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İLETİŞİM/CONTACT

Dergi Yazışma Adresi / Correspondence:

Dergi Yazışma Adresi: Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli Üniversitesi Yabancı Diller Yüksekokulu, Emniyet Mah. Abant 1. Cad. No: 10/2F -1. Kat. Yenimahalle /Ankara.

Tel: 0(554) 602 32 78

E-posta / E-mail: murat.delibas@hbv.edu.tr/ murfbhat@hotmail.com editor@afrikacalismalari.com

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TAKDİM / EDİTÖRDEN

Değerli okurlarımız,

Disiplinlerarası Afrika Çalışmaları dergisi Afrika kıtasıyla ilgili yapılan akademik yayınları uluslararası alanda daha görünür kılmaya hedefiyle oluşturulmuş, birçok disiplini içinde barındıran çok yönlü bir dergidir. Türkiye'nin Afrika kıtasıyla birlikte yürütmekte olduğu çok yönlü politikaların dünya literatürüne kazandırılması ancak bu tür çok disiplinli yayın organlarıyla mümkün olabilmektedir. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ticaretten sağlık sektörüne kadar birçok alanda Afrika kıtasındaki faaliyetleri coğrafi olarak çok uzak olduğumuz kıtada Türkiye'nin ve devlet kurumlarımızın saygınlığı artırmaktadır. Bugün kıta ülkeleri, Türkiye ile kurulan ilişkilerin temelinde güçlü ikili ortaklık ilkesinin olduğunu çok iyi idrak etmekte ve Türkiye'nin Güçlü Afrika Güçlü Türkiye yaklaşımına katkı sağlamaktadır. Bugün bir Türk vatandaşı olarak Afrika ülkelerinde, başkentlere çok uzak kırsal yerleri bile ziyaret ettiğinizde saygıyla karşılanıyor ve sorunlara çözüm önerisi sunabilecek, bir yol bir yöntem önerisi getirebilecek yetkin kişiler olarak görülüyorsunuz. Çünkü yaklaşık 20 yıldır Türkiye, kıtadaki faaliyetleriyle kıtaya ve kıta insanına kalıcı çözümler sunmakta, bunun için gerekli olan alt yapıyı sağlamakta, ve insan gücünü yetiştirebilmektedir. Türkiye'nin kıta insanının eğitim seviyesine verdiği önemin en iyi örneklerinden biri de Türkiye Maarif Vakfı'nın Afrika kıtasındaki varlığıdır. Bugün Örnek olarak Mali Cumhuriyetini ele aldığımızda Türkiye Maarif Vakfı'nın Mali'de eğitim seviyesini ne ölçüde yükseltmiş olduğu açıkça görülmektedir. Ülke genelinde en son yapılan DEF (2024) sınavındaki sonuçlara göre Mali'nin eğitimdeki genel başarı oranı bir önceki yıla göre 14,44 oranında artış göstererek %44,46'ya ulaşmıştır. Tabii ki bu artışta genel başarı oranının iki katına yakın başarı elde eden Maarif okullarının katkısı yadsınamaz. Mali Türkiye Maarif Vakfı Okulları bir önceki yıla göre DEF sınavlarındaki genel başarı oranını %13,83 oranında artırarak %88,83'e çıkarmış ve ülke eğitiminin gelişimine ve başarısına önemli oranda katkı sağlamıştır.

Disiplinlerarası Afrika Çalışmaları Dergimizin ikinci sayısında siz değerli okuyucularımıza birbirinden ilginç konuları ele alan, Afrika ve Türkiye konusunda karşılaştırmalı çalışmaları konu edinen 6 makale sunuyoruz. Her biri birbirinden özenli ele alınan çalışmaların sizler için faydalı olması dileğiyle keyifli okumalar dileriz.

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Murat DELİBAŞ

Editör
Bamako/MALİ
30 Temmuz 2024

EDITORIAL

Dear esteemed readers,

The Journal of Interdisciplinary African Studies is a multidimensional journal created with the aim of making academic publications related to the African continent more visible on an international scale. It encompasses various disciplines and strives to contribute to the global literature on Türkiye's multidimensional policies in collaboration with the African continent. Türkiye's activities in Africa, ranging from trade to the health sector, enhance the reputation of Türkiye and its state institutions on a continent geographically distant from us. Today, the countries of the continent clearly understand that the relationships established with Türkiye are based on the principle of strong bilateral partnerships and contribute to Türkiye's "Strong Africa, Strong Turkey" approach. As a Turkish citizen visiting rural areas far from the capitals in African countries, you are received with respect and seen as competent individuals who can offer solutions and propose methods to address problems. This is because, for nearly 20 years, Türkiye has been providing sustainable solutions to the continent and its people, supplying the necessary infrastructure and training human resources through its activities on the continent.

One of the best examples of Türkiye's emphasis on the education level of the continent's people is the presence of the Turkish Maarif Foundation in Africa. For instance, considering the Republic of Mali, the significant impact of the Turkish Maarif Foundation on the education level in Mali is evident. According to the latest DEF (2024) exam results across the country, Mali's overall success rate in education has increased by 14.44% compared to the previous year, reaching 44.46%. The contribution of Maarif schools, which have achieved nearly double the general success rate, to this increase cannot be overlooked. The Turkish Maarif Foundation Schools in Mali have increased their overall success rate in DEF exams by 13.83% compared to the previous year, reaching 88.83%, thereby significantly contributing to the development and success of the country's education system.

In the second issue of our Journal of Interdisciplinary African Studies, we present six articles to our valued readers, each addressing intriguing topics and comparative studies on Africa and Türkiye. We hope that these meticulously crafted studies will be beneficial to you and wish you an enjoyable reading experience.

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Murat DELİBAŞ

Founding Editor
Bamako/MALİ
30 July 2024

Comparison of Coup Attempts in Türkiye and Mali: Analysis of the Reasons for Success in Mali and Failure in Türkiye

Türkiye ve Mali'deki Darbe Girişimlerinin Karşılaştırılması: Türkiye'deki Başarısızlık ve Mali'deki Başarının Nedenlerinin Analizi

Dr. Alhousseini BARRO

*Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Administrative and Political Sciences/
University of Juridical and Political Sciences of Bamako
Bamako Hukuk ve Siyasal Bilimler Üniversitesi
barroalhousseini@yahoo.fr
ORCID: 0000-0002-1620-9066*

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Abstract: This article explores the reasons why coup attempts failed in Türkiye while succeeding in Mali, despite different political and socio-economic contexts. By examining the internal and external dynamics that shaped these events, the analysis focuses on several key aspects: the roles of the armed forces, the robustness of democratic institutions, the involvement of international actors, and the socio-political particularities of the two nations.

In Türkiye, the July 2016 coup failed mainly due to the strong opposition of public opinion and democratic institutions, as well as the crucial support of certain segments of the military for the civilian administration. The article highlights the importance of popular mobilization, free media, and established democratic institutions, which resisted the attempted overthrow of the government. Moreover, Türkiye benefits from a relatively stable economy and international support that played a significant role in the government's resilience against the coup attempt.

