan of Aceh. This hypothesis is supported by various textual idiosyncrasies, including tone and content, underscoring the significance of Lutfi Reis's journey in bridging historical gaps in our understanding of the Maldives and its interactions with the Ottoman Empire.

The letters reveal a comprehensive portrayal of the Maldives, then collectively known as Diva, comprising a staggering twenty-four thousand islands, half of which were inhabited, and the other half remaining desolate and uninhabited. Within this expanse, the Maldivian populace emerged as devout adherents¹ of the Islamic faith, practicing the rituals and traditions of the Shafi'i² school of Islam. This letter conveys a profound sense of loyalty and reverence that the Maldivians held for the Ottoman Sultan, whom they esteemed as "your most high and most blessed Imperial Majesty, refuge of the world and shadow of God [on earth]." (Casale, 2010, p. 128). Mosques adorned every island within the Maldives, echoing with the noble name of the Ottoman Sultan during their calls to prayer. These expressions of devotion underscore the extent to which the Ottoman Sultan was cherished within the Maldivian atolls. (Casale, 2005, 2007, 2011; Kadi, & Peacock, 2019).

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- 1 During his maiden visit in 1343 AD, amidst the reign of Sultana Rehendhi Khadheeja, the famous explorer Ibn Battuta encountered a populace devoutly adhering to the Islamic faith, with no mention of alternative religious practices on the archipelago which he identifies as 'Dhibat-ul-mahal'. In his accounts, Battuta attests to the uprightness and religiosity of the island inhabitants, characterizing them as individuals of unwavering faith and noble intentions. He states that their dietary habits conformed to Islamic dietary laws, and their prayers were acknowledged by the Almighty God. Furthermore, Battuta observed the presence of mosques on every island in the archipelago, with many of these structures constructed primarily from wood. (Husain, 1953)
 - 2 The historical transformation of the Maldives from a predominantly Buddhist nation to an Islamic society in the year 1153 AD is ascribed to the renowned Moroccan scholar, Abul Barakat Yoosuf Al Barbary. The Maldives until the 17th century maintained adherence to the Maliki school of jurisprudence, which is prevalent across much of North Africa. The propagation of Islam in the Maldives was notably shaped by the influx of merchant vessels and Muslim missionaries from North and the Horn of Africa, Yemen, and Persia.

The Maldivian way of life, as described in the correspondences, centered on humble activities such as fishing, the weaving of Indian cotton, and the production of yarn from coconut fibers. These locally crafted products found their place in trade with the numerous ships that frequented the islands, with ambergris, a unique and highly sought-after substance, gracing many of these coastal regions. Yet, beyond the details of daily life and religious devotion, the letters shed light on the broader geopolitical context of the Maldives during this period. The Maldivian King, although unnamed in the correspondence, was depicted as a valiant defender of his faith and realm. It was noted that he sought refuge under the Ottomans in Mocha (Al-Mukhā) or Aden after being vanquished by the Portuguese in 1562-3, a move that emphasized the significance of the Maldives as a strategic and sought-after territory. (Casale, 2005, 2007, 2011; Kadi, & Peacock, 2019).

Furthermore, the correspondence illuminates the critical role of the Maldives within the network of trade routes facilitating the passage of merchant vessels and ships carrying Hajj pilgrims from South and South East Asia to Mecca. The Maldives, with its strategic location, was a pivotal point along these routes. However, the Portuguese conquests disrupted the safety of these waters, effectively endangering any vessel passing through the region. In these perilous circumstances, ships, including those of the Ottomans, fell prey to Portuguese aggression. Ships were looted, and if they resisted capture, they faced the destructive force of Portuguese cannons, leading to the loss of numerous lives, including men, women, and children en route to their sacred pilgrimage. (Casale, 2005, 2007, 2011; Kadi, & Peacock, 2019).

In the context of these correspondences, a notable incident is brought to the forefront, involving Lutfi Reis Paşa, a 16th-century Ottoman diplomat en route from Aceh to Mecca. Lutfi Paşa was aboard the vessel 'Samadi,' which belonged to a Gujrati lord and was laden with a valuable cargo of pepper, cinnamon, cloves, silk, camphor, hisal bend, and other highly prized commodities. During their passage through the Maldives, they encountered three galleots and seven galleys of the Portuguese. A fierce four-day and four-night battle ensued, during which the Ottomans successfully protected their vessel. However, the Portuguese resorted to the use of cannons, ultimately resulting in the tragic sinking of 'Samadi' and the loss of five hundred Muslim lives. Some survivors faced capture and enslavement by the Portuguese. (Casale, 2005, 2007, 2011; Kadi, & Peacock, 2019).

These correspondences, therefore, offer a rich tapestry of historical narratives, capturing the multifaceted relationship between the Maldives and the Ottoman Empire during the 16th century. This period was marked by profound religious devotion, reverence for the Ottoman Sultan, and the crucial role of the Maldives within the regional and global trade networks. It is through the lens of these correspondences that this pivotal era in the history of the Maldives is brought to life and scrutinized, offering valuable insights into the dynamics of the time.

The Ottoman Empire's persistent quest for dominance in the Indian Ocean did not wane with the passing of Sultan Suleiman I. This pursuit extended into the reign of his successor, Selim II, during which Sokollu Mehmed Paşa ascended to the position of Grand Vizier. Under Sokollu Mehmed Paşa's guidance, the Ottoman Empire adopted a policy aimed at displacing the Portuguese from the Indian Ocean. This endeavour involved forging alliances with various maritime Muslim rulers in the region, including those governing the Maldives. (Braginsky, 2015; Casale, 2005, 2007, 2011)

In the latter half of the 16th century, the Maldives functioned in a manner akin to a vassal state of the Ottoman Empire, with the name of the Ottoman Sultan being invoked during the customary Friday sermon, commonly referred to as the 'hutbe'. (Kármán, & Kunčević, 2013).

Unfortunately, extant historical documentation remains somewhat limited with respect to the perpetuation of this tradition beyond the confines of the 16th century. However, certain customs, likely introduced by the Ottomans, endured. Comprehensive historical documentation pertaining to Ottoman engagement with the Maldives during the 17th and 18th centuries remains notably scarce.

However, it is imperative to acknowledge the enduring nature of multifaceted connections, encompassing cultural, military, religious, and trade aspects, between the Ottoman Empire and the Indian Subcontinent, the Sultanate of Aceh, and various other regions within Asia, persisting well into the early 20th century. This temporal longevity underscores the likelihood that Ottoman affiliations with the Maldives endured, notwithstanding the Dutch occupation of the archipelago during the 17th and 18th centuries.

The Maldives on Literary and Cartographic Canvas

The Maldives holds a unique position within Ottoman cartography, etching its presence not solely in the realms of conflict and commerce but also within the prominent literary works, notably those pertaining to geography. This introduction sets the stage for a dedicated exploration of the Maldives' presence in renowned literature and its depiction on Ottoman maps, all of which bear testament to its enduring historical significance. In this section, I delve into the intricacies of these acknowledgments, shedding light on the archipelago's captivating portrayal in the broader context of literature and cartography during this period. My study commences with a well-known example of sixteenth-century Ottoman cartography found in the atlas of Ali Macar Reis, now housed in the Topkapı Palace Library. This map, completed in 1567, has undergone extensive examination by contemporary scholars like Giancarlo Casale and has been recognized as a creation deeply rooted in a Western prototype within the lineage of Italian cartographer Giacomo Gastaldi's school.

Ali Macar's map, presents an intriguing blend of Ottoman cartography and Western influence. While the map itself is based on a Western prototype, it features an array of Turkish-language captions that set it apart. These captions, as pointed out by Giancarlo Casale (2012) encompass a wide spectrum, including simple place names drawn from colloquial Turkish (such as "Ak deñiz" for the Mediterranean), terms rooted in classical Arabo-Islamic geography (like "Serendib" for Sri Lanka), and even neologisms with potential Western origins (e.g., "Portukāl İskelesi" for the Isthmus of Panama). However, one striking aspect of this map is Ali Macar's choice to provide an extended description of the Maldives. He refers to the Maldives as "The Twenty-Four Thousand Islands, twelve of which are deserted and the other twelve of which are cultivated" [Yigirmi dört biñ cezire on ikisi vîrân ve on ikisi ma'mûr]. This detailed description of the Maldives on an Ottoman map raises questions about why this specific archipelago was chosen for such special treatment.

It's important to note that similar Western Gastaldi-type maps typically do not single out the Maldives or any other Indian Ocean islands for distinctive attention. However, Giancarlo Casale's (2005, 2012) research brings to light the possibility that the information provided about the Maldives in Ali Macar's map could be loosely linked to the intelligence report of Ottoman envoy Lutfi Reis, who undertook a covert diplomatic mission to the Sultan of Aceh in Southeast Asia from 1564 to 1566. This mission included traversing the Maldives and gathering valuable insights during the journey.

Another significant Ottoman literary work that delves into the subject of the Maldives is the renowned 17th century literary opus "Cihannüma," composed by the Turkish polymath and scholar, Kâtip Çelebi. In a manner akin to the correspondences exchanged with the Sultan of Aceh, Kâtip Çelebi's compendium provides an inclusive portrayal of the Maldives, encompassing meticulous geographical details, and insights into the socio-cultural milieu of its populace. The text also references the substantial fishery industry in the Maldives, noting that the catch is exported abroad. Çelebi's account details the practice of bead and mother-of-pearl collection among the Maldivians, noting their utilization as a form of currency in numerous localities. Additionally, Çelebi highlights the abundant presence of ambergris in the Maldives. Moreover, Kâtip Çelebi's observations include the Portuguese dominion over two major islands, namely Mâldîwâ and Qândâlûs. (Çelebi, 2021).

The inclusion of the Maldives in the scholarly works of Ottoman geographers, as exemplified by Mahmud Raif Effendi's detailed map of Asia from 1803, signifies the archipelago's recognized status within the Ottoman intellectual realm. The explicit mapping of atolls and the use of Ottoman Turkish (Lisân-ı Osmâni) to name major islands underscore its substantial presence in Ottoman scholarship, dispelling any notion of obscurity. The Maldives has also garnered mention with-

in the annals of ancient Persian and Arabic literature, among which stands the illustrious work 'Qiṣṣah-i Sayf al-Mulūk va Badī' al-Jamāl.' This narrative unfolds the tale of Seyfel Molouk, an Egyptian prince whose heart is ensnared by a portrait. After devoting his youth to a quest for the original subject of the artwork, he ultimately unveils it to be a miniature depicting a daughter of the King of Chah-bal, a princess who lived contemporaneously with Solomon and was herself a beloved companion of the venerable prophet. (de La Croix, 1714; Dunlop, 1845).

Sacred Sojourns: Maldivian Hajj Pilgrims in Ottoman Hejaz

Another salient nexus that establishes a historical connection between the Maldives and the Ottoman Empire pertains to the protracted Ottoman sovereignty over the Hijaz region, encompassing the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina, which endured for a substantial period spanning from 1516 to 1918. Within this temporal expanse, devout Muslims from across the world, including the Maldivians, undertook their pilgrimages to the Hijaz, obliging them to traverse Ottoman territories. Remarkably, during this period, a tradition existed wherein Muslim pilgrims, while not obligatory, typically engaged in a preliminary visit to Istanbul before commencing their sacred 'Hajj' pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. In Istanbul, they would offer prayers at mosques where the Ottoman Sultan had previously prayed. This customary practice carried symbolic weight, signifying the bestowal of permission by the Ottoman Sultan, who occupied the revered role of the Caliph of the Islamic world. One of the earliest recorded instances of a Maldivian Sultan embarking on the Hajj pilgrimage can be traced back to an Arabic historical source originating in the mid-16th century, namely 'Kitab-al-Fawa'id al-Munazzama fi Akhbār al-Hajj' authored by 'Abd al-Qadir Muḥammad al-Jazirī, in which we find details of Sultan Ḥasan b. Abi Bakr's pilgrimage to Mecca in A.H. 838/ A.C. 1434-35. (Takahito, 1988). The Hajj pilgrimage held not only religious significance but also shaped the political landscape of the Maldives. As they embarked on their pilgrimage to the Ottoman Empire for Hajj or during their extended absences, particular Maldivian Sultans faced dethronement, thereby compelling them to endure a protracted state of exile. An extreme case is that of Sultan Ghiyath al-Din, who returned from Hajj, unaware of his deposition, only to be killed upon his return to the Maldives. Whereas Maldivian Sultan Haji Imaduddeen was dethroned while in Suez, part of the Ottoman Empire, where he married an Egyptian woman named Shereefa Hanim in 1903.

Cultural Contours: Ottoman Footprints in the Maldives

The multifaceted Ottoman influence on the Maldives extends beyond the realms of politics, trade, religious ties, and diplomacy, with one notable facet being its impact on the realm of fashion, particularly among the Royals and elites. Among the various Ottoman fashion influences that have left their mark on the Maldivian elite, the wearing of large turbans, referred to as 'fagudi' in Dhivehi,

stands out as a distinctive sartorial element exclusively reserved for erstwhile Maldivian royalty. (Bell, 1883; Wilson, 1841).

These turbans bear a striking resemblance to the 'kavuk,' a turban-sarik-wrapped hat donned by Ottoman Sultans prior to the 19th century. Furthermore, it is worth noting that the 'kavuk' adorned with a white 'sarik' (turban) signified adherence to the Islamic faith, underscoring the symbolic and religious connotations associated with this headgear. Notably, the National Museum of the Maldives curates a collection of turbans worn by the Maldivian Royals, in addition to their accompanying turban stands, regal accouterments, and crown jewels. Even the Grand Vizier (chief officer or minister of state), and the Khatib, the High Priest of the Maldives, adorned themselves with distinctive turbans³, notably of considerable size, evoking similarities to the headgear worn by their Ottoman Empire counterparts. This sartorial choice finds historical documentation in the travelogue of Ibn Battuta, who observed that some of the male folk of the Maldives chose to wear turbans, while others opted for smaller kerchiefs. (Husain, 1976). Nevertheless, by the 19th century, turbans and the Turkish Fez had assumed symbolic significance, designating status and privilege among the royalty and nobility.

Notably, the turban worn by Sultan Ghazi Hassan Izzuddeen (Dhon Bandaarain) (1759-1767) exhibits a close resemblance to the white 'sarik,' a style prominently favoured during the reign of Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II. During the era of Suleyman the Magnificent, under whose reign the Maldives functioned as a vassal state, this distinctive trend gained prevalence across diverse regions of the Ottoman Empire, raising the possibility that the Maldivian Royals might have adopted this sartorial tradition during that era or, conceivably, at a later juncture.

A notable historical episode during Sultan Izzuddeen's reign pertains to the military campaign launched by 'Turken' on the Maldives. It is documented that a fleet affiliated with the Mapilla from Malabar, comprising "Turken" soldiers, initiated an attack on the Maldives in 1760, culminating in the occupation of the uninhabited island of Funaadu, followed by a bombardment of the capital, Malé. (Bell, 1883, p. 33) In response, the Maldivians, with alacrity, outfitted a fleet and confronted the invaders, ultimately repelling them.

When considering the adoption of Ottoman Turkish-influenced fashion by the Maldivian elite during the early 17th century, valuable insights can be gleaned from the writings of François Pyrard de Laval (1578–1623), a French navigator renowned for his written account detailing his experiences in the Maldives Islands from 1602 to 1607. This account forms part of his decade-long sojourn

3 Maldivians were adept at crafting brass implements and manufacturing exquisite cotton fabrics, which they exported in the form of sarongs and lengths suitable for turbans. It is reasonable to infer that these indigenous enterprises relied on the procurement of imported raw materials

(1601–1611) in South Asia. In his narrative, Pyrard de Laval observes that the elite class in the Maldives embraced a particular component of this fashion, namely Turkish waistcoats, known as ‘saduriya’ in Dhivehi. These waistcoats were typically accompanied by distinctive coarse blue waistcloths adorned with red edging, and a red handkerchief, a combination that Pyrard de Laval notes served to distinguish Maldivians from other ethnic groups. (Bell, 1883; Pyrard, et al. 1887; Reynolds, 2003)

Another headgear attributed to Ottoman influence that played a significant role in shaping the sartorial expressions of the Maldivians starting from the 19th century is the fez, a distinctive red, rigid, felt hat characterized by its conical shape and a black tassel adorning its apex. This headwear, though bearing ancient origins, found a significant resurgence in the Ottoman Empire, notably during the rule of Sultan Mahmud II (1808–1839). In the Dhivehi language, the fez is referred to as ‘Turukii,’ a term that unequivocally underscores its Turkish provenance. (Reynolds, 2003). This particular sartorial element, with its Turkish roots, left a substantial mark on the Maldivian fashion landscape. Historical evidence, in the form of vintage photographs featuring prominent figures such as HH Sultan Haji Muhammad Imaaduddeen VI Iskandar, Sultan Hassan Nooraddeen II, and Sultan Mohamed Fareed Didi I, the last reigning monarch of the Maldives, as well as depictions within book illustrations, serves as a compelling testament to the widespread popularity of the Turkish fez within Maldivian society, particularly among the higher echelons, a trend that endured from the late 19th century well into the third quarter of the twentieth century. These visual records not only underscore the pervasive influence of Ottoman fashion but also shed light on the cultural interplay that shaped the attire of the Maldivian elite and royalty during this era.