In contrast, in Mali, successive coups have often been facilitated by a combination of factors such as weak state institutions, chronic political instability, widespread poverty, and ethnic and territorial conflicts. The article highlights how the Malian military, faced with ineffective and corrupt governance, has found legitimacy in seizing power, often perceived by a section of the population as a means of restoring order and security. The international reaction, while generally disapproving of the coups, has been relatively limited, allowing the military to maintain its control without significant pressure for the rapid restoration of civilian rule.

The analysis concludes that the divergences in coup outcomes in Türkiye and Mali can be attributed to marked differences in institutional robustness, popular support for the regime in place, socio-economic dynamics, and international reactions. These elements have contributed to Türkiye's relative stability in the face of overthrow attempts and Mali's persistent fragility, making coups more likely to succeed in the latter country.

Keywords: Coup attempts, failed, succeed, Türkiye, Mali

Öz: Bu makale, farklı siyasi ve sosyo-ekonomik bağlamlara rağmen Türkiye'de darbe girişimlerinin başarısız olmasını nedenini ve Mali'de başarılı olmasının sebebinin araştırılmaktadır. Bu olayları şekillendiren iç ve dış dinamikleri inceleyerek, analiz birkaç önemli hususa odaklanmaktadır: silahlı kuvvetlerin rolleri, demokratik kurumların sağlamlığı, uluslararası aktörlerin müdahaleleri ve iki ülkenin sosyo-politik özellikleri.

Türkiye'de Temmuz 2016 darbesi, esasen kamuoyu ve demokratik kurumların güçlü karşıtlığı ile sivil yönetime ve demokrasiye destek veren Türk ordusunun kritik desteği sayesinde başarısız olmuştur. Makale, hükümetin devrilme girişimine karşı direnen halkın seferberliği, özgür medya ve yerleşik demokratik kurumların önemini vurgulamaktadır. Ayrıca Türkiye, darbe girişimine karşı hükümetin direncini artıran istikrarlı bir ekonomiden ve uluslararası destekten faydalanmaktadır.

Buna karşılık, Mali'deki ardışık darbeler, zayıf devlet kurumları, kronik siyasi istikrarsızlık, yaygın yoksulluk ve etnik ve bölgesel çatışmalar gibi faktörlerin birleşimiyle sıklıkla kolaylaşmıştır. Makale, etkisiz ve yıpranmış yönetimle karşı karşıya kalan Malili ordunun, iktidarı ele geçirme konusunda meşruiyet kazandığını ve bunun, halkın bir kesimi tarafından düzen ve güvenliği sağlama aracı olarak algılandığını vurgulamaktadır. Uluslararası tepki, darbelerle genellikle karşı çıkmasına rağmen, oldukça sınırlı kalmış ve bu durum, ordunun sivil yönetimin hızla geri getirilmesi konusunda önemli bir baskı olmaksızın kontrolü elinde tutmasına olanak sağlamıştır.

Analiz, Türkiye ve Mali'deki darbe sonuçlarındaki farklılıkların, kurumsal sağlamlık, mevcut rejime halk desteği, sosyo-ekonomik dinamikler ve uluslararası tepkilerdeki belirgin farklardan kaynaklandığını sonucuna varmaktadır. Bu unsurlar, Türkiye'nin darbe girişimlerine karşı nispeten istikrarlı olmasına ve Mali'nin sürekli kırılganlığına vurgu yaparak, darbelerin ikinci ülkede daha başarılı olmasını olanaklı kılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Darbe girişimi, başarısızlık, başarı, Türkiye, Mali

Introduction

The contemporary history of modern states is punctuated by coups d'état, which, like political earthquakes, shake and redefine the trajectories of the nations concerned. Coups d'état, despite their often reprehensible and destabilizing nature, remain major events with a profound influence on the structure and direction of governments (Powell & Thyne, 2011). They differ in their frequency, methods, and especially their outcomes. Türkiye and Mali, two countries with very different socio-economic and political contexts, have each been the scene of recent coups d'état. In 2016, Türkiye experienced a failed coup attempt (Bakir & Aydın-Düzgüt, 2018). In contrast, Mali saw two of its governments overthrown in 2020 and 2021 by successful coups d'état (Wing, 2020). These events raise important questions about the factors that promote or prevent the success of such attempts.

Why do some coup attempts fail while others succeed? What are the determining factors that influence the outcome of these events? These questions are particularly relevant in the comparative study of the Turkish and Malian cases. A thorough understanding of why these coups had different outcomes can provide valuable insights into the conditions that promote or prevent the success of a coup.

What are the determining factors that led to the failure of the coup in Türkiye and the success of the coups in Mali? How did the political, economic, and socio-cultural contexts of these two countries influence these outcomes?

We formulate the following hypotheses:

- The robustness of democratic institutions and the loyalty of the armed forces to the government play a crucial role in the failure of coups.
- Poor socio-economic conditions and internal divisions facilitate the success of coups by weakening popular and institutional support for the incumbent government.
- Centralization of power and repression of opposition are key factors that can determine the outcome of coup attempts.

This study adopts a comparative approach to analyze coups in Türkiye and Mali. It combines qualitative and quantitative methods to assess the political, economic, and socio-cultural contexts of the two countries before and after the coup attempts. Sources include academic analyses, reports from international organizations, press articles, and statistical data on the economic and social conditions of the two countries (Creswell, 2014).

The analysis will be divided into three main parts. The first part will examine the role of institutions and armed forces in the outcome of coups by com-

paring the cases of Türkiye and Mali. The second part will focus on the impact of sociopolitical and economic dynamics on government stability, highlighting how these factors influenced coup outcomes in both countries. Finally, the third part will discuss the implications of these cases for the general understanding of coups and propose recommendations for strengthening political stability and preventing future coup attempts.

1. Role of Institutions and Armed Forces in Coup Outcomes

Coups, as significant and often destructive events for nations, are deeply influenced by the role of institutions and armed forces. Comparing the cases of Türkiye and Mali, it is evident that these entities play key roles in the success or failure of such power grabs. The following analysis explores how the robustness of democratic institutions and the internal dynamics of the armed forces determine the outcome of coups.

1.1. Influence of Democratic Institutions and Governance in Coup Prevention

Democratic institutions play a key role in coup prevention by ensuring political stability and legitimizing the government in place. In Türkiye, the strength of democratic institutions was a key factor in the failure of the 2016 coup. The country has robust democratic structures, including a relatively independent judiciary and a press that is still able to function with some freedom, despite political pressure (Özcan, 2019). These institutions helped maintain order and restore state authority after the coup attempt, quickly mobilizing popular support and ensuring the legitimacy of the government. The rapid and effective response of Turkish institutions demonstrated the importance of strong governance and participatory democracy. The ability to rally the population around the legitimate government was crucial in countering the attempted military takeover. The legitimacy conferred by free and fair elections strengthened support for the government, which discouraged military factions from pursuing their ambitions to overthrow it. Moreover, Turkish institutions demonstrated their resilience by launching targeted investigations and purges to neutralize plotters while maintaining effective government functioning.

In contrast, in Mali, the state of democratic institutions before the 2020 coup was much more precarious. The country had already gone through several political and security crises that had weakened state institutions and reduced public trust in the government (Englebort, 2021). Malian institutions, marked by corruption and inefficiency, were unable to meet the needs of the population or maintain order, creating an environment conducive to instability. The absence of robust governance and citizen participation mechanisms facilitated the military's takeover.

The fragility of democratic institutions in Mali was exacerbated by mismanagement and a failure to ensure the integrity of electoral processes. The lack of transparency and legitimacy in elections undermined public trust and provided a pretext for the military to intervene. Successive governments have failed to strengthen the institutions needed for stable and effective governance, leading to a gradual erosion of state authority and increased internal tensions.

The comparison between Türkiye and Mali highlights the critical importance of governance and democratic institutions in preventing coups. In Türkiye, despite political and economic challenges, institutions have proven their ability to maintain stability and defend the integrity of the government against coup attempts. Reforming and strengthening democratic institutions have played a key role in the country's resilience to internal threats.

In Mali, on the other hand, institutional weakness and ineffective governance have created conditions conducive to instability and coups. The fragility of institutions has allowed military forces to impose themselves as a solution to political crises, leading to increased destabilization. The recurrence of coups in Mali underscores the importance of institutional reform to strengthen democracy and stabilize the country.

Democratic institutions and effective governance are therefore essential for political stability and coup prevention. Strong and legitimate institutions can mobilize public support, maintain order, and ensure government continuity in the face of threats. Türkiye illustrates how institutional reforms and strong governance can strengthen a state's resilience, while Mali shows the consequences of failing to do so. Developing strong democratic institutions and promoting transparent and effective governance are crucial to preventing coups and ensuring lasting stability.

1.2. Armed Forces Dynamics: Factors of Stabilization or Instability in Coup Scenarios

The armed forces often play a central role in coups, with their influence varying considerably depending on the national context. In Türkiye, the military has historically exercised significant political power, acting as a guardian of secularism and national unity. However, following the coup attempt in 2016, Turkish authorities undertook a series of institutional reforms and purges within the military to reduce its political influence and strengthen loyalty to the civilian government (Aydıntaşbaş, 2018). These reforms included the reorganization of command structures and the integration of the military under stricter civilian control, helping to strengthen the resilience of the Turkish state in the face of destabilization attempts.

In Mali, however, the armed forces have shown profoundly different dynamics. The Malian military, facing major internal security challenges such as insurgencies and terrorist threats, as well as weak internal cohesion, has often been perceived as an actor of destabilization rather than stabilization (Boeke & Schuurman, 2020). The Malian armed forces suffer from internal divisions, lack of professionalism, and insufficient resources, which have facilitated their repeated involvement in coups. The 2020 coup is a case in point, illustrating how a military that lacks cohesion and professionalism can become a factor of instability, fostering violent regime changes and further weakening the state. In Türkiye, the relationship between the military and political stability is complex and historical. The Turkish armed forces have carried out several coups d'état during the 20th century, perceiving themselves as protectors of the secular state founded by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. However, these interventions have often been justified by major political or economic crises. With the rise to power of the AKP (Justice and Development Party) and subsequent reforms, the influence of the military has been gradually reduced (Özcan, 2020). The purges following the 2016 coup attempt have significantly weakened the military's ability to play an independent political role, thereby reinforcing the stability of civilian rule.

In Mali, the situation is exacerbated by a regional context of conflict and tensions. Institutional weakness and poor governance have contributed to state fragility, and the armed forces have often been involved in internal power struggles (Marchal, 2013). Lack of professionalism and differences of opinion within the military have not only facilitated coups, but have also made it difficult to mount a coordinated response to security threats. Military interventions have often led to periods of prolonged instability, further weakening state structures.

Türkiye, despite internal economic and political challenges, has managed to maintain a degree of stability through institutional reforms and careful management of the armed forces (Cizre, 2008). The centralization of power under President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and the integration of the armed forces under civilian control have helped to contain internal threats and reduce the risk of coups. This approach contrasts sharply with that of Mali, where the armed forces have been unable to play a stabilizing role and have often been at the heart of political crises.

The dynamics of the armed forces in the context of coups reveal crucial divergences between Türkiye and Mali. In Türkiye, the integration of the armed forces under strict civilian control and institutional reforms have helped to strengthen political stability and reduce the risk of coups. In contrast, in Mali, the fragmentation and lack of professionalism of the armed forces have often been factors of instability, facilitating violent regime change and weakening the state.

The comparison between Türkiye and Mali highlights the importance of the cohesion and professionalism of the armed forces in political stability. In Türkiye, reforms have created armed forces that support the stability of the civilian regime, while in Mali, the absence of such reforms has led to an army that is often an actor of destabilization. The management of the armed forces is therefore crucial for political stability, and the examples of Türkiye and Mali show how different approaches can lead to contrasting outcomes in terms of political stability and state resilience. This analysis highlights the importance of governance and institutional reforms in ensuring that the armed forces can play a stabilizing role rather than becoming agents of destabilization.

2. Impact of Socio-Political and Economic Dynamics on Government Stability

Socio-political and economic dynamics play a central role in government stability. Difficult economic conditions, social inequalities, and political tensions can weaken state structures and foster political instability, increasing the risk of coups and abrupt regime changes. This section examines how these dynamics influence government stability by focusing on distinct economic and socio-political aspects.

2.1. Influence of Economic Conditions on Government Resilience

A country's economic performance is a key factor influencing political stability. Studies show that weak or crisis-ridden economies increase the likelihood of political instability because they exacerbate popular frustrations and create opportunities for actors willing to challenge existing authority (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2012). When populations face economic hardships, such as high unemployment, poverty, and inflation, discontent with incumbent governments increases, creating fertile ground for opposition movements and coup attempts.

In Mali, economic degradation has been a key factor in recent waves of protests the government. Low economic growth, combined with endemic corruption and mismanagement of resources, has fueled popular resentment and facilitated military takeovers (Boeke, 2016). Indeed, overreliance on international aid and a failure to generate inclusive growth have led to recurring economic crises that have weakened the state and set the stage for political instability (Hagberg, 2019). The fragility of the Malian economy, marked by subsistence agriculture and a lack of investment in strategic sectors, has exacerbated regional and socio-economic inequalities, leading to regular political unrest.

In Türkiye, despite significant economic challenges, the government has maintained relative stability through a series of economic reforms and prudent macroeconomic management. The regime has successfully contained the fallout from the 2008 global financial crisis and promoted sustained economic growth

for much of the past decade, which has helped to strengthen the government's legitimacy and discourage military overthrow attempts (Öniş, 2012). Türkiye has been able to use its economic growth to legitimize its rule and ease internal tensions, which has contributed to the government's resilience in the face of coup attempts (Pamuk, 2016). Investment in infrastructure and public services has also improved the quality of life for many citizens, reducing popular discontent and the likelihood of political unrest. However, the relationship between economic performance and political stability is complex and goes beyond gross economic growth. Uneven distribution of the benefits of growth can also lead to instability. For example, in Mali, despite some periods of economic growth, the benefits have not been distributed equitably, which has exacerbated inequalities and fueled feelings of marginalization in some regions (Boeke, 2016). This economic marginalization has often been instrumentalized by rebel groups to justify their claims and actions against the state, thus accentuating political instability.