The Ottoman legacy has also manifested itself in the domain of traditional games, with a noteworthy influence observed in ‘Raazuvaa,’ a chess variant deeply rooted in the indigenous culture of the Maldives. (Markov, 2023) This unique chess variant remains relatively obscure within the broader domain of chess history and its various iterations, with limited references in the existing literature, exceptions being found in the works of authors like H. C. P. Bell (1883), Culin (1898), and de Voogt (2009), as pointed out by Markov (2023).

Furthermore, the culinary landscape of the Maldives bears the imprint of Ottoman culture, with a notable example being Turkish coffee, referred to by Maldivians in their native Dhivehi language as “Gahuva.” (Abdulla, & O’Shea, 2005; Reynolds, 2003; Wilson, 1841). This coffee variety holds a distinct cultural significance, frequently consumed by nursing mothers. Notably, the influence of this beverage has transcended the borders of the Maldives, extending to Sri Lanka, where a spicier version of it has gained popularity, becoming a customary beverage served at both funerals and weddings.

Another particularly significant example of Ottoman influence can be observed in the titles assumed by the Maldivian Sultans. As discerned by the scholarly insights of British numismatist Johan Allan (1912), titles such as “Lord of the Land and Sea” borne by Maldivian Sultans exhibit a conspicuous resonance with the historical conventions of the Seljuk and Ottoman empires, wherein the Sultans asserted their dominion by identifying themselves as the sovereigns presiding over both terrestrial and maritime domains. (Kadi, & Peacock, 2019). Furthermore, comparable to the practice observed among Ottoman Sultans and other Persianate rulers, the elite stratum of the Maldives embraced titles such as “Effendi,” a term denoting respect and courtesy within Ottoman Turkey. An exemplary illustration of this cultural assimilation can be found in the persona of Maldivian aristocrat and merchant A. Ibrahim Dídí Effendi, holding the esteemed position of Dorhiméná-kilagefánu, Maldivian Government Representative in Ceylon. He concurrently served as the prime minister to the Maldivian Sultan and held the office of consul for the Ottoman Empire in Galle, Ceylon. (Bell, 1924, 1927; Fritz, 2002; Hockly, 2003). Abdul Hamid Dídí, the son of Ibrahim Dídí, held the title ‘Effendi’ as a mark of respect and recognition for his role as the Maldivian Government Representative in Ceylon. (Bell, 1924).

Another enduring testament to Ottoman influence on the Maldives lies in the national flag of the Maldives, specifically in the incorporation of the crescent and star symbols. Notably, while the crescent moon and star symbol predates the advent of Islam, it was during the era of the Ottoman Empire that these symbols became closely associated with the Muslim world, solidifying their status as distinctive markers of Muslim states and cultures. (Bordeleau & Bordeleau, 2014; Reid, 2014).

Maldives-Turkey Relations since 1800

Although the historical, commercial, and cultural bonds between the Maldives and the Ottoman Empire had their roots extending as far back as the 16th century, it was during the late 19th and early 20th centuries that diplomatic relations between these two regions underwent a substantial evolution. This period is of paramount significance in the annals of Maldivian history, marked by a series of transformative events and policy shifts. Central to this epoch is the pivotal agreement signed on the 16th of December, 1887. This accord, forged between the Sultan of the Maldives and the British Governor of Ceylon (present day Sri Lanka), effectively reshaped the geopolitical landscape of the Maldives by rendering it a British protected state. The terms of the agreement entailed a relinquishment of sovereignty over matters pertaining to foreign policy, while retaining a semblance of internal self-governance. In return, the British Empire extended the umbrella of military protection and pledged non-interference in local administration.

This arrangement inaugurated a new era of governance in the Maldives, with the British Empire assuming a supervisory role in the administration of Maldivian affairs. A key facet of this governance was the imposition of travel documents issued by the British Empire, a requirement that extended to outbound travel for Maldivians, excluding journeys to Ceylon. As a result of these shifting dynamics, numerous Maldivians, particularly members of the royal family and the social elite, found themselves migrating to major urban centers in Ceylon, such as Colombo and Galle. Here, they embarked on diverse pursuits, including education, employment, and habitation. The educational landscape of Ceylon became a significant arena of influence for the Maldivian elite, with institutions such as Royal College, Saint Joseph's College, and Saint Peter's College serving as focal points for primary and secondary education. Notably, Royal College earned a reputation as 'Ceylon's Eton,' reflecting its preeminent status in the education of Maldivian elites. (Hockly, 1935).

The 1880s saw the gradual establishment of an influential and prosperous Maldivian community in Ceylon. This transformative phase, characterized by diplomatic, educational, and migratory exchanges, bore profound implications for the Maldives and further solidified its historical ties with both the British Empire and the Ottoman Empire. By the 1880s, Ceylon had already been permeated by the cultural and sartorial influences of the Ottoman Empire, particularly among its Muslim elite. This cultural osmosis was characterized by overt displays of Ottoman affiliation, such as the hanging of Ottoman flags outside the residences of Muslim elites in British-controlled Ceylon. The distinguished Ceylonese figure, Sir Macan Markar Effendi, head of the firm of O. L. M. Macan Markar, jewellers and gem merchants, not only assumed the honorary role of Ottoman Shahbender but also adopted the distinguished attire of the Ottoman Turks, including the iconic Turkish Fez and waistcoat. (Careem, 2022; Cave, 1908; Wright, 1907; Nuḳamān, 2007; Roberts, 1993). Macar Effendi was so enamoured with the architectural elegance he encountered along the Bosphorus during his travels to Istanbul that he designed his residence, which he named 'Stamboul Villa' where on October 5, 1921, the Muslim women of Ceylon hosted a 'Arabian Night' reception in honour of Lady Manning, the wife of Governor Sir Henry Manning, in Colombo, the capital of Ceylon. (Careem, 2022; Dep, 2001; Moors' Islamic Cultural Home, 1965). Such events showcased the enthrallment with Ottoman aesthetics among the Muslim elite in Ceylon. Sir Macan even christened the road on which his villa was situated as 'Stamboul Place' in homage to the city that had so captivated him.

The 1880s also witnessed the inception of Muslim educational institutions for both boys and girls in Ceylon, marking an educational renaissance. The oldest of these institutions, 'Al Masjidathul Hameedia,' established in 1884, was dedicated to Sultan Abdul Hamid II of the Ottoman Empire, as symbolized by his grand por-

trait prominently displayed in the central hall of the school. Exceptional students at these institutions were rewarded with gilded Qurans sent all the way from the Ottoman Empire, underscoring the close ties between Ceylon and the Ottoman world. (Careem, 2022) These transformations, favouring and venerating the Ottoman Empire, extended their influence to the Maldivian elites and royals residing in Ceylon at the time. They too embraced Ottoman fashion, adopting Turkish Fezes and waistcoats for various occasions. Nevertheless, they retained a distinct British identity in their English language usage, adherence to British customs, and the occasional donning of British-style suits alongside their Ottoman-inspired attire.

Starting from the 1870s Ceylon evolved into a hub for foreign embassies and honorary consuls. Notably, this period witnessed the emergence of robust diplomatic ties between the Maldives and the Ottoman Empire. Apart from the Ceylonese (Sri Lankans), Maldivians residing in Ceylon were appointed as honorary consuls for Turkey. They also played a significant role as Ottoman Shahbenders in Ceylon, particularly in the bustling port city of Point-de-Galle. (Cave, 1908; Hockly, 1935; Wright, 1907). As evidenced by the annual Ceylon blue books published by the Department of Census and Statistics in Ceylon from the final decades of the 19th century, it becomes apparent that a notable Maldivian aristocratic family spanning three generations assumed the role of Ottoman consuls in Galle. This lineage commenced with Haji Ali Didi, who, owing to his declining health, transferred the position to his son Hadji Ibrahim Didi Bin Hadji Ali Didi Effendi in 1882. (Bell, 1924, 1927; Fritz, 2002; Hockly, 2003; The Colonial Office List, 1905; Wright, 1907). Subsequently, the role was succeeded by his son Ahmet Didi. (Saltik, 2020).

The significant role of Ceylon at that time and the strength of the diplomatic ties between Turkey and Ceylon are underscored by the presence of two Ottoman consulates in the island nation, with one situated in Colombo and the other in Point-de-Galle. In stark contrast, the Ottoman Empire's diplomatic representation was limited to four consular offices namely Madras, Bombay, Karachi, and Rangoon, in the British Raj which covered a substantial expanse encompassing contemporary India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Burma, and adjacent regions. The Colombo office was administered by affluent Moor merchants, while the Galle office was overseen mainly by Maldivians, prominently represented by the Didi clan. (Great Britain, 1906).

The influence of the Didi family extended not only within the Maldives but also within Ceylon, where, in their capacity as Ottoman Consuls, they played host to visiting dignitaries, including Turkish officials. For instance, Ebrahim Didi Effendi, residing at 'Gairloch' in Colpetty, Colombo, extended hospitality to the Hon. Ahmed Attaullah Effendi, who held the position of Turkish general in the straits (Singapore) from 1901 to 1903 during his visit to Ceylon. (Uçar, 2000). This histor-

ical context highlights the multi-faceted roles and diplomatic engagements that characterized the presence of the Didi family as Ottoman consuls in Ceylon, providing valuable insights into the cultural and diplomatic exchanges of the time.

Reflections of Legacy: President Amin Didi's Turkish Ties

During his address at the inauguration of Lale Youth International School in May 2009, President Mohamed Nasheed of the Maldives emphasized the long-standing diplomatic ties between the Maldives and Turkey, particularly focusing on the historical connections between the first Maldivian president's family and Ottoman Turkey. In his discourse, President Nasheed drew attention to the historical context surrounding Sumuvvul Ameer Mohamed Amin Dhoshimeynaa Kilegefaanu (1910-1954), famously called 'Amin Didi' who held the distinguished position of being the first President of the Maldives. As a scion of the illustrious Huraa Dynasty, President Amin Didi's familial heritage was intricately interwoven with the diplomatic relations between the Maldives and the Ottoman Empire. Within the pages of 'dhariyegge shukuru', a testament to familial bonds and heritage, President Amin Didi reveals a striking revelation – that his father held in high regard a 'tharikah'⁴ bestowed upon him by a Turkish school. ("Speech by His Excellency Mohamed Nasheed," 2009)

In his speech, President Nasheed further mentioned that Athireegey Ahmed Dhoshimeynaa Kilegefaan, the father of President Mohamed Amin Didi, had visited Turkey in the early 1900s. Additionally, he highlighted the role of Ibrahim Dhoshimeyna Kilegefaanu in the late 1800s, who served as the first councillor to Turkey from the Maldives and held the position of Turkish Ambassador to the South Asia Region. In the speech, President Nasheed highlighted the historical assistance from Turkish ships during a visit by Frederick Barbarossa in search of Maldivian values. ("Speech by His Excellency Mohamed Nasheed," 2009).

A New Era in the Maldives-Turkey Diplomatic Relations

After the fall of the Ottoman Caliphate, diplomatic relations between Turkey and the Maldives were officially resumed in 1979. The Turkish Embassy in Sri Lanka, just like during the Ottoman Times, is accredited to the Maldives and the Permanent Mission of the Republic of Maldives to the United Nations Office in Geneva is accredited to Turkey.

4 It is noteworthy to elucidate the term 'tariqa', which finds its origins in Arabic, specifically 'tariqah.' This term conveys the notion of a spiritual path or way, and it holds particular significance within the realm of Islamic mysticism. In its broader sense, 'tariqa' signifies the path undertaken by individual Sufis, the mystics of Islam, in their earnest pursuit of direct knowledge (ma'rifah) of God or the ultimate Reality (haqq). This spiritual concept, deeply rooted in Islamic tradition, experienced notable prominence during the 9th and 10th centuries, symbolizing the mystical journey embarked upon by those seeking a profound connection with the divine.

President Erdoğan's official visit to the Maldives, which occurred during his tenure as Prime Minister on February 9, 2005, was a significant event, marking the first official visit from Turkey to the Maldives since the establishment of diplomatic relations. Subsequently, the Foreign Minister of the Maldives, H.E. Mr. Abdulla Shahid, reciprocated with an official visit to Turkey from April 15 to 21, 2008, signifying the first official visit from the Maldives to Turkey. Furthermore, the then Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Maldives, H.E. Dr. Mohamed Asim, embarked on an official visit to Turkey from August 28 to 29, 2018.

These diplomatic engagements were followed by Minister Asim's participation in Turkey's hosting of the Extraordinary Summit of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) on Jerusalem on May 18, 2018, where he represented the President of the Maldives. Minister Asim also attended the Inaugural Ceremony of H.E. President Erdoğan on July 9, 2018, and engaged in discussions with the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs during these visits. Notably, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, H.E. Yavuz Selim Kıran, represented H.E. President Erdoğan at the Inaugural Ceremony of the President of the Maldives, H.E. Mohamed Solih, on November 17, 2018. Further strengthening the ties between the two nations, Minister of Home Affairs of the Maldives, H.E. Imran Abdulla, visited Turkey from December 3 to 6, 2019, participating in a program organized by the Turkey Green Crescent Association and holding discussions with the Minister of Interior of Turkey, H.E. Süleyman Soylu, and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, H.E. Yavuz Selim Kıran. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey, H.E. Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, paid a visit to the Maldives in January 2022.

The most recent high-level visit from the Maldives to Turkey was by Vice President Faisal Naseem, who attended the third inauguration of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan as the President of Turkey on June 3, 2023. These ongoing exchanges underscore the enduring strength of diplomatic relations between the Maldives and Turkey. Notably, both nations have entered into numerous agreements aimed at bolstering economic, trade, diplomatic, cultural, and academic ties, with the latter steadily gaining momentum.

Conclusion

This cursory study which delves into the rich historical relations between the Maldives and Turkey, spanning a significant 250-year period from 1650 to 1900 firmly challenges the perception of the Maldives as an obscure entity to the Ottoman Turks. Through meticulous analysis of historical sources and the Ottoman influence on Maldivian society, it becomes evident that the enduring relationship between the Maldives and Turkey holds a crucial place in the annals of diplomatic, cultural, and economic history. This study serves as a foundation for further research and understanding of the profound interconnectedness between these two nations and this research article aims to catalyze an increased interest

in exploring the historical relations between Turkey and Indian Ocean island nations such as the Maldives, Sri Lanka, Seychelles, and Mauritius, as well as other smaller nations that have yet to receive ample attention in historical research in both Turkey and these respective nations. It is a call to scholars to continue unearthing the nuanced facets of this enduring relationship and to shed light on overlooked history. Ultimately, the legacy of these historical affiliations enriches our comprehension of global interactions and the lasting impact of diplomatic relations.

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Investigation on effect of job Satisfaction on Employee's Performance Based in Kabul Municipality – Afghanistan in 2020 (Case Study: 2nd District)

2020 yılında Kâbil Belediyesi'nde (Afganistan) Çalışanların Performansı Üzerinde İş Tatmininin Etkisinin İncelenmesi (Örnek Olay Çalışması: 2. Bölge)."

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Abstract: This Research Study was conducted to investigate the effect of job satisfaction on employee's performance of Kabul municipality in 2020 (case study: 2nd District). The research method used in this research is mixed of descriptive-analytical methods with survey approach. The statistical population engaged in this investigation are 38 employees (2nd district, Kabul Municipality) which was analyzed by a statistical software named SPSS. The questionnaire reliability and validity were confirmed by content validity methods and Cronbach's alpha coefficient. The results of the research indicate that there is a significant relationship between job satisfaction and employee performance, it means that as much higher the job satisfaction in the organization is, the better will be in performance.

Keywords: Job Satisfaction, Employee, performance, Kabul Municipality, organization.

Öz: Bu araştırma çalışması, 2020 yılında Kabul belediyesinin (2. Bölge örneği) iş tatmininin çalışan performans üzerindeki etkisini incelemek amacıyla gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu çalışmada kullanılan araştırma yöntemi, anket yaklaşımıyla açıklayıcı-analitik yöntemlerin bir karışımıdır. Bu çalışmaya dahil olan istatistiksel popülasyon, 38 çalışan (Kabul Belediyesi 2. Bölge) olup, bu veriler SPSS adlı istatistiksel bir yazılım aracılığıyla analiz edilmiştir. Anketin güvenilirliği ve geçerliliği, içerik geçerliliği yöntemleri ve Cronbach alfa katsayısı ile doğrulanmıştır. Araştırmanın sonuçları, iş tatmini ile çalışan performansı arasında önemli bir ilişki olduğunu göstermektedir; yani organizasyondaki iş tatmini ne kadar yüksekse, performans da o kadar iyidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İş tatmini, çalışan, performans, Kabil Belediyesi, kurum.

Statement of the problem/issue

Human resource factor is considered to be a most important development factor in every country and organization. How to create a suitable platform for employees is one of the main concerns of managers in different levels of the organization so that they can properly perform their duties with sense of commitment and responsibility and have a good performance (Barati and others, 2013: 182) because the competitive conditions have made the organizations try to provide better services, performance and wider benefits for their customers and clients in order to satisfy their customers. Providing wider services and advantages are the factors which make customers loyal. One of the important factors on providing these services are the employees who provide services to clients of these organizations (Danishi, Moghadam, 2015).

In fact, they are in contact with customers whether internal customers or external customers and are the first ones who get to know their demands and can help managers with this demand to fulfill them. The provision of these services by employees usually depends on their attitudes and behavior and the employees are responsible and customer-oriented, they try to change their attitude and behavior to the best type in dealing with customers, and focus on the needs of customers, solving related problems. to them and gain customer loyalty, and this is the role that employees show in front of customers. On the one hand, they must be accountable to their supervisors, and on the other hand, they must care about the demands of customers. The existing conflicts between the two roles, which are caused by the difference in the expectations of managers (supervisors) and customers, make employees suffer from a kind of ambiguity and stress, which is called "role stress". In previous research, it has been shown that this stress is effective on customer-oriented and job performance of employees and can be reduced (Mirkamal, 2017).

Occupation satisfaction plays an important rule of staff's behavior of any organization. When we talk about occupation satisfaction, we mainly aim staffs to enjoy from their working premises and feel positive about the work which direct-

ly affects connection on what a staff expect from the occupation and what a staff provides. (Moqemi, 2007)

Studying occupation satisfaction is important based on two aspects: first, from humanitarian aspect that staffs are deserved of a well behavior and respect. Second, from behavioral aspect that paying attention to occupation satisfaction could instruct employees' behavior as it could affect their organizational duties and responsibilities and it can appear their positive or negative behaviors. (Yawoni, 2014)

Therefore, it is important to give priority and pay attention for humanitarian motivations and incentives in any organization. In such a case, one of the important and beneficial issues is staffs' employment satisfaction in every organization. Job satisfaction is a set of incompatible and compatible feelings by which employees look at their work. Actually, job satisfaction is a factor that increases efficiency and also the feeling of individual satisfaction and to some extent provides satisfaction in life (Karizmeh Foundation and others, 2015).

Relationship with the performance is another controversial topic related to job satisfaction. Kabul municipality employees as an input component on learning system play an effective role on performance improvement and promotion and employees are determining the factors that increase the effectiveness of the performance. (Wolf, R. 2001). Conducting abovementioned research needs performance raising of employees that should be conducted.

This research aims (in addition to achieving its main goal to investigate the effect of job satisfaction on the performance of employees in Kabul municipality) (case study: 2nd district); to investigate and identify the level of employment satisfaction on individually performance; managing factors related to performance; emotional factors; Demotivation factors and finally examine and identify the job factors that depend on the operator's job. This research is based on explanatory-descriptive (hypothesis testing) in field study, document, and libraries. The needed data collecting method had been done through a questionnaire by disseminating among studied population, library studies and internet search usage, the statistical population conveys municipality employees of the 2nd district of municipality, and they are studied without considering the sample size and sampling.

Keywords definition

Performance definition:

An individual performance is based on achievements of his/her duties performance which comes from output of a person (such as: sales or production level) or evaluation of success level of a person in comparison to the expectation of organization. (Kazemi, Yadgar Tirandaz, Parwiz (2006) wrote research regarding

job satisfaction and its impact on work performance. The results show that: 1. There is a high positive relation between job satisfaction and work performance. 2. There is no any gender based impact on uniting two variants of satisfaction and performance. 3. Among working environment factors, the factor of participation on decision making is much more important than Rights scale for employee's dissatisfaction. 4. Among components factors discretion and freedom of action at work is considered as important factor of employee's dissatisfaction.

Emani and his colleagues (2009) investigated the effect of short-term training courses on performance of municipality employees of Tehran in 2009. the findings show that most important factors are as follows: 1. facilitation degree on tasks 2. Work and activity Interest and satisfaction 3. Compliance with work order and discipline 4. Ability to use resources and tools (modern technologies) 5. The spirit of cooperation and organizational interaction 6. Improvement of the level of job skills 7. Increasing the level of knowledge in the work environment 8. Being no difference between the two sexes (male and female) of employees of the 7th district of Tehran, Bamiyan, their performance.

Shahbazi et al. (2008) have studied the factors affecting the job satisfaction of police forces in Iran and the results of the research show that job satisfaction reflects the feeling and satisfaction of a person from his job, which is affected by the characteristics of people such as values, attitudes and tendencies. They are also the characteristics related to the work environment. Job satisfaction is a very effective factor on the job performance of employees and the productivity of the organization. Job satisfaction also affects a person's sense of satisfaction with his life.

Haqit Mofard et al. (2009) addressed the impact of organizational commitment on employee performance and research findings show that there is a strong relationship between organizational commitment and employee performance, it is suggested that managers pay attention to ways to improve employee performance to improve organizational commitment. Provides 007:31). A person performance is known as a total result of actions for achieving a goal with specific standard. Actions can cover observable behavior or unobservable mental processing (such as; Solving Problem, Making decision making, planning and reasoning) (Spector, 2000).

Performance measuring is one of the main sectors of management for analyzing good performance and evaluating of compliance among performance and goals of a group that its result can be the basis for right decision making and future actions. (Jabari and Sarabadi, 2016).

Job Satisfaction:

Employment satisfaction Job satisfaction is affected by needs, interest and motivations as it considers a positive and practical emotion of employees in the

organization. (Bakutik, 2016). Job satisfaction is a group of compatible and incompatible feelings that employees observe in their work. Actually, employment satisfaction is a factor that increases efficiency and feeling of people satisfaction (Yen, Robert, 2013).

Experts think that occupation satisfaction is a multilateral concept which covers internal and external dimensions. Internal satisfaction sources refer to the individual's personality criteria for example the ability to start doing action and communicate with acting chiefs which are called qualitative aspects. Extrinsic and contingent satisfaction sources rely on environmental conditions, such as payment, promotion and job security. The difference of organizational units difference in terms of job satisfaction can be called as a problematic sign of strength. (Robbins, 2001).

Job satisfaction specifies the feelings of a person about his job. When the staff feel his duty valuable or when the person achieves his/her assigned goals, his/her job satisfaction is increased. It can have different perspectives; a staff can be satisfied with one aspect of the duty while other won't be. For staffs, not all aspects of job satisfaction are equally important. Besides, job satisfaction is different in different people and organizations (Qaracha, 2019). In fact, some experts believe that job satisfaction is an attitude, and they define that: job satisfaction is a person's attitude on his job and its various dimensions. (Darwish, 2007:118).

Job satisfaction is an emotional reaction toward duty, physical and social conditions of duty that makes a person say whether he/she is satisfied from the duty or not. In fact, a person's general attitude on his/her job is called job satisfaction. Job satisfaction is considered an important factor on increasing efficiency and individual satisfaction in an organization. A person will have a certain amount of job satisfaction based on importance of different factors such as income, social status, and duty environment situation. (Mohammadi et al., 2015: 233).

Barbash, Fisher and Hanna as management experts claimed: Job satisfaction is a complicated and multi-dimensional concept which is related to psychological, physical and social factors. Based on their point of view, the existence of a factor won't cause job satisfaction to a person but the combination of different factors will make a staff satisfied with duty in a meaningful moment. A person will have a certain amount of job satisfaction based on importance of various factors such as: income, social status, working conditions. (Holusti, 2011).

Geniz Berg and his colleagues divided job satisfaction into two different categories: Internal satisfaction and external satisfaction.

Internal satisfaction: comes from two sources. First, pleasure feeling that a person gets from simply engaging in work. Second, the pleasure that comes to a person from observing progress or fulfilling some social responsibilities and bringing out individual abilities and desires.

External satisfaction: is related to employment conditions and working atmosphere which is evolving every moment. for example, working atmosphere conditions, amount of wages and bonuses, the type of work and the relationship between worker and employer can be mentioned. It seems that the internal factors that include personal characteristics are more stable compared to the external factors such as working atmosphere conditions. Can be claimed that internal satisfaction is more stable than external satisfaction. Job satisfaction is a mutual result between internal and external satisfaction (Maqimi, 2007).

Research background

The study of job satisfaction started in early 1930s together with Hawthorne's studies. The existence of such studies of scientific managers pointed to job satisfaction implicitly in relation to staff tiredness. Job satisfaction and productivity have been widely studied since the 1930s. nowadays, some organizations have conducted research after evaluation the hood's performance in global competition field. Research has been done in different departments and organizations in relation to this issue in some Theses as well and the results obtained from this research caused organizations identify solve existing problems and effective factors to create job satisfaction. In fact, these results have organized a clear path for organizations and their employees for choosing a job that match their needs and make organization have committed employees. We can mention the following research as example:

Review of some backgrounds in the country:

Qadam Alizadah (2013) wrote an article titled "Relationship investigation between job satisfaction and employees' performance in Afghan Red Crescent Society General Directorate", The results explained that there is a relationship between job satisfaction and employees' performance in Afghan Red Crescent Society General Directorate and job satisfaction is the same between demographics different groups and performance is the same between different demographic groups as well.

Haidari (2013) wrote about relationship between job satisfaction and organizational commitment (case study: German International Cooperation Organization). The results explained a significant relationship between the variables of job satisfaction and employee's commitment in an organization.

Sediq (2017) written about evaluation of job satisfaction on performance with the mediating role of loyal organizational employees of the executive directorate of Jamiat Islami of Afghanistan. The results show that job satisfaction is directly related with the path coefficient of 99 percent and indirectly with the mediating role of organizational loyalty. loyalty has a positive effect on job performance. In addition, job satisfaction with a path coefficient of 99 percent has

a positive effect on organizational loyalty and organizational loyalty also has a positive effect on job performance with a coefficient of 99 percent.

Kosha (2018) has written an article entitled "relationship between job satisfaction and organizational commitment among employees of the Election Complaints Commission", the results showed that there is a significant relationship between job satisfaction and its dimensions and organizational commitment.

Review of some backgrounds abroad:

All Veilan and Jei David (2002) after analyzing 44 research related on job satisfaction based on current theories of job satisfaction reach to such a conclusion that educational organizations should create actual opportunities to make them powerful, use their own creativity which will lead them to have a better discussion on education quality. They may also point out to social effects of job satisfaction and to move forward a better elimination on learning/teaching limitations.

Arab Ahmeri Mohammad (2005) conducted research about relation between employee's job satisfaction and employee's performance of three social immunity classes in Tehran. The results show that there is a meaningful relation between job satisfaction and employee's performance.

Tarazonda Hess (2016) investigated relationship between job satisfaction and work performance of Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting (SIMA) deputy director employees. The results showed that in general, Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting deputy director employees have the fourth level of satisfaction from five dimensions of job satisfaction. Although they do not agree of the salaries and benefits that they get paid. Also, there is a significant relationship between satisfaction with salaries and benefits, satisfaction with the supervisor and performance, but no clear remarks have been observed between satisfaction with promotion opportunities, satisfaction with the nature of the job, and satisfaction with colleagues and performance. Finally, it was suggested that the system of salaries and benefits fair payment and delegated management style should be given more attention in the field of SIMA Deputy Office.

Kazimiyan, Nooryan and Parwin (2014) wrote research on job satisfaction and performance of nurses of Chahar Muhal and Bakhtyari hospitals. The research findings show that there is a significant relationship between job satisfaction and performance using Pearson correlation coefficient.

Yadgar Tirandaz, Parwiz (2006) wrote research regarding job satisfaction and its impact on work performance. The results show that: 1. There is a high positive relation between job satisfaction and work performance. 2. There isn't any gender-based impact on uniting two variants of satisfaction and performance. 3. Among working environment factors, the factor of participation on decision

making is much more important than Rights scale for employee's dissatisfaction. 4. Among components factors discretion and freedom of action at work is considered as important factor of employee's dissatisfaction.

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Haqiqat Mofared and the colleagues (2009) addressed the impact of organizational commitment on employee performance and the findings show a strong relationship between organizational commitment and employee performance. it is suggested for managers to pay attention on ways to improve employee performance to improve organizational commitment to be a cause of staff organizational commitment improvement.

Qudsi and the colleagues (2009) studied the relationship between social factors and duty failure of teachers in Qarwa of Iran. results indicate that the rate of failure in primary teachers is lower than high school, and the rate of depersonalization of teachers with cycle degrees is higher than other degrees. Service history has an inverse relationship with failure.

Azizi (2013) investigated the relationship between job satisfaction and organizational commitment (a case study of the employees of the General Department of Finance in Qoom province of Iran). research results in targeted society show that indicators of employee's job satisfaction namely satisfaction from employees has the highest share in job satisfaction and the satisfaction from rights and benefits has the lowest share.

Kawsi and the colleagues (2013) investigated factors affecting employee performance improvement based on the achieve model from managers' point of view (senior, administrative, and nursing) of educational hospitals of Shiraz in

2011. findings show that most of managers (senior, administrative, and nursing) of Shiraz educational hospitals were women. most of them had bachelor's degree. Among the factors affecting the improvement of employees' performance, the highest score is related to after feedback and the lowest score was related to after adaptability. Managers opinion in three levels, senior, administrative, and nursing on impact of effective factors for improvement of employee's performance in ability, motivation and credit dimensions had a significant difference. There is a significant difference between managers of different age groups in ability, clarity of motivation and feedback dimensions.

Dehqan and the colleagues (2013) evaluated managers' commitment effects on job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and employee performance. findings show that management commitment to provide services for employees (training, capacity building and awards) is connected to organizational commitment and job satisfaction. but empowerment and award factors have a cause-and-effect relationship with the variables of organizational commitment and job satisfaction.

Maqami and the colleagues (2013) evaluated performance and job satisfaction relationship among the regional electricity staffs of a region in Gilan province. research results show a positive relationship between job satisfaction and the performance of the regional electricity workers of Gilan province.

Shadi and the colleagues (2013) analyzed mutual effect of job satisfaction, performance, and mental health of Fatib employees in Iran. Results show that there is a significant correlation between job satisfaction and performance.

Mardani and other colleagues (2013) investigated a research study on job satisfaction and HSA performance of employee's relationship in the molding industry. The results show a positive and significant relationship between HSA performance of employees and satisfaction (any of the indicators and total satisfaction) is in the percentage of 5%.

Gulparwar and the colleagues (2013) investigated job stress and job alienation and deviant behaviors relationship based on moderation role of cognitive documents on the causes of stress, the results show that stress moderated the relationship between job burden and job alienation or relationship between job burden and deviant behavior is positive when stress is low and relationship between job burden and deviant behavior is negative, when stress is high.

Danishfard and the colleagues (2014) investigated the impact of individual and organizational factors on the performance of accountants of government institutions in a Western province of Azerbaijan. and the findings show that individual and organizational factors have a positive effect on the performance of accountants, which means that a large part of the performance of accountants is affected by individual and organizational factors.

Atari and the colleagues (2014) studied factors affecting worker failure. findings show that failure is a state of physical, emotional, and mental tiredness that is caused by constant and frequent emotional pressure caused by intensive and long-term interaction with clients. The main symptoms of job failure are as follows: feeling helpless, hopeless, frustrated, developing a negative view of oneself and others: job failure is caused by intense, continuous, and controlled stress and when the demands of the work environment exceed the individual's personal abilities to adaptation or success occurs. When stress is not dealt with, failure occurs. The issue of employee power analysis or job failure is currently a common problem in service businesses, so that according to available statistics, one out of every seven working people suffers from failure at the end of the day. Because job failure in employees causes a decrease in work efficiency, increase in absenteeism, increase in health costs and displacement of personnel, behavioral and physical changes, and a decrease in the quality of services provided to clients, followed by dissatisfaction with the services, and most importantly Customers are affected, therefore recognition and prevention of job burnout will play a significant role in improving the mental health of people and improving the level of quality of services provided.

Qasimzada Alishah and others (2014) studied personal accountability and job stress and deviant behavior feeling in work atmosphere between nurses. Findings show the perception of personal accountability with personality traits and conscientiousness had a positive and significant relationship. There was no significant relationship between the perception of individual responsiveness of medical staff with the level of job stress and deviant work behavior. occupational stress and deviant work behavior are obtained. According to Sager and Wilson's theory, job stress increases deviant behavior. A person's job stress is defined in terms of how he perceives the work environment and the factors that put him under pressure. People in the examination and evaluation of the conditions of the work environment, when they are faced with threatening factors in the form of occupational stressors, experience various negative emotional reactions such as anxiety and depression.

Ikhwan Alaf and others (2015) wrote about organizational change management and transformation in the framework of the article. results show that change and transformation is unavoidable in the current era. to create constructive and effective transformations in organizations, design and managed organizations need to know that in order to achieve future authority, they should prioritize the goals of "becoming" to the goals of "staying». or reconstruction and renovation are one of the important dimensions of organizational health and sustainability in today transformation. Therefore, managing change and transformation in organizations is one of the most difficult tasks of professional and progressive managers. In this regard, while expressing the importance and necessity of man-

aging change and transformation in today's world, has expressed the facilitating factors of change and transformation in organizations and various strategies to overcome the existing resistances and obstacles against the creation of changes and transformations.

Jafari Iraqi and the colleagues (2015) investigated a cross sectional study of military hospital failure in nurses in 2014. findings show that 400 people were covered in the study. The average age of military nurses was 34/8+, -45/36, and 69% of them were men. Job failure was 22% and 38% in the dimension of emotional exhaustion and personal loss. 100% in the dimension of personal inadequacy. Also, among the dimensions of job failure, the demographic characteristics such as age, sex, work history, employment status, and marital status, a significant relationship was received ($p < 0.001$).