In Türkiye, economic growth has been largely supported by policies favoring foreign investment and the development of key sectors such as industry and services. However, this growth has also led to regional disparities and a concentration of wealth in urban areas to the detriment of rural regions (Öniş, 2012). Although Türkiye has managed to maintain a degree of political stability, these regional and socio-economic inequalities have also fueled tensions, particularly with the Kurdish population and other minority groups.

Another important aspect of the relationship between economics and political stability is the ability of governments to respond effectively to economic crises. In Mali, the government's response to economic crises has often been perceived as inadequate, leading to a lack of trust in state institutions and increased political instability (Hagberg, 2019). In contrast, in Türkiye, the government's proactive response to economic crises, including the implementation of austerity measures and structural reforms, has helped to strengthen stability political stability and maintaining citizens' trust in government institutions (Pamuk, 2016).

In conclusion, economic performance plays a crucial role in a country's political stability. Weak or crisis-ridden economies increase the likelihood of political instability by exacerbating popular frustrations and creating opportunities for protest actors. The ability of governments to promote inclusive growth, effectively manage economic crises, and equitably distribute the benefits of growth is essential to maintaining political stability. The examples of Mali and Türkiye illustrate how sound economic policies can strengthen government legitimacy and contribute to lasting political stability.

2.2. Role of Sociopolitical Divisions in Political Precarity

Internal sociopolitical divisions, such as ethnic, religious, or regional conflicts, play a crucial role in the stability of political regimes. Countries with strong so-

ciopolitical divisions are more likely to experience internal conflicts, which can weaken state structures and increase vulnerability to coups d'état.

In Mali, ethnic and regional tensions, particularly between the north and south of the country, have been exacerbated by weak governance and economic marginalization of some regions (Boone, 2012). The Tuareg rebellion and the rise of jihadist groups in the north have highlighted deep internal divisions and contributed to the destabilization of the country (Lecocq & Klute, 2019). These internal conflicts have undermined the legitimacy of the central state and facilitated the conditions for successive military coups, as the armed forces have often been seen as a recourse to restore order in the face of an ineffective government (Wing, 2016).

In contrast, in Türkiye, although the country has also faced ethnic and political tensions, including the Kurdish question and tensions between secularists and Islamists, the government has managed to contain these divisions by implementing political reforms and maintaining a strong repression of dissident movements (Yavuz, 2009). The centralization of power and the effective use of security forces to suppress uprisings have allowed the Turkish government to maintain a certain political stability despite internal tensions (Heper & Güney, 2000).

Sociopolitical and economic dynamics are therefore intrinsically linked to governmental stability. A crisis-ridden economy and deep social divisions increase the risks of political instability and facilitate coups. The ability of governments to manage these dynamics effectively is crucial to maintaining stability and resilience in the face of internal and external threats.

Furthermore, proactively managing social conflicts, through inclusion and development policies, can mitigate tensions and strengthen national cohesion. In Mali, the absence of such policies has exacerbated regional inequalities and reinforced feelings of marginalization, which has fueled rebel movements. In Türkiye, despite repression, attempts have been made to integrate minorities and bridge divisions, although with mixed results. Governments must therefore not only respond to immediate crises but also invest in long-term solutions to address the root causes of socio-political divisions. The importance of trust between citizens and the state is crucial to strengthening the legitimacy of institutions and preventing conflict.

In Mali, efforts to ease ethnic tensions have been insufficient, leading to widespread distrust of the central government and a resurgence of secessionist movements (Boone, 2012). Attempts at peace agreements have often failed to adequately include different factions, contributing to persistent tensions and instabilities. The failure to effectively manage these divisions has facilitated the recurrence of military coups, illustrating how political precarity can be sustained through poor management of socio-political conflicts (Wing, 2016).

In Türkiye, although ethnic tensions with the Kurdish population and persistent political divisions between secularists and Islamists are present, economic and social reforms have been partially successful in reducing the impact of these divisions. However, the repression of dissident movements has also led to international criticism and increasing political polarization (Yavuz, 2009). The balance between repression and attempts at integration shows that managing socio-political divisions is complex and requires a nuanced approach.

Governments must therefore not only respond to immediate crises but also invest in long-term solutions to address the root causes of socio-political divisions. The importance of trust between citizens and the state is crucial to strengthen the legitimacy of institutions and prevent conflicts. Inclusive policies, transparent governance and the promotion of intercommunity dialogue are essential to mitigate tensions and strengthen political stability. The examples of Mali and Türkiye show that managing socio-political divisions is an ongoing challenge that requires continued efforts to maintain peace and national cohesion.

3. Implications of the Cases of Türkiye and Mali for Understanding Coups

The coup attempts in Türkiye and Mali offer significant insights into the understanding of coup dynamics and their implications for political stability. Analyzing these events allows us to identify general trends and develop recommendations to prevent future destabilization attempts.

3.1. Importance of Institutional Robustness

Institutional robustness refers to the ability of government and civil institutions to resist internal and external pressures, maintain order, and protect the legitimacy and continuity of government. One of the key lessons from the cases of Türkiye and Mali is the importance of institutional robustness in preventing coups. In Türkiye, democratic institutions and a centralized governance system played a key role in preventing the 2016 coup. The strength of institutions allowed the government to quickly mobilize the resources needed to counter the coup attempt, demonstrating that strong institutions can provide resilience against such attacks (Özcan, 2019). Furthermore, the presence of institutional checks and balances played a crucial role in the failure of the 2016 coup. The independent judiciary and a relatively free press contributed to a rapid and effective response against the coup plotters. According to Özcan (2019), the ability of institutions to mobilize popular support and defend the legitimacy of the government was instrumental in restoring order after the coup attempt. By providing mutual monitoring between the different branches of government, these mechanisms reduced the opportunities for power grabs by military or political factions. Moreover, judicial independence has enabled the effective prosecution of those responsible for the 2016 coup attempt, thereby strengthening the legitimacy of the state and deterring future attempts at destabilization (Özcan, 2019).

By ensuring that justice is administered without political interference, judicial independence contributes to political stability by maintaining the rule of law and reducing social tensions.

Robust institutions also have the ability to quickly mobilize popular support in times of crisis, which is crucial for the legitimacy and survival of a government. Legitimacy, which stems from the public perception that the government is fair and represents the interests of the population, is a key factor in preventing coups. Institutions that function effectively and transparently can strengthen this perception by demonstrating their ability to respond to the needs of the population and maintain order.

For example, in Türkiye, the rapid response of government institutions and the mobilization of popular support were key factors in the failure of the 2016 coup. President Erdogan's call to the population to defend democracy was followed by massive demonstrations of support, showing that Turkish institutions could count on broad popular support to counter the coup attempt (Aydin-taşbaş, 2018). This mobilization strengthened the government's legitimacy and discouraged the coup plotters.