Taliqani and the colleagues (2015) investigated the individual factors affecting the intention to leave the job of the employees of the General Directorate of Education and Culture of Kurdistan Province based in Iran. The average and standard deviation indices for the research variables are respectively: variable Competitiveness with an average of 76/13 and a standard deviation of 38/2. Self-efficacy variable with an average of 7/28 and a standard deviation of 3/9. Individual effort with an average of 42/18 and a standard deviation of 11/2. Job performance variable with an average of 52/19 and a standard deviation of 98/2. Job satisfaction has an average of 26/31 and a standard deviation of 72/3. Finally, the variable of intention to leave the job has an average of 89/5 and a standard deviation of 71/1.

Ghafariyan Heyrani (2015) wrote about the effect of job pressure on the performance of employees of Workers Welfare Bank of Mashhad based on demographic variables. His finding show that job pressure factors influence the performance of employees, individual job pressure factors influence the performance of employees. Job stressing organization influences on employee performance, environmental factors that cause job stress have no effect on employee performance. Gender and work experience moderate the relationship between job stressing factors on employee performance. But the variables of age, marriage, and education do not play a role in this relationship.

Danishi and others (2015) investigated the effect of job characteristics on the motivation and performance of workers, considering the role of thinking on internal customers. research show that role conflict, job feedback, and ambiguity on the thinking of internal customers have the effect of meaning. Also, internal customer's mindset has a significant relationship with job performance and work motivation. The results show that role conflict, job feedback, job diversity, and ambiguity affect job performance and work motivation through the internal customer's mindset.

Esmaili and others (2016) did research named the effect of job satisfaction on performance with the mediating role of organizational loyalty. Results show that job satisfaction directly with a path coefficient of 53% and indirectly with the mediating role of organizational loyalty with a path coefficient of 62% has a positive effect on job performance. In addition, job satisfaction has a positive effect on job performance with a 74% path coefficient on organizational loyalty. organizational loyalty also has a positive effect on job performance with a 100% path coefficient.

Askari and others (2016) examined the effect of organizational influencing factors on the performance of organizations employees in charge of crisis (case study, fire department and safety services of Kirman Municipality) based in Iran. The results of structural equation modeling showed that job satisfaction is directly related to the path coefficient 53% and indirectly with the mediating role of organizational loyalty with a path coefficient of 62% has a positive effect on job performance. besides, job satisfaction with a path coefficient of 74% has a positive effect on organizational loyalty with a coefficient of 76% on job performance.

Karimi and others (2016) investigated job satisfaction effect on employees' performance and reached the conclusion that the research findings show that job satisfaction was the most important research field.

Mirzayi and others (2018) discussed the effect of psychological capital on job performance regarding mediating role of job satisfaction and organizational commitment in employees of a telecommunication company in Iran. Results showed that job satisfaction and organizational commitment and mediating variables in the relationship between psychological capital and job performance.

Raam (2013) investigated job satisfaction and performance relationship in the public sector in India. results show that none of the fourteen dimensions of job satisfaction were correlated with performance.

Kang and Tayen (2013) studied the practical factors affecting employee loyalty directly and indirectly by job satisfaction with a case study of governmental banking of Ochaimina City in Vietnam. Research shows that higher levels of job failure with higher levels organizational loyalty has a positive correlation. it was determined that more loyalty requires achieving more job satisfaction using path analysis.

Jadu, Baloch and Hassan (2014) wrote an article entitled Determinants of job satisfaction and its effect on employee performance and intentions to leave the job and reached the conclusion that the research results indicate that the factors of employee empowerment, work environment, loyalty and Job performance has a positive and significant correlation with job satisfaction.

Fadlala (2015) conducted research on job satisfaction effect for employee performance at faculty of science and humanities studies of Salman Ibn Abdulaziz University in Saudi Arabia. Research indicates a positive and significant relation among job satisfaction factors and employee performance.

Evan and others (2015) conducted a study on job satisfaction and job performance of employee at a chain retail organization in Malaysia. The results show a significant correlation between job satisfaction and job performance variables.

Bakotic (2016) researched on job satisfaction and performance relationship. The results say that job satisfaction plays a greater role in determining performance than the role of performance in determining job satisfaction.

Dorokhshunda and others (2016) wrote on job satisfaction and the performance relationship of employees of the Social Security Organization of Iran central province. Findings show that job satisfaction and employee performance have a good level of reliability. The level of job satisfaction is not significantly different with variables such as gender, background, age, and education.

Data Analysis:

Data analysis classification and its correct use of statistical techniques will finally lead to the achievement of reliable results. After data collection done by researcher, a research process new phase must begin which is known as data analysis. In such a step of analysis, notice that the researcher should analyze the data in the direction of the goal, answering the research question or questions, as well as evaluating the hypotheses.

The necessary data for this research was collected through a questionnaire whose validity and reliability were tested. These data were analyzed in the SPSS software environment by applying appropriate statistical tests according to the research assumptions. The analyzes have been done in two parts, descriptive and inferential.

Descriptive findings

Evaluation of responder's gender

84/2% of the respondents were men and 15/8% were women. As can be seen, most of the respondents are men. The results are shown in Table 1 and Figure 1.

Table 1: Abundance distribution of respondents based on gender.

Gender	Abundance	Abundance percentage
Male	32	84/2
Female	6	15/8
Total	38	100/0

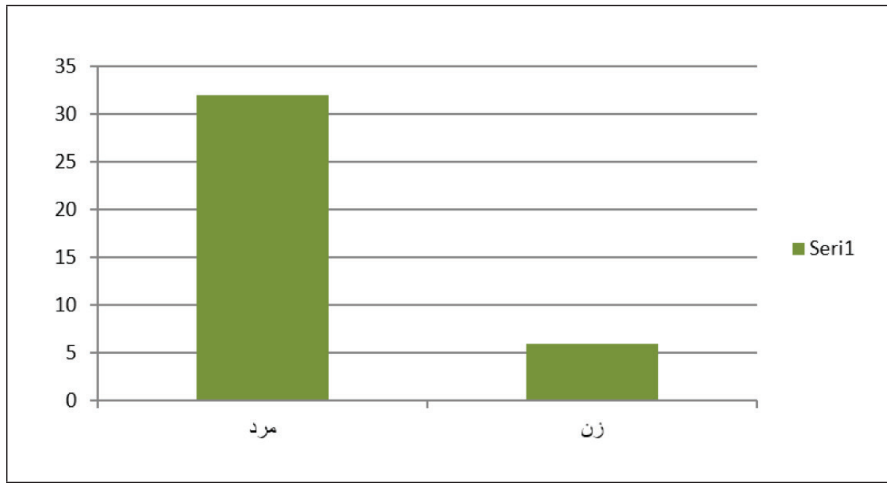


Figure 1: Bar Sample of responders' gender

Evaluation of respondents' age:

Most of the respondents are under ages of 30 years old. The result is shown in table 2 and figure 2.

Table 2: Abundant distribution of respondents' age

Respondents age	Abundant	Abundant percentage
Less than 30 years.	19	50
30 till 40 years	11	28/8
41 till 50 years	4	10/5
More than 50 years	4	13/1
Total result	38	100/0

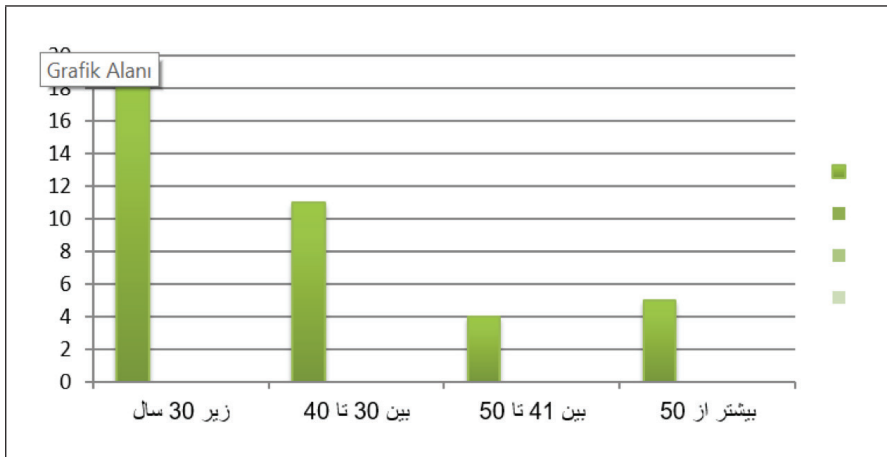


Figure 2: Bar Sample of Respondents' age

Evaluation of respondents' educational background:

The result of evaluation for respondents' educational background is in table 3, figure 3. As seen, most of the responders are bearing the bachelor's degree.

Table 3: Abundant distribution of responders' educational background

Respondents educational background	Abundant	Abundant percentage
Diploma	4	10/5
High Diploma	5	13/15
BA (Bachelor)	21	55/2
MA (Master Degree)	8	21
PHD	0	0
Total result	38	100/0



Figure 3: Bar Sample of Respondents' Educational Background

Evaluation of respondents' working background

The result of evaluation for respondents' working background is in table 4, figure 4. As seen, most of the respondents are with the working experience of less than 5 years.

Table 4: Abundant distribution of respondents' working background.

Respondents experience background	Abundant	Abundant percentage
Less than 5 years	14	36/8
6 till 10 years	57	18/4
11 till 15 years	2	5/3
16 till 20 years	3	7/9
21 years or more	12	31/6
Total result	38	100/0

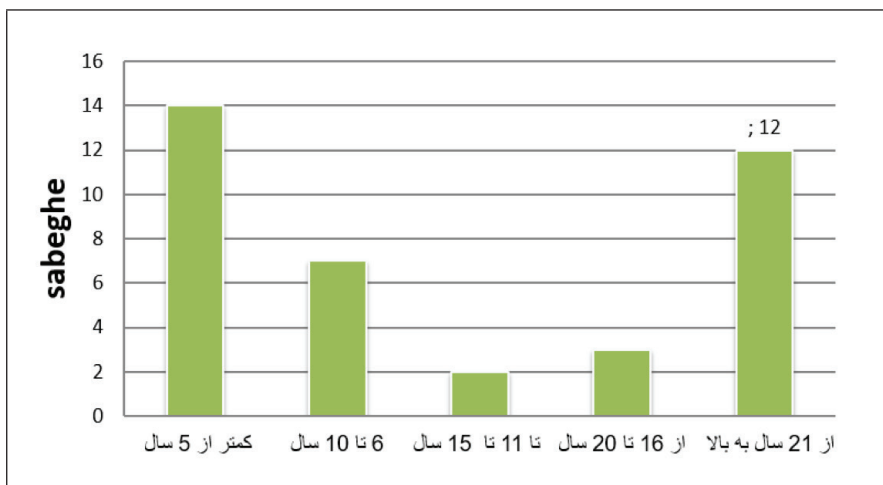


Figure 4: Bar Sample of Respondents working background.

Referential Findings

Data analysis obtained in the hypothesis test was used according to the type of variables and measurement scale.

Sub hypothesis tests of the research

First Statistical hypothesis: job satisfaction has a direct effect on employee performance.

Zero hypothesis H0: job satisfaction doesn't have effect on employee performance.

Second hypothesis H1: job satisfaction does not have any effect on employee performance.

Table 5: Evaluation of job satisfaction level with employee performance

Dependent variable	Independent variable	Standardized coefficient (β)	Significance level (sig)
Job satisfaction	Employee performance	0/189	0/030
		F= 26.392	R2= 0.341. R2=0.328

As seen in Table 5, beta coefficients values on job satisfaction and employee performance are significant, and it is concluded from the test that job satisfaction has a positive effect on employee performance.

Second statistical hypothesis: job satisfaction has a direct effect on organizational loyalty.

Zero hypothesis H0: job satisfaction does not have any effect on organizational loyalty.

Second hypothesis H1: job satisfaction has a direct positive effect on organizational loyalty.

Table 6: Evaluation of job satisfaction impact on organizational loyalty

Dependent variable	Independent variable	Standardized coefficient	Significance level (sig)
Job satisfaction	Organizational loyalty	48%	0/600
F= 33.141		R2= 0.432.	R2=0.236

As seen in Table 6, the values between job satisfaction and organizational loyalty of all respondents are significant and indicate that job satisfaction has a positive effect on organizational loyalty.

Third statistical hypothesis: organizational loyalty doesn't have any effect on employee performance.

4- Zero hypothesis H0: job satisfaction does not have any effect on organizational loyalty.

5- Second hypothesis H1: job satisfaction has a direct positive effect on organizational loyalty.

Table 7: Evaluation of job satisfaction impact on organizational loyalty

Dependent variable	Independent variable	Standardized coefficient	Significance level (sig)
Job satisfaction	Organizational loyalty	207	0/030
F= 11.763		R2= 0.187.	R2=0.171

As seen in Table 7, beta coefficients values between job satisfaction and loyalty to the whole organization are significant and the model is reliable at the level of 0.18. Its beta is 0.207 in total changes in job satisfaction.

Discussion and Debate

Human resources act as the most basic element in an organization and a main factor of increasing productivity, and the study related to job satisfaction and its causes and effective factors, and its consequences is a very important reality. Job satisfaction is a type of feeling and perception of a person towards a job, which is affected by the job and its related factors. Therefore, the type of feeling will affect his work and performance. In this section, with a brief description of similar studies and research, studies results will be compared with the results of the present research, as detailed in the research report.

Amozaidi Saied (2007) "evaluation of relation between job satisfaction and performance of Takado Managers and dependent companies" the main goal of this research is to evaluate the relation between job satisfaction and managers' performance. Statistical population includes: 87 of them are managers of Takado and dependent companies. Research methodology: is a navigation clear result of this topic that job satisfaction has a direct relation with ability, role understanding, organizational support, motivation, evaluation, decision validity and organizational environment. It can be easily claimed that there is a direct and indirect relationship between the job satisfaction and the performance of the managers of Tekado and the companies related to Tekado, which is the same as results of the research.

Akbari, Parveen (2004), "Investigation of the effect of job satisfaction on the performance of employees of the passenger service unit of domestic flights of the Islamic Republic of Iran at Mehrabad Airport" researched the purpose of the research to investigate the effect of job satisfaction on the performance of employees of the passenger service unit of domestic flights at Mehrabad Airport. And in that, the relationship between the two variables of job satisfaction and the performance of the employees of the said unit was examined. The research results were confirmed same as hypotheses of this research.

Barbash, Fisher and Hanna (1939) have conducted research. based on that, job satisfaction was one of the most effective factors on job success, which increases the efficiency and satisfaction of the individual. They found that job satisfaction is strongly related to psychological factors and personal characteristics are related and they consider it a kind of compatibility with job and employment conditions. It has been shown in this research that there is a relationship between job satisfaction and performance.

Arab Ahmeri Mohammad (2004), "Investigation of relationship between employee job satisfaction and employee performance in 3 social security branches" to investigate relationship between employee job satisfaction and employee performance. Statistical population: 115 people including 91 men and 24 women. Research methodology: field research. Measurement tool: To collect information from the questionnaire and check the hypotheses, the Chi-score (Pearson) test was used. The research findings indicate that there is a significant relationship between job satisfaction and employee performance, which is the same as results of this research.

Parwiz, Yadgar Tirandaz (2004) did research on "investigation of job satisfaction and its effect on employees' performance". The main goal of this research is to increase the efficiency and performance of the employee. Research method: was field qualitative and unity. Statistical population is personal diploma and higher duties on region acting of two trade banks in Tehran. Total result: it was done by focusing on a 100 people sample of statistical population using: statistical methods as unity co-efficiency or Spearman and Hypothesis test and using materials such as "Mina Sota job satisfaction questionnaire". The results of the employees' performance showed that there is a positive and negative correlation between the two issues of job satisfaction and employee performance, which was observed in this research.

The study of the research literature and the research presented in the background section of the research has shown that there is a relationship between some indicators of job satisfaction and the performance of employees.

Suggestions for upcoming research

1. to consider on research result that job satisfaction is effective in some cases on the performance of employees, it is therefore suggested that researchers interested in this issue focus on the factors affecting job satisfaction.
2. According to the literature of research, various factors are effective on the job satisfaction of the organization's employees, so it is suggested to consider factors such as health, welfare facilities, etc. and to conduct this research at another time and place.
3. investigating of research topic in similar organizations and comparing the results, to provide practical solutions to improve the existing structures.

Conclusion:

To make the outcomes obvious, it can be said that individuals should work in order to maintain their lives, lead healthy lifestyles, and feel a sense of fulfillment for the numerous needs that are met in this profession. To be completely honest, a large portion of human activity is tied to the work that people undertake, which

in turn meets their basic requirements. Meanwhile, take pleasure in your labor (Yusufi and Khawari, 2011). Human power is one of the most significant and valuable reserves in all society. Hence, civilizations will not succeed economically and socially if they lack the requisite power and management to employ all of their effective human resources, despite having abundant natural resources.

People today spend a lot of time in organizations, which means that organizations are essential to their professional lives. Because human capital is regarded as the most valuable kind of investment, morale and personality Understanding a person's personality and the views of the workforce in any organization is crucial. Employee job satisfaction is higher whenever managers engage in a supportive manner toward their subordinates. Employee satisfaction is significantly influenced by the size of the group and the caliber of the interpersonal relationships within it. Because interpersonal interactions, a sense of community, and accessibility to information all decrease as the size of the work group increases, so does job satisfaction.