In contrast, in Mali, institutional weakness has been a critical factor in the success of coups. Weak governance structures and an ineffective administration have made the country vulnerable to internal disruptions. Institutional weakness prevents the establishment of effective response mechanisms to internal threats, thus facilitating undemocratic regime changes (Boeke & Schuurman, 2020).

In Mali, institutional fragility was a major factor in the success of the 2020 and 2021 coups. Checks and balances were weak or nonexistent, facilitating military takeovers. Englebort (2021) notes that the lack of effective checks and balances and the weak capacity of the state to maintain order created an environment conducive to instability and attempts to overthrow the government. This demonstrates the importance of institutional mechanisms for political stability and coup prevention. The absence of an independent judiciary contributed to instability. Corruption and political interference in the judiciary undermined public trust and weakened the rule of law, facilitating coups. Boeke (2016) highlights that the inability of judicial institutions to function independently and effectively contributed to the perception of a weak and illegitimate government, increasing vulnerability to coup attempts.

Furthermore, the inability of institutions to mobilize popular support has contributed to the success of coups. Low trust in state institutions and perceptions of an ineffective and corrupt government have reduced popular support for the government, facilitating coup attempts (Hagberg, 2019). This highlights the importance of institutions maintaining a strong connection with the population to prevent political crises. In Mali, weak institutions and their inability to

respond effectively to crises have contributed to political instability. The slow and ineffective response to security and economic challenges has weakened the government's position and facilitated successive coups (Englebert, 2021). This shows that the ability of institutions to respond to crises is essential to maintaining stability and preventing attempts to overthrow the government.

3.2. Impact of Socioeconomic Conditions and Sociopolitical Divisions

Socioeconomic conditions and sociopolitical divisions play a central role in the stability of political regimes. In Türkiye, despite economic challenges, the government has managed to maintain stability through economic reforms and effective macroeconomic management (Öniş, 2012). A relatively stable economy and an ability to manage internal sociopolitical tensions have contributed to the resilience of the Turkish government in the face of coup attempts.

In Mali, on the other hand, precarious economic conditions and deep sociopolitical divisions have created an environment conducive to instability. Economic deterioration and ethnic and regional tensions have weakened the state and facilitated successive coups (Hagberg, 2019). This highlights the importance of managing socioeconomic conditions and internal divisions to prevent coup attempts.

Socioeconomic conditions play a fundamental role in the stability of a state. Economic problems such as high unemployment, poverty, and inflation can breed widespread discontent, weaken government legitimacy, and make populations more receptive to calls for regime change. Difficult economic conditions can also exacerbate social inequalities and political tensions, increasing the risk of internal conflict and coups. Economic insecurity is often associated with increased political instability. Studies show that countries facing recurring economic crises are more likely to experience coups and abrupt regime changes (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2012).

In Mali, economic insecurity has been a key factor in recent waves of protests against the government. Low economic growth, mismanagement of resources, and overreliance on international aid have fueled popular resentment and weakened state legitimacy. Boeke (2016) notes that these difficult economic conditions have created fertile ground for political instability, facilitating the coups of 2020 and 2021. Reliance on external aid has also exacerbated economic vulnerabilities, making the country more susceptible to external and internal shocks that can destabilize the government.

In contrast, Türkiye, despite significant economic challenges, has managed to maintain relative political stability through prudent macroeconomic management and substantial economic reforms (Öniş, 2012). Sustained economic growth, albeit unevenly distributed, has allowed the government to strengthen

its legitimacy and maintain order despite internal tensions. Pamuk (2016) highlights that improving living conditions and creating economic opportunities have helped ease social tensions and discourage coup attempts, showing how effective economic management can strengthen the resilience of a state.

Social inequality is another critical factor influencing political stability. In Mali, socio-economic inequality has contributed to political tensions and instability. The economic marginalization of some regions, particularly in the north of the country, has exacerbated feelings of discontent and injustice, leading to rebellion movements and growing opposition to the central government (Hagberg, 2019). The perception of unequal distribution of resources and opportunities has fueled resentment toward the government, facilitating coup attempts.

In Türkiye, although inequalities persist, efforts have been made to reduce disparities and improve the general well-being of the population. Economic and social reforms have helped to mitigate inequalities and reduce tensions, contributing to greater political stability (Özcan, 2019). This demonstrates that inclusive and equitable economic policies can strengthen social cohesion and reduce the risks of internal conflicts and coups.

In Mali, ethnic and regional tensions have played a central role in political instability. The marginalization of Tuareg communities and other northern ethnic groups has led to rebellions and growing opposition to the central government, undermining the legitimacy of the state (Lecocq & Klute, 2019). These tensions have created fertile ground for coups, with the armed forces often seen as a solution to restore order in the face of an ineffective government (Wing, 2016).

In Türkiye, although the country has also faced ethnic tensions, particularly with the Kurdish issue, the government has managed to contain these divisions by adopting political reforms and maintaining a strong repression of dissident movements (Yavuz, 2009). The centralization of power and the effective use of security forces have helped to maintain a certain political stability despite internal tensions. This approach has strengthened the state's capacity to manage internal divisions and prevent coup attempts.

Conclusion

This article has set out to explore the reasons why coup attempts have failed in Türkiye, while succeeding in Mali, despite distinct political and socio-economic contexts. By examining the internal and external dynamics that shaped these events, the analysis has highlighted several key aspects: the role of the armed forces, the robustness of democratic institutions, the involvement of international actors, and the socio-political particularities of these two nations.

In Türkiye, the failure of the July 2016 coup was largely attributed to a strong public opposition and robust democratic institutions, as well as the crucial sup-

port of large segments of the military for the civilian administration. Popular mobilization, free media, and established democratic institutions played a central role in resisting the attempted overthrow of the government. Moreover, a relatively stable economy and substantial international support strengthened the government's resilience in the face of this crisis. In contrast, in Mali, coups have been facilitated by a combination of factors such as weak state institutions, chronic political instability, widespread poverty, and ethnic and territorial conflicts. The Malian military, faced with ineffective and corrupt governance, has often found legitimacy in taking power, perceived by parts of the population as a means of restoring order and security. The international response, while generally disapproving of the coups, has been relatively limited, allowing the military to maintain its control without significant pressure to quickly restore civilian rule.

The divergences in coup outcomes in Türkiye and Mali can therefore be attributed to marked differences in institutional robustness, popular support for the regimes in place, socio-economic dynamics, and international reactions. These elements have contributed to Türkiye's relative stability in the face of attempted overthrow and Mali's continued fragility, making coups more likely to succeed in the latter country.

Analysis of these cases offers valuable lessons for understanding the factors that influence the success or failure of coups and highlights the importance of strengthening democratic institutions, improving socio-economic conditions, and effectively managing socio-political divisions to ensure lasting political stability. In conclusion, governments must strive to build strong institutions, ensure inclusive governance and promote social cohesion to prevent political crises and maintain national stability.