Employees view their workplace as a community and a source of emotional and spiritual support. If group members share comparable social traits, they can foster a work environment that promotes job happiness. The better the working conditions, the more satisfied and productive the employee is at work since they have better access to physical and mental well-being. Work happiness is regarded as a crucial component for raising productivity and enhancing performance within the company.

Employers' job happiness is something that managers work to improve in various ways. Employees are more inclined to come to work when there is a secure and fulfilling work environment. The ineffective human barrier, on the other hand, is the most significant issue that stands in the way of performance progress. Organizations require efficient, hardworking, healthy, motivated, and creative people just as much as people need nutritious food. All employees are driven to perform their duties and are enthusiastic about their work in firms that are successful. Working individuals will feel content and have a positive self-image when engaged in work and activities if they feel secure and satisfied with their occupations, which will have a positive and significant impact on their social interactions at work.

This sensation of well-being will serve as a powerful motivator for improved work output, increased participation, and acceptance of job obligations, which will lead to stability and maintenance of career and job. If security and satisfaction in the job of employees, which is considered a sensitive job in the society, is examined and paid attention to, the necessity and importance of this issue will be much more. Because this security and satisfaction will cause more progress in the organization and improve performance, and vice versa, if the employees do not feel secure and satisfied with this job, it will have negative consequences.

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Gender and Equality: An Analysis on the Concept of Biological sex, Gender and Equality in the Context of African Women

Cinsiyet ve Eşitlik: Afrikalı Kadınlar Bağlamında Biyolojik Cinsiyet, Cinsiyet ve Eşitlik Kavramı Üzerine Bir Analiz

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Abstract: Many voices have been heard yearning to minimize the social gap between men and women to eliminate gender patriarchy in societies and to equalize all people at the same level. This indicates a difference in treatment between men and women or males and females which should be reduced or put to an end to ensure equal opportunities among people regardless of their biological sex or gender (Counts, 2018). However, although gender equality is fought for by everyone in our societies, biological sex and gender are two confusing concepts that make some people not to understand their social sides in societies which makes people to end up fighting for women's equality other than gender equality. Therefore, this article tries to make a comprehensive explanation of biological sex and gender as some of the factors on which gender equality is based. This is because gender is built on the biological sex of every person which is a justification that our social sphere plans are on top of the biological world for the present gender planning (Cameron, 2009). The fact is that everyone in our societies belongs to a certain gender with desires for his or her gender which puts gender at the center of our social lives. Although biological sex

determines gender, gender is not repressed naturally from sex (Rubin et al, 1974) that is why people in societies behave differently in doing their activities which makes one gender more superior to another hence inequality. So, in this article gender inequality against women living in Africa has also been explained.

Keywords: Biological sex, Gender, Women, Africa, Gender equality

Öz: Erkeklerle kadınlar arasındaki sosyal farkın azaltılması, toplumdaki cinsiyet patriyarkasının ortadan kaldırılması ve tüm insanların aynı düzeyde eşitlenmesi isteği birçok kesimden duyulmuştur. Bu durum, biyolojik cinsiyet veya cinsiyet gözetmeksizin insanlar arasında eşit fırsatların sağlanması için erkeklerle kadınlar arasındaki farklı muameleyi azaltmayı veya sona erdirmeyi işaret etmektedir (Counts, 2018). Ancak toplumlarımızda cinsiyet eşitliği herkes tarafından savunulmasına rağmen, biyolojik cinsiyet ve cinsiyet kavramları bazı insanların toplumdaki sosyal yanlarını anlamasını engelleyen kafa karıştırıcı iki kavramdır. Bu da insanları cinsiyet eşitliği yerine kadınların eşitliği için mücadele etmeye yöneltmektedir. Bu nedenle, bu makale cinsiyet eşitliğinin temelinde yatan faktörlerden olan biyolojik cinsiyet ve cinsiyet konusunda kapsamlı bir açıklama yapmaya çalışmaktadır. Çünkü cinsiyet, her bireyin biyolojik cinsiyeti üzerine inşa edilmiştir ve bu, mevcut cinsiyet planlamamızın biyolojik dünyanın üstünde olduğunu doğrular (Cameron, 2009). Gerçek şu ki, toplumdaki herkes belirli bir cinsiyete aittir ve cinsiyetleriyle ilgili istekleri vardır, bu da cinsiyeti toplumsal yaşamımızın merkezine yerleştirir. Biyolojik cinsiyet cinsiyeti belirlese de, cinsiyet doğal olarak cinsiyetten türetilmez (Rubin vd, 1974), bu nedenle toplumdaki insanlar faaliyetlerini yaparken farklı davranışlar sergilerler ve bu da bir cinsiyeti diğerinden daha üstün kılarak eşitsizliğe yol açar. Bu makalede Afrika'da yaşayan kadınlara karşı cinsiyet eşitsizliği de açıklanmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Biyolojik cinsiyet, Cinsiyet, Kadın, Afrika, Cinsiyet eşitliği.

Introduction

After Gender equality has been discussed by different scholars in various academic disciplines like sociology, political science and in communication among others. Apart from discovering new theories and contributing to the available literature, the focus has been much on finding solutions to reduce the gender gap between males and females to have equal rights and opportunities, equal favorable policies, equal distribution of resources and same working conditions among others. Gender is known as a social economic variable for analyzing responsibilities, roles, restrictions and needs of women and men in a given context (Uzochukwu, 2008). This means gender is based to the social and cultural concepts, and each society assigns to behaviors, characteristics and values attributed to men and women. So, gender concepts are shaped by economic, historical, ethnic, ideological, cultural and religious determinants. However, these concepts on which gender is built all are founded on biological sex (Butler, 2003) which means gender and biological sex cannot easily be separated although few can differentiate the two. Therefore, in this article has articulated both concepts to make them understandable to the readers. Additionally, since Africa is one of

the continents where women are taken to be inferior to men possibly because of various cultures, this article has also analyzed gender equality in African women to see how men and women in Africa should live together equally without any kind of discrimination since gender equality is a fundamental human right for all human beings according to many international and national human right conventions and constitutions.

Understanding Biological Sex and Gender

We have been asked about our genders in various situations while feeling forms of different nature but we are rarely asked to tell our sex. This is almost certainly because we are born with sex which is asked and known once during child birth (Rubin at el, 1974), but we are not born with gender. Gender is known as a social economic variable for analyzing responsibilities, roles, restrictions and needs of women and men in a given context (Uzochukwu, 2008). Gender is not something we are born with, but is what we do (West and Zimmerman, 1987). So, we can look at sex as the biological difference between male and female, but we see gender as a socially constructed behavior based on people's surrounding environments like social cultures and how they perform their activities (Butler, 2003; Orhan, 2021).

This means biological sex is determined naturally and it is known during birth (Rubin at el, 1974) and maybe sometimes before birth thanks to technology, while gender is built and determined by sex and societal activities. That is why we see small children start emulating people in their societies basing on their biological sex. This is where we start seeing boys following the footsteps of their fathers or men and girls following what their fellow girls, women and their mothers execute. Orhan (2021) tells us that a child become a feminine or a masculine gender as a result of biological characteristics on which social performances are constructed. Therefore, gender is established on biological sex and people become aware of their gender behaviors at earliest age where they start performing gender roles through socialization places and channels such as schools, families, society peer groups, communication via mass media and other cultural functions (Eckert & McConnell- Ginet, 2013).

It is because of socialization that boys and girls grow up into male and female gender with elements of men and women behaviors. This is where sex and gender come together (Orhan, 2021). However, sex and gender don't exist at the same time, and people who powerfully identify with the contrasting gender are known as transgendered (Hines & Sanger, 2010). So, how people understand themselves and how they understand others as male and female is subjected to social behaviors, and classifying them as men and women is a social decision (Connell, 1998). Therefore, historically and culturally based explanations of male and female gender in one society may differ to other societies but there is no gender free group of people around the globe (Stephainie, 2015; Rose, 2010)

The fact is that everyone in our societies let's say scientists, religious leaders, journalists, teachers and cultural leaders among others belong to a certain gender and they have desires for gender news means that gender is at the center of our social lives. This is a justification that our social sphere plans are on top of the biological world for the present gender planning (Cameron, 2009). However, even though gender is related to our biological identities, people's body features like hormones, voices and sex do not determine work, color choices, power positions or care towards children (Connell, 1998). Therefore, there are some things which may be known to be done well by men and there are some things that women can do better. In addition, although biological sex determines gender, gender is not reprieved naturally from sex, otherwise people would sit and watch on when babies are growing up to any gender of their sex (Rubin et al, 1974).

On the other hand, sex only can possibly set the gender of a baby on which individuals depend to nurture him or her according to gender based social cultural, political and economic features of the society. In this gendering process in many societies a baby learns either to be male or female basing on the dressing code, names given, gender specialization of work and responsibilities and emulating doings of fathers or mothers. Eckert, & McConnell- Ginet (2013) stated that gendering is a long-life process through which we see people result into not only big men and women but also part of culturally and socially constructed societies that attribute people to cultural and social ideologies. It is probably from this point of view that gender is something that one can learn and practice as a man or a woman from the surrounding environment because, gender is something that grows into people over time to define them as femininity and masculinity or males and females (Orhan, 2021).

Gender makes people to belong to the societal relationships and to fit in all aspects of the society like political, social, cultural, economic, religious and educational aspects (Orhan, 2021). Through these aspects, gender is set in institutions of learning, government offices, schools, churches, hospitals, markets, entertainment, sports, media and communication, restaurants, society leadership offices, and on streets. This implies that various institutions or areas of residence develop environments that accommodate people basing on their gender behaviors.

How Gender and Equality Are Thought About in Societies?

Regardless of their gender and biological sex, people are expected to contribute to the development and growth of their societies equally. Meanwhile, in some societies gender is categorized into different social groups with beliefs that one gender or the other is having different capability, strength and power to do some tasks better than the other (Rose, 2010). Therefore, the nature of gender may only determine behaviors but not strength and power, human rights, jobs, salaries and others that may cause inequalities among people. This implies that

all people should act equally in changing their communities for better regardless of their social factors. However, each gender having its place in a certain social group in the society creates a conflict of interest among the people between males and females because some individuals do believe that one can be more powerful than the other (Goldner, 1988).

Relating to the above, in their book *Language and Gender*, Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (2013) quoted Simone de Beauvoir saying that “people are not born as women and men but are made to be, and the process of making a person to female or male starts from the birth and it is never ending”. Additionally, individuals do not know to judge others or to associate with them in the communities without attributing elements of gender to them (Nass et al. 1997). This means gender is a determining factor in the actions and behaviors in our societies where nothing can be done unless it is linked to gender which may lead to gender inequality. In Turkey, for example, students get transport subsidies by subscribing to a monthly subscription called ‘abonman’, but after pressing their transport cards on an ‘electronic pass-away machine’, the voice that notifies you to pass is based on gender. A big voice for males when male students press their cards on the machine, and a small voice for female students.

So, from childhood, the capability of people is interpreted differently according to their biological sex (Rubin et al., 1974). With observational evidence, the perceptions of some employers in many institutions are affected by the opinions they have about employees’ biological sex or gender before giving them jobs and many employers put it in adverts as they are looking for employees of a certain gender that is to say male or female. This indicates that employee’s gender is taken to be more important than his behaviors, strength and power to do work which makes one gender to benefit more than another. When she was talking in the TED conference in 2015, Ananya Roy said that differences in gender treatment of people leads to systems where men hold power and women largely get discriminated in societies hence patriarchy systems. She added that this must be solved through creating institutions that enable equal rights and equity to all human beings regardless of their sex or gender.

Individuals’ behaviors may be more powerful than others may think but because our societies are built on gender, even people who would focus on gender equality by considering strength and capability of others also change their minds to believe that some tasks cannot be done by certain genders due to limited elements in their nature (Orhan, 2021). Although it may be a collective responsibility for the society to build people’s gender, people in societies seem not to be equally involved in promoting gender equality. According to Rubin et al (1974), men and boys believe more in promoting gender differences than women and girls, and fathers are more of instilling gender behaviors in children than mothers. This is probably because men consider themselves to be superior,

but for a person to be a man it does not make him more powerful and good in everything (Rose, 2010).

In majority of African countries for example, men with powers whether political, social or economic powers are more than women with powers. This is probably based on gender and strength and it leads to inequality among people. Surprisingly, men with power are more likely to be rough with their fellow men in doing work and very gently with women doing the same responsibilities. Men in turn, are more rigged with power than women and they show much power to their fellow men than women (Rose, 2010). However, men considering themselves superior is an historical behavior and today their belief of being superior is just a path dependency where the past actions constrain the present actions (Rerstedt, 2016).

This indicates that within societies, individuals are treated differently due to their being females or males and it became a normal behavior in many countries regardless of various local and international conventions, treaties and constitutions being put in place to promote and ensure equality among criticizes.

Gender Equality and Women in Africa

Our societies are surrounded by sex and gender arguments in all aspects of life. We hear arguments about these concepts in families, institutions, emotions, actions and cultures among others since our childhood and some people grow up knowing that gender based actions and beliefs are natural. In the world, understanding gender is considered as the way we understand ourselves. Also, everyday ideas on gender are considered normal because, it is the perspective in which we knew the world since its creation (Connell, 1998) which is a psychological effect that disturbs people's minds in the society around the world (Stephaine, 2015). Therefore, our 'old' beliefs on gender bring hardship to discover new right things about gender, and the same beliefs make us to refute new good discoveries and probably accept wrong ones about gender because we have the perception of righteousness on everything surrounded gender and sex beliefs.

According to (Rose, 2010) the challenge to change the already confirmed right has resulted into the continuation of wrong actions, inhuman behaviors, social inequalities and discriminations in our societies as a result of believing in historical gender theories. While talking about gender, power, identity and history, Rerstedt, (2016) said that historically, the belief on gender started many years ago where men were considered to be more superior to women because men were doing all the work in the universe including protecting women whom they believed that had fragile and weaker bodies. As a result, some academic scholars, international bodies and national constitutions in different countries try as much to change the prevailing beliefs to promote learned thinking about gender and its related discriminations or privileges because according to United Nations Uni-

versal Declaration of Human Rights charter of 1948, human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights (Eckert & McConnell- Ginet, 2013).

However, despite the existing international conventions and treaties on equality, few societies and countries in Africa take gender equality serious and this is related to traditional cultures and other societal norms. In many of African cultures, women have been discriminated and regarded as minors in societal activities and practices (Anyanwu and Ibagere, 2012). According to Counts (2018), the fight for women's rights has been in the written words for over 500 years but the progress towards equality has been very slow. This means that a lot have been researched and solutions have been provided but implementations have not yielded fruitful results yet. As it was predicted in one of World Economic Forums that it will take over 200 years to ensure equality between men and women in workplaces in form of participation, seniority and wages (Counts, 2018), some women in Africa are still waiting to see changes in working conditions after 200 years to witness societies where equal rights are shared.

According to the Global institute for women's leadership (2019), ensuring equality in African societies has been hindered by social and cultural customs that have prolonged discriminations against girls and women in many countries, societies and families. In Uganda for example, there are some communities in Ganda tribe where cultural customs still restrict women from some privileges such as restrictions from eating chicken, riding bicycles, climbing trees etc. Such norms restrict the effort to bring back rights of women not only in Ganda tribe in Uganda but also in Africa as well. However, the fight for promoting gender equality in the world seems to have gained much energy due to the rise of some groups of people including men and women who are against inequality and its negative consequences towards humanity such as sexual harassments, violence against women, restricting education to a girl child and many others (Global institute for Women's leadership, 2019).

Therefore, many voices have been heard about closing the social gap between males and females to eliminate gender patriarchy in societies and to equalize men and women at the same level. In trying to close gender gaps, in some communities women have traditionally moved into male roles but it has been at low pace for men in some traditions to move into female areas (Counts, 2018). This perhaps has been as a result of fixed mindsets men have about gender roles, and the fear for men about losing their superiority as men. However, people who are confident with mindset that behaviors such as intellect are inborn and constant seems to give up easily when problems comes beyond their ability than those with growth mindsets (Counts, 2018). This may imply that although women try to do what were termed as men's activities, men are not ready yet to do 'women's activities' and men perhaps want to maintain their supremacy of being higher than women.

In addition, despite of doing same jobs with men, women including those in African countries are still earning little wages regardless of their professional capabilities which has persisted inequalities in pay gaps (Counts, 2018). Although gender equality is needed to protect human rights for all people (Anyanwu and Ibagere, 2012), basing on observation, women in Africa still face the outcome of gendered behaviors in communities they live yet they should enjoy their rights and social norms favoring them in societies. Positively, according to quantum leap for gender equality report of 2019, "in 2018, African women were likely to get employed at jobs taken to be low-skilled and to face very poor working conditions than men, women also do vulnerable works like domestic or home based work".