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Mali Cumhuriyeti'nin Kaynaştırma Eğitim Sistemi ve Ortaya Çıkışı

Inclusive Education System and Its Emergence of the Republic of Mali

Aminata FOFANA

İstanbul Okan Üniversitesi, Çocuk Gelişimi ve Eğitimi Anabilim Dalı, İstanbul, Türkiye
Istanbul Okan University, Department of Child Development and Education, İstanbul, Türkiye
E-posta: aminagalare01@gmail.com
ORCID: 0009-0004-2424-6512

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Öz: Her insana eşit hak ve fırsatın verilmesi gerekliliğinden hareketle, eğitimde eşit hak ve fırsatın özel gereksinimli bireylere de verilmesi gerekmektedir. Özel gereksinimli bireylerin, normal gelişim gösteren akranlarıyla birlikte eğitim almalarını sağlayan kaynaştırma uygulamaları evrensel olarak olduğu gibi Mali Cumhuriyeti'nde de her geçen gün biraz daha da önem kazanmaktadır. Bu Araştırmada, Mali Cumhuriyeti'nin kaynaştırma eğitim sistemini değerlendirilmeye ve yorumlanmaya çalışılmaktadır. Mali Cumhuriyeti'ndeki kaynaştırma eğitimi uygulaması yapılan okullara özel gereksinimli çocukların alınması, yerleştirilmesi ve bu okullarda verilen kaynaştırma eğitimin niteliğini derinlemesine araştırılması, bu çalışmanın amacını oluşturmaktadır. Bu amaç doğrultusunda, Mali Cumhuriyeti'nin kaynaştırma eğitim uygulaması ile ilgili yazılan dokümanlar incelenmiştir. Betimsel- analitik araştırma yönteminin kullanıldığı bu çalışmanın bulgularında, Mali Cumhuriyeti'nin kaynaştırma eğitim sistemi ilk olarak 1983-1984 yılları arasında Bamako'daki Genç Kör Enstitüsü'nün orta okul ikinci sınıf öğrencileriyle başladığı, günümüzde ise 3-6 yaş arasındaki özel gereksinimli çocukların (okul öncesi dönemdeki çocuklar) kaynaştırma eğitim uygulaması yapılan okullara

alındığı ve her geçen gün bu ülkede kaynaştırma eğitimin niteliğinin ve kalitesinin arttığı bildirilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kaynaştırma, Kaynaştırma eğitim sistemi, Özel gereksinimli çocuk

Abstract: Based on the law (principle) of giving equal rights and opportunities to every person, equal rights and opportunities in education should also be given to individuals with disabilities. As well as being universal, the inclusion practices, providing education for disabled individuals together with their peers with normal development, are also gaining more and more importance each passing day in the Republic of Mali. This research attempts to evaluate and interpret the inclusive education system of the Republic of Mali. Admission and placement of children with special needs in schools practicing inclusive education, in-depth investigation of the quality achievements of the inclusive education given in these schools in the Republic of Mali constitute the objective of this research. For this purpose, written documents related to the implementation of inclusive education system in the Republic of Mali were examined. In the findings of this study in which the descriptive-analytical research method was used, The inclusive education system of the Republic of Mali first started with the second grade students of the Young Blind Institute in Bamako between 1983 and 1984, and today, children with special needs between the ages of 3 and 6 (preschoolers) are included in schools where inclusive education is implemented. The nature and quality of inclusive education in this country is being improved day by day.

Keywords: Inclusion, Inclusive education system, Children with special needs.

Giriş

Eğitim; evrensel olarak ülkelerin gelişmişlik seviyelerinin en önemli kriteri ve asırlar boyunca varlığını sürdürmüş bir "olgu" olarak tanımlanması mümkündür (Güven, 2010). Özel gereksinimli çocuklar ve normal gelişim gösteren çocukların genel eğitim okullarında ve sınıflarında birlikte eğitim almaları, 1960'lı yıllardan başlayarak birçok ülkede kabul görmüş ve uygulanmıştır. Tarihsel gelişime bakıldığında ise farklı ülkelerde farklı şekillerde gelişme gösterdiği, çoğu ülkelerde yapılan yasal düzenlemeler sonucunda ortaya çıktığı görülmüştür. Eskiden Fransız sömürgesi ülkeler arasında yer alan Mali Cumhuriyeti'nde Fransızlar tarafından kurulmuş Modern Fransız Okulu olarak bilinen okulların aracılığıyla Malili çocukları eğitilmiştir. Bu dönemde Mali nüfusunun sadece % 7'si Fransız okulunda okumuş, nüfusun geri kalan % 93'ü eğitime erişim fırsatı bulamadığından dolayı okuma yazmayı öğrenememiştir. Sömürge dönemi bittikten sonra eğitim vermek amacıyla Mali Cumhuriyeti'nde kalan Fransız hocalar okullarda görev alırlarken, okumak amacıyla Malili öğrencilerin birçoğu da Fransa'ya gönderilmiştir. Yıllar sonra ülkeye geri dönen bu öğrencilerin, meşrutiyet ile değişen eğitim sistemini halkın ihtiyaçlarına göre düzenleyebilmek için hem ülkenin yönetimine hem de bilime önemli katkılar sağladıklarını söylemek mümkündür (Diarrah, 1992). Eğitim bir devlet için en önemli unsurlardan biri olduğundan, Mali Cumhuriyeti de bağımsızlığını kazandıktan sonra daha iyi bir eğitim sistemi yürütebilmek üzere,

vatandaşlara faydalı olan ve bütün dünya tarafından kabul edilen bir eğitim sistemi edinmeye başlamıştır. Eğitim sistemi ve hakları konusunda politikacılar, tekrar düşünmeye başlamış ve eğitimsel hakları değiştirdikleri gibi sistemi de değiştirmişlerdir.

Eğitim sisteminin kurulması ve belirlenen hedeflere ulaşması için devlet adamları tarafından ilk olarak garantili bir eğitim sistemi kurulması gerektiği, bütün çocukların eşit olarak okula erişmelerinin sağlanması gerektiği, Mali Cumhuriyeti'nde birden fazla anadil olduğundan bir eğitim dili seçilmesi gerektiği ve seçilecek olan dilin hiçbir etnik gruba ait olmayan bir dil olması gerektiği, dolayısıyla Fransızcanın seçilmesinin daha uygun olduğu, devlet okullarının din, dil, ırk, etnik köken gibi öğelerden uzak durması gerektiği, devlet okullarının laik olması gerektiği bildirilmiştir (Antonioli, 1993).

Hiçbir ayırım yapmadan eğitimin, bütün çocukların hakkı olduğu kadar zorunlu bir olgu olduğundan hareketle, engelli çocukların da eğitim almasının gerekliliği devlet tarafından bildirilmiştir. Özel gereksinimli bir çocuğun, normal sınıf ortamında, normal eğitim müfredatıyla ve normal gelişim gösteren akranlarıyla birlikte eğitimine Mali Cumhuriyeti'nde 'Integration' adı verilmiştir ve bu eğitim sisteminin yürürlüğe girebilmesi için devlet tarafından bir dizi kanun çıkarılmıştır (koulibaly, 2004- 2005).

Kaynaştırma Eğitim Sistemi ve Ortaya Çıkışı:

Mali Cumhuriyeti'nin 22 milyonluk nüfusundan yaklaşık 2,7 milyondan fazlası özel gereksinimli bireylerdir. Nüfusun %50,6'sının yoksulluk içinde yaşadığından dolayı özel gereksinimli bireyler toplum tarafından dışlanmış kişilerin dışlanmış çocuklarıdır (fakirlerin fakiri). Genel olarak, dünya çapında 72 milyon çocuğun eğitim dışında tutulduğu ve bunların üçte birinin özel gereksinimli çocuklar olduğu bilinmektedir. Mali Cumhuriyeti'nde ise riskli bir toplumsal statüye sahip bireyler oldukları için özel gereksinimli bireylerin sağlık hizmetlerine, eğitime, sosyal hizmetlere ve istihdama erişimleri ya çok zor ya da imkansızdır (Pinto, Pinto ve Cunha, 2016).

Mali Cumhuriyeti'nde kaynaştırma eğitim sistemi ilk olarak 1983-1984 yılları arasında Bamako'daki Genç Kör Enstitüsü'nün orta okul ikinci sınıf öğrencileriyle başlamıştır. Kaynaştırma eğitim sistemi aracılığıyla Görme engelli olan çocuklar normal gelişimi gösteren diğer akranlarıyla bir bütün olarak birlikte eğitilmesi sağlanabilmiştir. Bu nedenle kaynaştırma eğitim sisteminin okuldan okula değişebilen bir sistem olmadığını, Eğitim Bakanlığı tarafından belirlenen bir eğitim sistemi yaklaşımı olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır (Corps, Ceralli, Boisseau 2012).

1998 yılında başlatılan Eğitim Geliştirme Programının hedeflediği reformlar, okul ve toplum arasındaki bağlantıyı güçlendirmeye odaklanmıştır. Bu eğitim sisteminin veya uygulamasının geliştirilmesine ulusal düzeyde önem verilmiştir.

Kıscacası sadece devlet tarafından değil tüm STK'lar tarafından da giderek daha da fazla sahiplenilmiştir.

Devlet tarafından belirlenen 'Temel Eğitim Sistemi Herkese Sağlanmalı' ilkesiyle yola çıkan Mali Cumhuriyeti'nde temel eğitim alan çocukların sayısı 2003-2004 yılları arasında % 70,5; 2005- 2006 yıllarında ise %75,0'e yükselmiştir. Buna rağmen, eğitimsel olarak bu yüzdelerin hala devletin hedeflerinden uzak olduğunu söylemek mümkündür (Corps, Ceralli, Boisseau 2012).

Mali Cumhuriyeti'nde özel gereksinimli çocuklar için ilk olarak ayrılan eğitim sistemi, özel eğitim sistemidir. Özel eğitim sisteminden sonra özel gereksinimli çocukların eğitilebilmesi için kaynaştırma eğitim sistemi meydana gelmiştir; Kaynaştırma eğitim sistemi, bilindiği üzere özel gereksinimli çocukların devlet ve özel okullarında, ancak normal gelişim gösteren diğer öğrencilerle ve kaynaştırma eğitim sistemi hakkında bilgi sahibi olan öğretmenlerle aynı sınıfta eğitim alması anlamına gelmektedir. Kaynaştırma eğitim sistemi uygulaması yapılan okullarda özel gereksinimli çocukların kişisel ve sosyal ihtiyaçlarının da dikkate alınması gerekmektedir. Dolayısıyla özel gereksinimli çocuğun okula uyum sağlamasından ziyade okulun öğrenciye uyum sağlaması beklenmektedir.

Mali Cumhuriyeti'nde Kaynaştırma Eğitimi

Kaynaştırma eğitim lehindeki temel argümanlara sadece pedagojik özellikler değil, sosyal ve ahlaki özelliklerde dâhildir (iletişim kurmak, uygun davranışlar kazanmak, çocuk için tecritten kaçınmak, sosyal yaşama erişimi kazanmak, çocuğun kendi vücudundan haberdar olmasına yardımcı olmak). Mali Cumhuriyeti'nde çok fazla ve çeşit çeşit etnik gruplar olduğu için kültürel olarak bile bu etnik gruplar birbiriyle anlaşmakta zorluk çekmektedirler.

Kaynaştırma eğitim sistemi, çocukların ayrı tutulmamasına, özel gereksinimli ve normal gelişim gösteren çocuklar arasında ayırım yapılmamasına yardımcı olmaktadır. Kaynaştırma eğitim sistemiyle özel gereksinimli ve normal gelişim gösteren çocukların hepsi bir arada tutularak, entegre bir toplum için temel oluşturulmaktadır. Normal gelişim gösteren öğrencilerin özel gereksinimli öğrencilerle bir paylaşım içinde olması, farklılıklarını kabul etmesi ve saygı göstermeyi öğrenmesi, sosyal entegrasyonu başlatır. Böylece kaynaştırma yoluyla okul entegrasyonu ile başlamış olur.

Öte yandan, kaynaştırma eğitim sistemi, özel gereksinimli öğrencilerin de toplumsal dayanışma ve iş birliği hakkında gerçekçi bir fikre sahip olmalarına fırsat sağlamaktadır. Kaynaştırma eğitim sistemi sadece özel gereksinimli çocukları toplumun bir parçası yapabilmek için değil, aynı zamanda toplumun da özel gereksinimli çocukları kabullenebilmesi için çabalamaktadır.

Kaynaştırma eğitim sisteminin sadece aynı sınıfta olanlar ya da aynı okulda okuyan çocuklar için değil, toplumsal olarak herkese fayda sağlamakta, insanlar

arasındaki fiziksel ve zihinsel farklılıkların doğal olduğunu topluma kabul ettirdiği bilinmektedir (Coulibaly, 2013).

Mali Cumhuriyeti'nde Kaynaştırma Eğitimine Başlama Yaşı

Çocukların (özel gereksinimli ve normal gelişim gösteren) okula başlama yaşı ülkeden ülkeye değişebildiği, dolayısıyla bir ülkenin ulusal hükümet politikalarının belirlediği yasalarda okul öncesi, ilkokul ve ortaokul için yaş sınırlarını belirlemesi gerekmektedir. Mali Cumhuriyeti'nde ise yaş ve okul düzeyinin ortalaması şu şekilde sıralanmaktadır:

- ❖ Okul öncesi dönemi: 3 - 6 yaş;
- ❖ İlkokul dönemi için yaş ortalaması: 6 - 15 yaş;
- ❖ Ortaokul dönemi için yaş ortalaması: 14 - 25 yaştır.

Normal gelişim gösteren çocukların eğitime başlama yaşı 3 olduğu için özel gereksinimli çocuklar da 3 yaşından itibaren okul öncesi kurumlara kayıt olabileceğini söylemek mümkündür (Corps, Ceralli, Boisseau 2012).