However, despite their hard work to be equal to men, the report added that in women Africa's sub-Sahara countries are more exposed to informal work than men with over 90 per cent and also some factors like ethnicity, Human Immune Virus (HIV) status and disability worsens women's working conditions in Africa. So, women may be ready to participate in activities which were anciently known to be for men, but they are restricted by factors such as body weaknesses, cultural norms and 'unavoidable' diseases among others. Therefore, like at other continents in the world, gender inequality and discrimination in Africa is also mainly caused by social cultural and social economic factors as a result of male-controlled systems (Mutume, 2011) like inequality in legal system, ethnic discrimination, inequality in politics, education, places of representations like banks and media, employment and public service (Olatunji, 2013). Consequently, African women might not be able to influence policies in their countries' ruling governments, have no chance for decision making, and they are likely to work in the formal sectors with low wages accompanied by violence at work.

On the other hand, some scholars believe that the problem of gender inequality in Africa is resulting from foreign cultures, others argue that the problem started from within Africa while others believe that inequality is caused by multiple factors in Africa. As it was articulated in Olatunji, (2013), Sarah Nuttall argued that it is not fair to blame Africa's problems to foreign factors but instead she says that all the problems originate in Ethnic cultures themselves, for example, in some parts of Africa they still believe in widowhood practices in which widows are restricted from some common hygiene practices like hair treatment, changing cloths, bathing, and women should spend nine moth without social interactions following the death of their husbands yet widowers can freely remarry after the death of their wives.

Gender inequality is also more serious in Africa during adolescence at the period when girls are forced into marriage by their families for economic gains before reaching 18 years (Susheela, and Samara, 1996). These leads to early pregnancies, high spread of HIV, gender based violence as well as much school

dropouts which increases high illiterate rate of women at the continent when these girls grow up. This can be summarized up as gender inequality due to poor economic status at the continent. In the same line, girls with such health or social problems in some African countries are taken to be failures in life. Therefore, the suppression and violation of women's rights in Africa needs a serious cure than just saying that cultures ought to be respected at the continent with intentions to maintain the status quo (Olatunji, 2013).

In some countries where kingships exist, African history is full of stories of women abuse and violation of their rights both by peasants and kings who persistently attribute it to the traditions to defend their cruelty towards women (Olatunji, 2013). By observation, in some African cultures, inequalities between men and women come as a result of men's perspective to 'respect women' because, it is customary to see men engaging themselves in physical activities like hunting, cattle rearing, and search for water claiming that allowing women to participate in physical activities with men would be seen as exploitation of women. Many women love to live in such a comfortable life where men do everything for them, they even believe that it is one of the ways through which they exercise their rights as women. And some think that men who treats them like queens are 'the real men'. It means we are still confusing gender equality with human rights at Africa continent, however, when we fail to understand and learn to differentiate the two, we may lose one of them or both.

In some parts of Africa, women are not expected to have tasks out of their homes with claims that it is not part of the culture for women to compete with men (Olatunji, 2013). In contradiction, according to the Global institute for women's leadership's report of 2019 on essays on quality, not allowing women to compete with men is mistaking confidence for competence which leads to few women in political and administrative positions which makes women poor leaders and incompetent in doing some social work in Africa. This weakens hard-working and charismatic women as a result of closing them outside due to gender and sex discriminations. Therefore, we need to consider and value various features other than gender while choosing leaders to improve the quality of leadership and increasing number of women in leadership positions.

Today, we have seen continuous global effort to end discrimination and inequalities basing on economic status, ethnic origins, political ideologies as well as differences based on gender and sex. Various models of solutions have been put in place for economic, social and psychological empowerment of women and "others suggest that there would be the need to first demilitarize maleness either through affirmative action or through the conquering of the culture that stimulates masculinity", (Olatunji, 2013). According to UNICEF (n.d), knowing gender inequities and responding with gender-equitable programs is important to be considered for development in Africa. "Prevention of child marriage and

providing care to adolescent mothers are among the most important interventions that UNICEF undertakes to reduce gender inequality in Africa and to support girls and boys to enjoy their rights fully. Adolescent girls and boys should also be considered in policies and program development” (UNICEF, n.d).

In the same direction, a report on essays for equality (2019), also adds that, “gender equality is not a zero-sum game, but a shared responsibility for creating societies that work for everyone”. Therefore, policies and special measures need to be adopted to tackle gender inequalities in practice and strengthen women’s voice and participation in different activities together with men freely (Leo Haller).

Conclusion

Our own thinking about biological sex, gender and gender equality has developed and changed over many years of thinking about these issues, and it will undoubtedly continue to change as we continue to explore gender issues in our research and in our lives. As we understand that perspective, the basic capabilities, rights, and responsibilities of women and men are far less different than we commonly thought. In this article, I offered evidence that these differences in what happens to women and men are from people’s mutually developed beliefs about sexual difference, their interpretations of its significance, and their reliance on those beliefs and interpretations to justify constant unequal treatment of women or men. Therefore, creating gendered power equality or inequality in our societies will always depend on our social beliefs about gender. However, much has been written in this article on inequality against women in Africa, and on gender inequalities against women in Africa, governments must solve such problems through creating institutions that enable equal rights to all human and creating an environment that favors all people regardless of their sex or gender.

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Gine ve Afrika: Bağımsızlıktan Bu Yana Ekonomik Deneyimlere İlişkin Karşılaştırmalı Analiz

Guinea and Africa: Comparative Analysis of Economic Experiences Since Independence

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Öz: Bu makale, Afrikalı liderlerin siyasi ve ekonomik yönelimlerinin kıtanın kalkınması üzerindeki sonuçlarını ve dolayısıyla küreselleşmedeki yerini anlamak için Afrika ülkelerinin karşılaştırmalı ekonomik deneyimlerinin izini sürmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Gerçekten de, bağımsızlığın arifesinde, Afrika ülkeleri kendilerine daha iyi bir gelecek vaat eden elverişli bir ekonomik durumdan faydalandılar. Bununla birlikte, özellikle ekonomi politikasında, art arda gelen kötü kararlarla karakterize edilen bir dizi gerçeğin ardından, sonuçlar kıtanın her yerinde olumsuz oldu. Bu nedenle, Afrika ekonomik deneyimleri (genel olarak) ve Gine'nin (özellikle) bağımsızlıktan günümüze kadar olan ekonomik deneyimleri arasında karşılaştırmalı bir çalışmadır. Makale, Gine'nin özel durumunu sunmadan önce tüm Sahra-altı ülkelerinin ortak ekonomik deneyimlerini

sunuyor. Makale, bu karşılaştırmaya dayanarak, Gine'nin ekonomik gidişatı açısından Afrika'da nasıl bir yere sahip olduğunu belirlemeye çalışmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, makale, Gine'li liderlerin ekonomik tercihlerinin ülkenin mevcut konumunu nasıl etkilediğini ve aynı zamanda Afrika'da ve uluslararası sahnede elde ettiği sonuçları yansıtmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Afrika ülkeleri, ekonomik durum, karşılaştırmalı analiz, bağımsızlık, uluslararası sahne.

Abstract: This article aims to trace the comparative economic experiences of African countries in order to understand the consequences of the political and economic orientations of African leaders on the development of the continent and therefore its place in globalization. Indeed, on the eve of independence, African countries benefited from a favorable economic situation that promised them a better future. However, after a series of facts characterized by a succession of bad decisions, particularly in economic policy, the results have been negative across the continent. Therefore, it is a comparative study between African economic experiences (in general) and Guinea (especially) from independence to the present. The article presents the common economic experiences of all sub-Saharan countries before presenting the special case of Guinea. Based on this comparison, the article attempts to determine what place Guinea occupies in Africa in terms of its economic trajectory. In conclusion, the article reflects the implications of these economic choices of Guinean leaders for the country's current situation, as well as the fulfillment in global Africa and on the international stage.

Keywords: African countries, economic situation, comparative analysis, independence, international scene.

Giriş

Bağımsızlığın sonunda Afrika, oldukça farklı sosyo-kültürel gerçekliklere sahip, Avrupa sömürgeciliğinin etkisiyle parçalanmış bir kıtadadır. Bu durum, o dönemde kolonizasyondan kalma sınırların korunması kararı alınmasaydı ciddi sorunlar doğurabilirdi. Bu, her şeyin (ulusal kimlikten en temel devlet yapılarına kadar) inşa edilmesi gereken yaklaşık 50 ulus-devletten oluşan bir kıtayı doğurur. Ekonomik olarak çoğu Afrika ülkesi, neredeyse aynı başarısızlıklarla (aynı sonuçları üreten aynı nedenler) bazı doğal ve tarihsel özelliklere rağmen, benzer ekonomik deneyimler yaşadı.

Afrika ekonomik deneyimleri (genel olarak) ve Gine'ninkiler (özel olarak) arasındaki bu karşılaştırmalı çalışmada, Gine'nin özel durumuna odaklanmadan önce tüm Afrika (Subsaharian-Sahra altı) ülkelerde ortak olan ekonomik deneyimleri sunacağız. Daha sonra bu iki durumdan yola çıkarak Gine'nin ekonomik gidişatı ışığında Afrika'nın ekonomik tarihindeki yerini belirlemeye çalışacağız.

Amaç, çeşitli Gine hükümetleri tarafından yapılan ekonomik politikleri ülkenin mevcut ekonomik durumu ve diğer Afrika ülkeleriyle karşılaştırıldığında düzeyi üzerindeki sonuçlarının ne olduğunu anlamaktır.

Gine ve Afrika: Bağımsızlıktan Bu Yana Ortak Ekonomik Tarih

Bağımsızlığın ardından, Afrika ülkeleri genellikle oldukça çok ortak ekonomik deneyimlere sahip oldu. Yine aynı nedenlerle, liderlerin yaptığı ekonomik seçimler (neredeyse tümü) başarısızlıkla sonuçlanmıştır (Hugon, 2013). Afrika ülkelerinin sosyo-ekonomik deneyimlerinin kısa bir tarihsel incelenmesinden sonra, bu ekonomik seçimlerin başarısız olmasının nedenlerini analiz edeceğiz.

Bağımsızlıktan Bu Yana Afrika'nın Ekonomik Deneyimlerine Dair Kısa Tarihsel Hatırlatma

Jacques Brasseur, "*Histoire économique de l'Afrique tropicale. Des origines à nos jours--Kökenlerden Günümüze Tropikal Afrika'nın Ekonomik Tarihi*" adlı kitabında Afrika'nın ekonomik tarihini yeniden ele alıyor. Yazar, bağımsızlık sonrası Afrika'yı ekonomik sistemleri ve ekonomik deneyimleri açısından üç döneme ayırıyor. Bunlar:

- bağımsızlık coşkusu ve volontarist politikalar (1960-1970),
- 1970'lerin krizlerinden 1980'lerin yapısal uyum programlarına
- 1990'ların çoklu siyasi krizlerinden 1990'dan günümüze kurumsal yenilenmeye kadar kaynaklanan ekonomik zorluklar (Brasseur, ibid.).

Bağımsızlık coşkusu ve proaktif politikalar (1960-1970):

1950'lerde, özellikle hammadde ürünlerinin fiyatlarının yüksek olması ve gelişmiş ülkelerden gelen güçlü talep sayesinde, Afrika'nın ekonomik büyümesi nispeten güçlü görünüyordu. Yaşam standardı düşük olsa da, kişi başına düşen gelir açısından hala dünyanın en düşük seviyesi değildi. Dolayısıyla, karşılaştırma yapmak gerekirse, 1960'ta Gana'nın kişi başına düşen geliri 100 dolardı, Mısır için 80 ve Hindistan için sadece 35 dolardı. Bu nedenle, bağımsızlığın arifesinde Afrika'da ekonomik koşulların genel olarak oldukça elverişli olduğunu kabul edebiliriz (Brasseur, 2016; Hugon, 2013).

Bununla birlikte, bu coşku ve büyülenme bağlamında, neredeyse tüm Afrika ülkeleri iki yoldan sanayileşmeyi (*kalkınmaya giden kraliyet yolu-- voie royale pour le développement--*olarak kabul edilir) seçer: sosyalist ulusal kalkınma yolu ve kapitalist ulusal kalkınma yolu Afrika ülkelerinin sanayileşme modelini oluşturur. Özellikle hammadde fiyatlarının yüksek olması, sanayileşmiş ülkelerden gelen yüksek talep ve müreffeh bir uluslararası ortam sayesinde sonuçlar başlangıçta iyi görünüyordu. Ancak bu modelde Afrika ülkelerinin çoğu sanayileşme stratejilerinde tarım sektörüne öncelik vermemiştir. Nitekim "*tarım sektöründen vazgeçerek sanayi sektörünü hızla geliştirebiliriz*" düşüncesi çok yaygındı. Ancak stratejilerinin olumsuz sonucu kısa sürede kendini gösterdi: Afrika ülkelerinin her yerinde tarım olumsuz sonuçlar vermeye başladı. Tarım sektörünün Afrika nüfusunun %60 ila 90'ını teşkil ettiği gerçeğini dikkate alırsak, ülke ekonomisinin tamamının neden bu stratejik hatadan etkilendiğini anlamak kolaydır.

1970'li yıllardaki krizlerin getirdiği ekonomik zorluklardan 1980'lerdeki yapısal uyum programlarına

Önemli iktisatçılar sanayileşme için tarımın gerekli olduğunu kabul ederken (Kuznets, 1966.), Afrika ülkeleri özellikle istikrar fonları—*Caisses de stabilisation des prix*--mekanizmasıyla fiyatları düşük tutarak bu sektörün büyümesini durdurmuştur. Mali ve Gine'de durum böyleydi. Sadece Fildişi Sahili belirli bir fiyat serbestliğini korumuş ve dolayısıyla (daha sonra durum karmaşıklaşacak olsa bile) bu ülkenin oldukça cesaret verici sonuçlar elde etmesi olası hale gelmiştir.

Bu bağlamda Sahel'de yaşanan kuraklık ve nüfus artışının toprak edinmeyi zorlaştırmasıyla birlikte tarım sektörü yılda %1 oranında küçülmektedir. Tarım sektöründeki nitelik eksikliği (geniş ölçüde arkaik araçların kullanılmasıyla uygulanan) bu kötü sonucu kısmen açıklamaktadır. Bu durum da Afrika ülkelerini gıda ürünleri ithalatını tercih etmeye zorlayacaktır (Brasseul, ibid.).

Ekonomik sıkıntıları açıklayan bir diğer faktör de 1970'li yıllarda yaşanan uluslararası krizdir. Petrol ürünleri fiyatlarındaki artış, hammadde ürünlerinin fiyatlarındaki katlanarak yaşanan düşüş ve faiz oranlarındaki fahiş yükseliş ile karakterize edilen bu kriz, üçüncü dünya ülkelerinin borçlarını ödeyemeyecek duruma gelene kadar muazzam bir borçlanmaya gitmesine yol açmıştır. Bu ekonomik politikaların başarısızlığı ve yürürlükteki siyasi rejimlerin diktatör doğası nedeniyle, Afrika kıtası çok büyük krizlerle karşı karşıya kalacak: kıtlık, çeşitli hastalıklar, tekerrürlenen darbeler vb.yaşanacaktır.

Bretton Woods kurumlarının (IMF ve DB) ekonomik seçimlerin başarısız olduğu sonucuna varan Afrika'daki ekonomik duruma ilişkin raporları (*Berg Raporu*) açıkça "*Afrika'da yön değişikliği: devletçi ve dirigist yönelimlerden piyasa dostu politikalara doğru*" bir ihtiyaç çağrısında bulunuyor". Bunlar yapısal uyum politikalarıdır (Brasseul, 2016: 409). Dolayısıyla bu yapısal uyum politikaları, herhangi bir kredi anlaşmasının muadili olarak Afrika ülkelerine acımasız koşullar dayatmaktadır. Özünde, "*verimsiz kamu işletmelerinin özelleştirilmesi, fiyatların serbestleştirilmesi ve para birimlerinin değerinin düşürülmesi, bütçelerin ve dış hesapların yeniden dengelenmesi, sübvansiyonların ve vergilerin azaltılması, memur sayısının azaltılması*" sorunudur (Brasseul, 2016: 409). Bu programlar 36 Afrika ülkesi tarafından benimsenecek, ancak pratik ve ideolojik nedenlerle bu programlar beklenen sonuçları vermeyecektir (Hugon, ibid.).

Bu da zaten ekonomik krizlerle karşı karşıya olan bir kıtada siyasi ve kurumsal krizlere neden olacaktır.

1990'lardan günümüze: çoklu siyasi krizlerden kurumsal yenilenmeye

1980'den 1990'a kadar olan on yıl, Afrika kıtasında genelleşmiş bir kriz ortamını simgelemektedir. Birincisi, özellikle ekonomik politikaların başarısızlığına bağlı ve yapısal uyum programlarıyla ağırlaşan bir ekonomik kriz ortamı. İkincisi

de aynı zamanda, mevcut siyasi rejimlerin otoriter doğası göz önüne alındığında, bir siyasi kriz ortamıdır. Birbirinden farklı bu krizler, siyasi istikrarsızlıklarda kendini gösterecektir: iç savaşlar, isyanlar, ayrılık savaşları veya tekrarlanan darbelerin yaşanmasına sebebiyet verecektir. Ancak bazı olayların yaşanması, kıtanın siyasi ve kurumsal sistemlerinde topyekûn bir kırılma oluşmasına katkı sağlayacaktır. Bu, SSCB'nin (Sosyalist ve Sovyet Cumhuriyetler Birliği'nin) yerinden edilmesi ve ortakların, ortaklıklarının herhangi bir şekilde devam etmesi için bir koşul olarak demokrasinin gerekliliği ile ilgilidir.

Aslında, bağımsızlığın arifesinde ve Soğuk Savaş dönemi boyunca çoğu Afrikalı lider, siyasi sistemi kendilerine uygun görünen SSCB ile sağlam ortaklıklar kurmuştu. SSCB'nin dağılması ve sosyalizmden ilham alan ekonomik sistemlerin başarısız olmasıyla birlikte, Afrika siyasi rejimleri de ekonomik sistemlerini değiştirmek zorunda kalmıştır. Ayrıca Afrika ülkelerinin ortakları (özellikle kapitalist ülkeler), ortaklıklarının devamı ve Afrika ülkelerinin çok ihtiyaç duyduğu kredilerin verilebilmesi için demokrasi ve iyi yönetim şartını ön şart koşturmaktadır.

Ekonomik düzeyde, son zamanlarda uygulanan büyük reformlar sonuç vermeye başlamıştır. Özellikle (daha sonra Afrika kıtasının ayrıcalıklı bir ortağı haline gelecek olan) Çin'in hammadde ürünlerine olan yoğun talebi ve kıtanın en önemli büyüme dönemine başlamasına olanak sağlayan Afrika'daki Çin yatırımları ekonomik düzeyde olumlu akışı sağlamıştır. 2008 krizi sırasında bile, Afrika iyi düzeyde bir ekonomik büyüme sağlamayı başarmıştır (Vergne ve Ausseur, 2015). Ancak, tüm bu ekonomik seçimlerin başarısızlığını açıklayan nedenleri bilmek önemli görünüyor.

Ekonomik tercihlerin başarısız olmasının nedenlerinin analizi

Bu ekonomik sistemlerin başarısızlığını açıklayan birçok neden vardır. Bunlar arasında yeni liderlerin devlet yönetimindeki deneyim eksikliği, ekonomik politikadaki hatalar, elverişsiz (doğal ve uluslararası) koşullar ve siyasi rejimlerin otokratik doğası sayılabilir.

Yeni liderlerin devlet yönetiminde deneyim eksikliği:

Afrika ülkelerinin ekonomik tercihlerinin başarısız olması, her şeyden önce Afrika ülkelerinin bağımsızlıklarına katılma koşullarından kaynaklanmaktadır. Gerçekten de, ulusal kurtuluş mücadeleleri, özellikle bazı Afrikalı seçkinler sayesinde iyi yönetilmiş gibi görünse de, Afrika ülkelerinin bağımsızlığa yeterince hazır olmadığı aşikâr görünmektedir. Bu nedenle, bağımsızlığın ardından yeni yetkililer, özellikle nüfusun çoğunluğunun okuma yazma bilmediği bir ortamda yeni bir yönetimin kurulması gibi önemli zorluklarla yüzleşmek zorunda kalmıştır.

Ulusal birliğin inşası gibi zorlu bir soruna da işaret etmek gerekir. Nitekim bağımsızlıktan miras kalan sınırlar korunsa da yeni kurulan devletlerin halklarının millî şuur sahibi olmaktan uzak oldukları da aşikârdır. Bu koşullar altında, eğilim,

ilkeleri yine de yerel gerçeklerden büyük ölçüde uzak olan eski sömürgecilerin sistemlerini kopyalamaktan ibarettir (Badié, 1992). Bu taklit bağlamında hatalar kaçınılmazdır.

Ekonomi politikalarındaki hatalar:

Ekonomik politika seçimi için, Afrika ülkeleri oybirliğiyle *kalkınmaya giden kraliyet yolu* olarak gördükleri sanayileşmeyi seçtiler. Ancak iki seçenek daha mevcuttu: *sosyalist sanayileşme yolu ve kapitalist sanayileşme yolu*. Bununla birlikte, pratik ve ideolojik nedenlerle çoğu ülke sosyalist sanayileşme yolunu seçmiştir. Dolayısıyla bu tercihin nedenleri iki şekilde açıklanabilir. Birincisi pratik düzeyde, 1917 *Rus Devrimi* tarafından başlatılan ve Stalin altında yürütülen sanayileşme modelinin, Afrika gerçeklerine daha yakın görünmesi ve birçok Afrikalı lidere ilham vermesi, ikincisi de ideolojik olarak, kapitalist sistem çoğu zaman birçok kişinin uzaklaşmaya çalıştığı sömürgeleştirme ile eş tutulması olarak açıklanabilir.

Ayrıca, Afrika ülkelerinde uygulanan sosyalist sanayileşme yolları, tarım sektörünü desteklememiştir. Ancak tarım sektörü (Afrika nüfusunun %60 ila 90'ını oluşturmaktadır), Simon Kuznets'in (1966) gösterdiği gibi tarım yalnızca sanayileşme için gerekli değildi, aynı zamanda tüm Afrika ekonomik sistemi için de temeldi. Ayrıca, bu politikalar, *fiyat istikrar fonlarının* oluşturulması yoluyla fiyatların düşük tutulması şeklinde karakterize edilmiştir. Böylece bu mekanizmanın uygulandığı Gana'da üreticilere verilen kakao fiyatları (1957-1983 yılları arasında) %90 oranında düşmüş ve üretim 572.000 tondan (1964 ile 1983 yılları arasında) 153.000 tona düşmüştür. Aynı dönemlerde belli bir fiyat serbestisi uygulayan Fildişi Sahili, 1950-1990 yılları arasında 61.690 ton olan üretimi 815.000 tona çıkarmıştır (Bras-seul, ibid.). Dolayısıyla uygulanan politikaların tarım sektörünü ne denli etkilediği aşikârdır.

Olumsuz (doğal ve uluslararası) koşullar

Ekonomik seçimlerinin başarısızlığı, olumsuz ekonomik koşullarla da açıklanabilir. Bunlar, 1960'lardan sonra Sahel'de meydana gelen kuraklıkla bağlantılı doğal koşulları içerir. Bu doğal afetlerin, hâlihazırda teknik bakımdan (tarım makineleri ve girdilerinin eksikliği) muzdarip olan Afrika tarım sektörü üzerinde önemli etkileri vardır. Buna bir de 1970'lerde uluslararası ekonomiyi etkileyen uluslararası krizin eklenmesi başarısızlığı katbekat artırmıştır: Bu kriz Afrika ülkeleri için *makas etkisi* ile karakterize edilmiştir: petrol ürünlerindeki fiyatlar fahiş bir şekilde yükselirken aynı derecede sermaye faiz oranları da artmaktaydı. Bu artışla birlikte, aynı zamanda hammadde ürünlerinin fiyatları da önemli ölçüde düşmüştür. Bu durum, hammadde ürünlerinin büyük çoğunluğunu oluşturan Afrika ülkelerinin ekonomisini ciddi şekilde etkilemiştir. Bu ekonomik tercihlerin başarısızlığı, siyasi nedenlerle, yani bu ekonomik seçimlerden sorumlu olan siyasi rejimlerin doğasıyla da açıklanabilir.

Siyasi rejimlerin otokratik doğası:

Afrika'yı küresel ekonomiye yeniden bağlamak, küreselleşmenin zorlukları (Reconnexion de l'Afrique à l'économie mondiale. Défis de la mondialisation) adlı kitapta yayınlanan bir yazısında Kouider Boutaleb, Afrika'daki bağımsızlık sonrası kalkınma deneyimlerinin başarısızlığının nedenlerini analiz etmiştir. Ona göre, kalkınma teorisyenlerinin analizi, Ikonikoff (1985) tarafından formüle edilen iki soruyu (1- Kalkınma projelerini kim formüle etmelidir? 2- Bu projeler hangi referans modele göre geliştirilmelidir?) genellikle belirsizleştirir.

İlk soruyu yanıtlamak için yazar, "Üçüncü Dünya ülkelerinde ekonomideki ana oyuncu rolü, uzun süredir (genel çıkarların garantörü olarak kabul edilen) Devlete ayrılmıştır. Batı'da Afrika'dan farklı olarak ana oyuncu devletti, 17. ve 19. yüzyıllarda Batı'nın gelişmesinde bu rolü burjuvazi oynamıştı". Yazara göre, bağımsızlık sonrası Afrika bağlamında devlete ayrılan bu rol, bir yandan ulusal kurtuluş mücadelesinin gerekliliği, diğer yandan Afrika'nın somutlaştırdığı kalkınma için (veya bağımlılığa karşı) mücadele ile meşrulaştırıldı (Boutaleb, 2016).

Yazar, referans modeliyle ilgili olarak, Afrika ülkelerinin (yukarıda bahsedildiği gibi) ya sosyalizm ya da kapitalizm aracılığıyla uygulanan "ulusal kalkınmacı-national-développementaliste" paradigmayı tercih ettiğini gözlemliyor. Ancak yazar, kapitalist kalkınma yolunu seçenlerin başlangıçta oldukça başarılı olduklarını gözlemliyor (1990'a kadar Fildişi Sahili gibi). Sosyalist kalkınma yolunu uygulayanlar (Cezayir ve Gine'de olduğu gibi) çok erken başarısız olmuştur. Dolayısıyla, diye ekliyor Boutaleb, bu modellerin başarısızlığı, Devletin temellerinde tartışmaya yol açmaktadır. Çünkü "olası özel girişimleri dizginlemekle, beyhude beyaz fil projelerinin gerçekleştirilmesinde taviz vermekle ve etno-klan ağlarının malı haline gelmekle ve böylece tizizlik eksikliğini göstermekle" suçlanır. Bu nedenle Boutaleb, kalkınma teorisyenlerinin formüle ettiği gibi, siyasi tercihlerin başarısızlığının yalnızca uluslararası ortama atfedilemeyeceği sonucuna varıyor. Ancak bu başarısızlık, her şeyden önce, "Afrika'da uygulamaya konulan sosyo-ekonomik sistemlerin doğası ve işleyişiyle açıklanmaktadır. Yazarın (neo-patrimonyalist teori ve rantiyelik ekonomisi olarak adlandırdığı) bu sistem, Devletin ve siyasi seçkinlerin ekonomik kalkınmayı önemli ölçüde yönlendirdiği Asya'nın aksine, Afrika örneğinde saptırıldı" (Boutaleb, ibid.).

Bu açıklama, bağımsızlık sonrası Afrika'nın ekonomik tercihlerinin başarısızlığını açıklamak için "kurumların başarısızlığı" argümanına dayanan kurumsalcı teori yönüne gidiyor gibi görünüyor. Gerçekten de Bouzidi'den alıntı yapan Boutaleb, ekonomi tarihi analistlerinin güney ülkeleri bağlamında "ekonomik büyümenin büyük ölçüde sermaye ve emek faktörlerinin üretkenliğini teşvik etmek için teşvikler sağlayan kurumların kurulmasına bağlı olduğunu" vurguladıklarına dikkat çekiyor (Boutaleb, ibid.).

Bağımsızlıktan Bu Yana Gine'nin Ekonomik Tarihi

Ülkenin ekonomik gidişatına dair kısa bir bilgilendirme sonrasında ekonomik tercihlerin başarısız olmasının nedenlerini anlamaya çalışacağız.

Küreselleşmede Gine: bağımsızlıktan bu yana Gine'nin ekonomi politikalarının kısa bir tarihsel incelemesi

Gine, bağımsızlığından bu yana siyasi rejim kadar ekonomik politika da zikzaklı bir seyir izledi ve her siyasi rejim öncekinden farklı biçimde hareket etmeye çalıştı. Askeri rejimler (2008'den 2010'a ve 2021'den günümüze) dışında, Gine'nin aşına olduğu ve her biri kendi ekonomi politikasını simgeleyen üç siyasi rejimi kısaca gözden geçireceğiz. Bunlar: Ahmed Sekou Touré'nin sosyalist ekonomi politikası (1958'den 1984'e), Lansana Conté'nin liberal politikası (1984'ten 2008'e) ve Alpha Condé'nin sosyo-liberal ekonomi politikasıdır (2010'dan beri).

1958'den 1984'e: ekonomik sosyalizm altında siyasi bağımsızlık:

Fransa'nın sömürgelerine sömürgeciliğin devam etmesi için empoze ettiği referanduma (28 Eylül 1958) %90'dan fazla hayır oyunun çıkması sonrasında bağımsızlığını kazandı (2 Ekim 1958). Fransa'nın ayrılmasından sonra, Gine'nin yeni yetkilileri için ortaya çıkan soru, *siyasi bağımsızlığın ekonomik bağımsızlıkla nasıl pekiştirileceğiydi* (Badara, in *La Guinée face à la mondialisation*, Kaba vd., 2008). Eski sömürgeciden ayrılış bağlamında, ülkenin eski SSCB'ye ve sosyalizme dönmekten başka seçeneği yoktu. Bu nedenle, merkezi bir ekonomi ile kalkınma planları yoluyla gelişmeye çalışan sosyalist bir ekonomik sistem kuruldu. Ancak çok kısa süre içinde ülke büyük zorluklarla karşı karşıya kaldı. Bu, 1960 yılında Gine para biriminin (*Gine frangı*) yaratılmasına yol açtı (1972'de Syli ile değiştirildi). Reformlar üç yıllık (1960-1963), yedi yıllık (1964-1971), beş yıllık (1973-1978) ve dört yıllık (1981-1984) kalkınma planları ile başlatılmıştı. Bu planlara, işletmelerin aşırı kamulaştırılmasıyla bir devlet tekeli politikası eşlik ediyordu. Tek parti sistemi, idealize edilmiş bir liderle (Ahmed Sekou Touré) uygulanmıştı. Bu politikalara, özellikle madencilik (altın, boksit, elmas vb.) ve tarım (muz, hurma çekirdeği, ananas vb.) olmak üzere büyük bir hammadde ihracatı eşlik ediyordu. Ancak, özellikle Devlet ekonomik hayatta tek gerçek aktör haline geldiği için, bu politikaların vatandaşların yaşamları ve ülke kalkınması üzerinde çok az etkisi olmuştur (Kaba vd., ibid.).

1984-2008: ekonomik liberalizm (veya vahşi liberalizm):

Başkan Ahmed Sekou Touré'nin 1984'te ölümünün ardından, liderliğini Lansana Conté'nin üstleneceği CMRN (*Conseil Militaire de Redressement National--Ulusal Kurtarma Askeri Komitesi*) adı altında askeri bir grup iktidarı ele geçirdi. 22 Aralık 1985'teki açılış konuşmasında Lansana Conté, sosyalist yolun terk edildiğini derhal ilan ederek eski rejimden tamamen koptu. Sonuç olarak, devlet tüm üretim ve satış faaliyetlerinden çekildi, kamu bankalarını ve kamu şirketlerini

kapattı ve özel girişimi teşvik etti. Ülkenin bu ekonomik ve parasal reform politikalarında desteklenmesi amacıyla uluslararası Bretton Woods kurumlarıyla ciddi görüşmeler başlatıldı ve yıllık bir geçiş planı devreye sokuldu (Barry, 2020 : 155).

Ekonomik alanda, mevzuat metinlerinin (yatırım kanunu, ekonomik faaliyetler kanunu ve madencilik kanunu) oluşturulmasından enerji, tarım ve sosyal alanlarda altyapı çalışmalarının uygulanmasına kadar uzanan kurumsal tedbirler alındı. Bu önlemler, ülkenin borçlarının donörler tarafından yeniden düzenlenmesine, maden sözleşmelerinin yeniden müzakere edilmesine, eğitim sektörünün yeniden düzenlenmesine ve ülkenin uluslararası kuruluşlarla yakınlaşmasına olanak sağlayacaktı. Ancak, ekonomik kriz (rant ekonomi sistemi nedeniyle) ve tekrarlayan siyasi kriz bağlamında, vizyoner liderliğin eksikliği nedeniyle, bu politikalar herhangi bir sonuç vermedi. Vahşi liberalizmin etkisi altında, Devlet hızla ekonomi üzerindeki kontrolünü kaybetmiş ve bunun sonucunda işsizlik ve istihdam açığı ortaya çıkmıştır. Toplumsal huzursuzluk başlamış, insanlar kırsal kesimden göçe başlamıştır. Başkan Lansana Conté 2008'de bu kalıcı kriz ortamında (toplumsal kargaşa ve ardışık grevler sırasında) hayatını kaybetmiştir.

2010'dan beri: ılımlı liberalizm veya Alpha Condé'nin sosyo-liberal ekonomi politikası:

Başkan Lansana Conté'nin ölümünün ardından, CNDD (*Conseil National pour la démocratie et de développement--Ulusal Demokrasi ve Kalkınma Konseyi*) darbesinin ardından Yüzbaşı Moussa Dadis Camara ve General Sekouba Konaté'nin başkanlıkları altında iki yıllık bir askeri rejim kuruldu. Ardından Profesör Alpha Condé (Fransa Sorbonne Üniversitesi'nde eski Hukuk Profesörü), 2010 seçimlerindeki zaferinin ardından iktidara geldi.

FEANF (*Fédération des Edutnants Africains et Noirs de France-- Fransa Afrikalı ve Siyah Öğrenciler Federasyonu*) 'nin eski başkanı ve Fransız Sosyalist Partisi'ne çok yakın olan Profesör Alpha Condé, büyük bayındırlık işlerini gerçekleştirmeyi mümkün kılacak iddialı reformlarla birlikte bir sosyo-liberal ekonomi politikası uygulamaya koyacaktı. Enerji alanında, elektrik arzını iyileştirecek elektrik barajlarının (Kaléta, Amaria, Koukutamba, Fomi) inşası planlandı. Ancak gerçekleşen sonuçlar, yapılan devasa yatırımlara rağmen iç açıcı değildi. Tarımsal düzeyde, gıda kendi kendine yeterlilik için ifade edilen siyasi niyetlere rağmen, Gine tarımının durumu önemli bir gelişme göstermedi, Ginelilerin %80'inin tarımda istihdam edilmesine rağmen, GSYİH'nin yalnızca %14'ü tarımdan sağlanıyordu.

2017 yılında tarım sektörü, çiftçiler için etkisiz destek politikalarıyla bütçeden yalnızca %3,68 oranında pay alabildi. Buna bir de rejimin önceliklerinden biri olan madencilik sektöründeki zimmete para geçirme skandalları eklendi. 2017'de madencilik sektörü, ihracat gelirlerinin %80'ini ve kamu gelirlerinin %30'undan fazlasını sağlayarak Gine'nin GSYİH'sinin %20'sini oluşturuyordu (Barry, ibid.). 05 Eylül 2021'de Alpha Condé'nin iktidarı, lideri Mamadi Doumbouya'nın liderliğinin-

deki CNRD (*Conseil National de Rassemblement et de Démocratie-- Ulusal Kurtarma ve Geliştirme Konseyi*) adlı bir askeri grubun gerçekleştireceği bir askeri darbeye devrildi. Bu askeri grup şu anda ülkenin yönetimini 2024'ün sonunda yapılması planlanan yeni seçimlere kadar elinde tutmaktadır.

Ekonomik seçimlerin başarısız olmasının nedenlerinin analizi

Afrika kıtasının genel durumu gibi, farklı Gine rejimleri tarafından yapılan bu ekonomik seçimlerin başarısızlığını birçok neden açıklayabilir. Bunları ikiye ayıracağız: Bir yanda kurumların (ve siyasi sistemin) başarısızlığı, diğer yanda kötü yönetim uygulamaları (ve art arda gelen kötü yönetim uygulamaları).

Kurumların ve siyasi sistemin başarısızlığı:

Gine Cumhuriyeti, bağımsızlığını zor şartlar altında kazanan Afrika ülkelelerinden biridir. Gerçekten de (Gine halkını Fransız toplumuna verdikleri kitlesel HAYIR oyu yüzünden pişman etmek için her şeyi yapan) Fransız sömürgecinin alelacele ayrılmasından sonra, ülkenin yeni yetkililerinin önceliği vardı. Nüfusun büyük bir kısmı okuma yazma bilmezken, yetkin yöneticilerin olmadığı bir ortamda bir ulus-devletin temellerini acilen yerine oturtmak, Cumhurbaşkanlığı rejimi ve kurumlarıyla Fransız Anayasası tasavvurunda böylece bir anayasa yapılmış oldu. Ayrıca modern bir devletin kurulması için gerekli olan diğer semboller de zorla yerine konur. Bu nedenle, bağımsızlığın ardından durum kesinlikle zordu, ancak bu tek başına bağımsızlıktan bu yana ekonomik seçimlerin başarısızlığıyla açıklanamaz. Bu başarısızlığın asıl sebebini, bağımsızlıktan bu yana birbirini takip eden otoriteler tarafından uygulamaya konan siyasi sistemlerin başarısızlığında aramak yerinde olacaktır. Nitekim, resmi bir anayasanın varlığına rağmen, çeşitli rejimlerin cumhurbaşkanı her zaman iktidarda kalmayı başarmıştır. İlk cumhuriyet sırasında Başkan Ahmed Sékou Touré, partisini (PDG-*Gine Demokratik Partisi—Parti Démocratique de Guinée*) ülkedeki lideri (kendisi) devrimin yüce lideri olan tek parti olarak dayatmayı başardı. Bu, ya sürgüne gitmeye zorlanan ya da sonunda hapsedilen rakiplerini ortadan kaldırmasına izin verdi. Bu politika ülkeyi tecrit etmekle sonuçlanacak ve ekonomik durumu üzerinde zararlı sonuçlar doğuracaktır (Barry, 2020).

Ahmed Sékou Touré rejiminin yerini alacak diğer iki rejim de aynı uygulamaları benimseyecek: teoride üç erki (yürütme, yargı ve yasama) içeren bir başkanlık rejimidir. Ancak pratikte, diğer iki güç, anayasa yalnızca resmi olduğundan, başı (cumhurbaşkanı) her şeye kadir hale gelen yürütmeye tabidir. Benzer şekilde, muhalefet partilerinin varlığına rağmen gerçekte bir karşı güçleri yoktur. Bu muhalefet partileri çoğu zaman devlet kaynaklarını kendi çıkarları için kullanan iktidar partisi tarafından ezilmektedir. Seçimler olması gerektiği gibi olur, ancak iktidardaki parti her zaman galip geldiği için sonuçlar genellikle önceden bilinir. Halk bu durumdan memnuniyetsizliğini gösterdiğinde, gösteriler şiddetle bastırılmakta ve yargılanmadan çok sayıda ölüme kadar birçok şeye neden olmaktadır.

Bu bağlamda, kurumlar artık kontrol ve denge rolünü oynamadıkları için cumhurbaşkanını kimse durduramaz. Böylece cumhurbaşkanı ülkeyi ölümüne kadar yönetir (eğer bir darbeye devrilmese). İlk iki rejimin cumhurbaşkanları ölene kadar görevde kalacak, son rejimin cumhurbaşkanı ise iktidarda kalmak için anayasayı değiştirdikten sonra askeri darbe ile devrilecek. Bu yönetim modu, kötü yönetime ve zayıf yönetim uygulamalarına elverişli bir ortamdır.

Kötü yönetim ve kötü yönetim uygulamalarının art arda gelmesi:

Bağımsızlığın arifesinde, diğer Afrika ülkeleri gibi yeni Gine yetkilileri de sosyalist kalkınma yolunu seçtiler. Bu sistemde devlet, ekonominin ana aktörüdür, *girişimci olarak devlet*, özel sektör marjinalize edilmektedir. İşletmeler millileştirilir. Bu ulusal şirketlerin başında partinin yöneticileri ve militanları ya da cumhurbaşkanına yakın kişiler atanır. Bunun, kayırmacı ve yolsuz uygulamalar nedeniyle verimsiz hale gelen şirketler üzerinde anında acı verici sonuçları olacaktır.

Rejim, enerji açısından birkaç proje dışında ülkenin enerji potansiyelini değerlendirilmiyor. İkinci rejim, esas olarak termik santrallere ve birkaç hidroelektrik barajına yatırım yaparak, ancak nüfusların yaşamları üzerinde çok az etki yaratarak bu sorunu düzeltmeye çalışacaktır. Alpha Condé rejimi, elektrik akımı arzını önemli ölçüde iyileştirecek büyük barajların inşasıyla enerji alanında ciddi yatırımlar yapmayı başaracaktır. Ancak sektör birçok zimmete para geçirme şüphesiyle karşılaşacaktır.

Madencilik düzeyinde, siyasi nedenlerle, birinci rejim bu alanda yalnızca birkaç proje yürütecektir. Bazı önemli sözleşmelere imza atacak olan ikinci rejimin faaliyetleri de halkın yaşamı üzerinde çok etkili olmayacaktır. Üçüncü rejim, iddialı sözleşmeler imzalayarak madencilik sektörünü yönetiminin temel direklerinden biri haline getirecektir. Ancak çok uluslu şirketler (özellikle Çin ve Rus) sadece hammaddeyi ihraç etmekle yetindiğinden, hammadde ürünlerinin dönüştürülmesine ilişkin hiçbir mekanizmaya yer verilmediğinden, orada da sonuç nüfusun yaşamı üzerinde hissedilmeyecektir (Barry, ibid.).

Tarımsal durum bağımsızlıktan bu yana değişmemiştir. Birincisi, sosyalist rejim, küçük çiftçilere ve yetiştiricilere düşük fiyatlar (istikrar fonları aracılığıyla) dayatarak özel sektörün ve tarım sektörünün cesaretini kırmış, ikinci rejimle birlikte, cumhurbaşkanının kendisini "*çiftçi cumhurbaşkanı*" olarak sunmasıyla sektör yeniden ilgi görmüş ama uygulayacağı vahşi liberalizmin alametiyle tarım sektörüne (çiftçiyi desteklemek için bile) ciddi bir yatırım yapılmamıştır. Üçüncü rejim, tarım sektörünü modernize etmek için çok fazla siyasi irade göstermiş, ancak bu, özellikle parti yöneticilerinin zimmete para geçirmesi nedeniyle sahada gerçekleşmeyecek (Keita, 2015).

Son olarak, sosyo-ekonomik düzeyde, ülke bayındırlık işleri, sağlık, eğitim ve sosyal açıdan önemli bir altyapı eksikliği ile karşı karşıyadır. Üç rejimden hiçbiri

ülkenin bütün zenginliğine rağmen ülkeye ciddi ve adına yakışır bir altyapı sağlamayı başaramamıştır.

Sonuç

Afrika'da Gine, Tarihi Bir Gurur Hissi İle Anlaşılmaz Bir Gecikme Algısı İkilemi

60 yılı aşkın bağımsızlıktan sonra, Gineliler, bazı tarihsel gurur duyguları dışında, ülkelerinin durumundan neredeyse hiç memnun değiller. Özellikle, Üçüncü Dünya ülkelerinin bağımsızlık mücadelesinde ve Pan-Afrikanizm hareketinde birçok Afrika ülkesi için öncü ve model olmuştur ancak, elverişli doğal koşullarla her şeye iyi bir başlangıç yapmış gibi görünmesi dışında bir gerçeklik yoktu. Barry'ye göre, "Gine, aşağıda sıralanan önemli doğal kaynaklara sahiptir:

- 7 milyar hektar ekilebilir alan
- Tüm Batı Afrika'yı sulayan nehirler, en bol olanı, Batı Afrika su deposu adını buradan alır.
- Geniş fauna ve flora zenginliği
- Aşağıdaki mineral rezervleri:
 - ✓ 20 milyar ton boksit
 - ✓ 10 milyar ton demir cevheri
 - ✓ 300 milyon ton altın
 - ✓ 10 milyon karat elmasın yanı sıra nikel, kobalt, krom, uranyum, gaz ve petrol gibi diğer birçok stratejik mineral kaynağı (Barry, 2020: 286)

Gine'nin bugün Afrika kıtasında nerede olduğu sorulduğunda, cevap net görünüyor: Gine, bağımsızlıktan sonra, 60 yıl sonra Afrika'da bir model olarak kabul edildiyse, ülkenin artık Afrika'da önemli bir yer işgal etmediğini kabul etmek gerekir. Bu nedenle Gine'nin Afrika'daki yeri, tarihsel bir gurur duygusu ile gerileyen bir ülke gözlemi arasında gidip gelen bir yerdir.

Tarihsel gurur duygusu

60 yılı aşkın bir süre sonra, Ginelilerin hissettikleri ilk gurur duygusu, Fransız toplumuna "HAYIR" oyu veren ve bağımsızlığını kazanan (02 Ekim 1958) ilk Afrika ülkesi olmanın gururudur. Gine'nin ilk Devlet Başkanı Ahmed Sékou Toure'nin "yoksulluktaki haysiyeti kölelikteki zenginliğe tercih ediyoruz" dediği tarihi konuşmasıyla Gineliler, diğer sömürgeleştirilmiş ülkelere bağımsızlık yolunu göstermiş olmaktan gurur duyuyorlar. Bu oylamaya ek olarak ülke, Cumhurbaşkanı Ahmed Sékou Toure liderliğinde diğer ülkelerin ulusal kurtuluş hareketlerine de destek vermiştir. Bunlar arasında GPRA (*gouvernement provisoire de la République*

Algérienne--Cezayir Cumhuriyeti geçici hükümeti), OLP (*Organisation pour la Libération du Palestine--Filistin Kurtuluş Örgütü*), yıllarca aldığı ve ev sahipliği yaptığı PAIGC (*Parti pour la Libération de la Guinée et du Cap Vert--Gine ve Cape Verde Kurtuluş Partisi*) yer alıyor. Bu aynı zamanda Kwamé Nkrumah, Amilcar Cabral, Félix Moumié, Myriam Mkeba gibi diğer birçok Afrikalı lider için de geçerliydi (Barry, ibid.).

Ginelilerin sık sık dile getirdikleri bir başka gurur duygusu da, OUA (*Organisation de l'Unité Africaine--Afrika Birliği Örgütü*), CEDEAO (*Communauté Economique des Etats d'Afrique de l'Oust--Batı Afrika Devletleri Topluluğu Ekonomisi*), *Mano River Union--Mano Nehri Birliği* gibi kurucu üyesi oldukları pan-Afrika örgütlerinin oluşturulmasına ülkelerinin de katıldığını söylemektir. Aynı zamanda ülke, önemli figürleri Gine'de kalacak olan tüm Üçüncü Dünya gösterilerine ve konferanslarına fetih diplomasisi yoluyla büyük destek sağlamıştır. Bunlar, örneğin Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, Nasser, Nelson Mandela vb. şahsiyetlerdir. Kültürel düzeyde de ülke, özellikle Afrika baleleri (*ballets africains*) ve Djoliba, Bembeya Caz Ulusal orkestraları (*les orchestres Bembeya Jazz National*), Balla ve onun Baladinleri (*Balla et ses Baladins*) ve Gine Amazonları (*les Amazones de Guinée*), Hafía Futbol Kulübü (*Hafia Football Club*) ve ünlü şarkıcı Sory Kandia Kouyaté gibi orkestra ve dans grupları ile etkili bir etki politikası yürütmüştür (Barry, ibid.).

Tüm bu organizasyonlar Gine'nin yurt dışında parlamasını ve kıtada örnek bir ülke olmasını sağlamıştır. Ancak birinci cumhurbaşkanı Ahmed Sékou Toure'nin ölümünden sonra ikinci rejimin politikası bunu bir öncelik haline getirmeyecek ve ülke böylece uluslararası nüfuzunu kaybedecektir. Alpha Condé rejimi, özellikle pan-Afrika örgütlerinde (*Afrika Birliği--Union Africaine* dahil) yer alması sayesinde ülkenin imajını geri getirmeye çalışacak, ancak askeri bir darbe ile devrilecektir.

Afrika'da Gine, etkisini yitirmiş örnek bir ülke

Ülkenin genel durumuna bakıldığında Gine'nin bugün ne Afrika'da ne de dünyada bir model olmadığı açıktır. Gerçekten de bağımsızlık sonrasında sahip olduğu etki ve görünürlüğü tamamen kaybetmiştir. Bu etki kaybı her düzeyde (ekonomik, politik ve sosyo-kültürel) kendini gösterir.

Ekonomik alanda, (2022'de %4,7 olan ve 2023'te 5,6'ya ulaşması gereken) orta ekonomik büyümeye rağmen, Ginelilerin %55'inden fazlası artık yoksulluk sınırının altında yaşıyor. Zengin bir ülke ile fakir nüfus arasındaki bu paradoksal fark, her şeyden önce, ulusal servetin kötü dağılımı ve devletin tepesindeki zimmete para geçirme ve yolsuzluk uygulamalarıyla açıklanır. Bu süre zarfında, temel sosyal hizmetlerin sağlanması yetersiz, yollar yetersiz ve bakımsız, tarım açığı fazla, madenler hammaddelerin işletilmesiyle sınırlı kalması gibi olumsuzluklar göze çarpıyor.

Siyasi alanda Gine, dünya demografik indeksine göre Afrika'da 43. ve dünyada 145. sırada yer almaktadır. Ülkenin bağımsızlığından bu yana üç başarılı darbeye sonuncu olduğunu söylemek yeterli. Demokratik oyunun kurallarını koyan bir anayasa olmasına rağmen, ülkenin başına gelen herhangi bir cumhurbaşkanı, diğer yetkileri şahsına bağlayarak kuralları kendi lehine değiştirmeyi başarıyor. Bu, ölümüne kadar ülkeyi yönetmesine izin veriyor. Böylece demokrasi rehin alınmış, diğer kurumlar artık rollerini oynayamaz hale gelmiş ve halkın gösterileri şiddetle bastırılmış oluyor.

Sosyo-kültürel alanda da ülke, altyapı ve temel sosyal hizmetlerin eksikliği nedeniyle Afrikalı komşularının çok gerisindedir. 13 Mart 2013 tarihli Gine IMF raporuna göre anne ve bebek ölümleri 980/100.000'e, bebek ölümleri 91/1000'e ulaştı. Okullaşma ve eğitim açısından, 14 ila 25 yaş arası çocukların okuma yazma oranı %46 iken, alt yaş grubu için ortalama %70 olan ülkenin düzeyi de iç açıcı değildir. Kırsal bölgelerdeki okullarda bir öğretmen 60, kentsel bölgelerde ise 120 öğrenciyle ilgilenmektedir. Buna ek olarak, işsizlik hala oldukça yüksek, gençlerin kitlesel göçüne neden oluyor ve insanların ve mülklerin güvensizliği kontrolden çıkıyor (Barry, ibid.).

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