Mali Cumhuriyeti'nde Kaynaştırma Eğitiminde İzlenen Süreç

Mali Cumhuriyeti'ndeki özel gereksinimli bir çocuğun kaynaştırma eğitiminden faydalanması için izlenilmesi gereken süreçler aşağıda verilmektedir:

- ❖ Gelişimin iyi yönde ilerlemeyen ve şüpheli olan çocuğa gelişimsel olarak tarama yapılması
- ❖ Tıbbi tanılama yapılması
- ❖ Gelişimsel tanılama yapılması (ayrıntılı bir şekilde)
- ❖ Özel gereksinimli olup olmadığına ilişkin kanıtların incelenmesi
- ❖ Hazırlık aşaması (özel eğitim kurumlarında ders alınması)
- ❖ Gelişimsel uygunluğunun (bilişsel, dil, motor, sosyal) kontrol edilmesi
- ❖ Kaynaştırma uygulaması yapılan okullara alınması (Koulibaly, 2004- 2005).

Mali Cumhuriyeti'nde BEP (Bireyselleştirilmiş Eğitim Programı)

Mali Cumhuriyeti'nde kaynaştırma uygulaması sırasında bireyselleştirilmiş eğitim programı hazırlanmadığını söylemek mümkündür. Kaynaştırma uygulaması yapılan okulların sınıflarındaki öğrenci sayısı fazla olduğu için, öğretmenler hem normal gelişim gösteren öğrenciler hem de özel gereksinimli öğrencilerle birlikte ilgilenmekte, dolayısıyla özel gereksinimli bir çocuğa ayrı bir gelişimsel eğitim programı hazırlama fırsatı olmamaktadır. Mali Cumhuriyeti'ndeki kaynaştırma eğitim uygulaması yapılan okullarda bireyselleştirilmiş eğitim programı için ayrı bir odalarının olmadığı, özel eğitim uzmanı ya da bireyselleştirilmiş eğitim hakkında bilgi sahibi olan öğretmenlerinin de olmadığını söylemek mümkündür. Açıkçası kaynaştırma öğrencisi tam zamanlı olarak normal bir sınıf

içerisinde, normal gelişimi gösteren öğrencilerle ve öğretmenlerle ders almaktadır (Koulibaly, 2004- 2005).

Tartışma ve Sonuç

Mali Cumhuriyeti 1960 yılında Fransız sömürgeciliğinden bağımsızlığını kazandıktan sonra eğitimsel olarak yeni ve modern yöntemler edinmeye başlamıştır. Çoğu ülkede de 1960'lı yıllardan itibaren kaynaştırma uygulamaları hızlı bir biçimde yaygınlaşmaya başlamıştır, bu değişimin altında çeşitli nedenler yatmaktadır (Sucuoğlu, 2004). Öncelikle özel eğitim sisteminin kaynaştırma eğitim sistemini sağlayamadığı (Saraç ve Çolak, 2012), öğrenciler tarafından ayrımcılık yaşanıldığı, dolayısıyla öğrencileri özel gereksinimli ve normal gelişim gösteren bireyler olarak ikiye ayrıldığına farkına varılmıştır. Özel gereksinimli bireylerin akranlarıyla en çok birlikte olabileceği ve aynı zamanda eğitim gereksinimlerinin en iyi biçimde karşılanabileceği ortamlarda eğitim görmeleri amacıyla birçok ülkede olduğu gibi Mali Cumhuriyeti'nde de kaynaştırma eğitimi uygulamaları başlatılmıştır.

Açık söylemek gerekirse eskiden özel gereksinimli bireyler normal gelişim gösterenler tarafından dışlanmışlardır. Özel gereksinimli bireyler tanımlarken, malformasyon, uğursuzluk, sakatlık, istikrarsızlık ve çaresizlik gibi terimler kullanılmıştır. Bu dönemde özel gereksinimli bireyler kendi aileleri de dahil toplum tarafından kabul edilmemiştir.

Dezavantajlı çocukların hayat kalitesinin iyileştirilmesi ve eğitilmesi, Mali Cumhuriyeti'nin Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı'nın en büyük hedeflerinden biri olmaya devam etmektedir. Ayrıca ulusal eğitim politikasının üstlenmesi gereken en acil görevlerden biri olduğunu da söylemek gerekir. Engelli çocukların okula gitmeleri önemini ve aciliyetini göz önünde bulundurmak, bu sorunun toplumun bir kısmınca değil ancak Mali Cumhuriyeti'ndeki tüm okumuş insanların katkısıyla ulusal düzeyde çözülmesi gerektiğini söylemek mümkündür.

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Les Ecoles Maarif De Türkiye Au Mali: Un Veritable Pilier De Renforcement Diplomatique Entre Les Deux Pays*

The Maarif Schools of Türkiye In Mali: A Real Support For Diplomatic Reinforcement Between Two Countries

Asst, Mariam KEITA

Türkiye Maarif Vakfı, Türkiye Araştırmaları Merkezi, Bamako-Mali
Fondation Maarif de Türkiye, Centre de Recherche de Türkiye, Bamako-Mali
visionfemmemali@gmail.com
ORCID: 0009-0006-7904-8542

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Résumé: Cet article traite le partenariat et la relation établis entre le Mali et la Türkiye. Ce partenariat qui se fonde sur des domaines clés tels que l'éducation et la culture qui alimentent la relation bilatérale. Accepter de contribuer à l'éducation d'un autre pays montre certaines valeurs ou préoccupations que les sociétés peuvent avoir en commun. Et décider de se rapprocher d'une autre culture par les langues sous-entend également la volonté de converger ensemble vers un lendemain meilleur entre les peuples. Cela prouve à plus d'un titre la maturité de la société malienne et turque. C'est par l'éducation que les sociétés se construisent et espèrent à un futur meilleur pour leurs citoyens. Par les écoles MAARIF le Mali et la Türkiye ont abouti à un véritable crédo diplomatique et d'amitié entre les deux peuples. Cette relation est fortifiée par l'échange culturel fondé sur la promotion des langues. Les deux pays ambitionnent de

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se rapprocher par l'intermédiaire des langues en ayant des centres de langues dans chaque pays pour mieux se connaître.

Mots clés: Diplomatie, éducation, culture, Mali, Türkiye

Abstract: This paper discusses the partnership between the Mali and Turkey. A partnership based on key areas such as education and culture. Agreeing to contribute to education in another country shows certain values or concerns that companies may have in common. And deciding to get closer to another culture through languages also supports the will to converge together towards a better tomorrow between peoples. In more ways than one, this proves the maturity of Malian and Turquoise society. It is through education that societies build themselves and hope for a better future for their citizens. Through the MAARIF schools, Mali and Turkey have established a genuine diplomatic credo of friendship between the two peoples. This relationship is strengthened by cultural exchange based on the promotion of languages. The two countries aim to forge closer ties through language centers in each country to help them get to know each other better.

Keywords: Diplomacy, education, culture, Mali, Turkey

Introduction

La mondialisation depuis quelques années oblige les Etats à multiplier les partenaires, cela dans le dessein de renforcer leurs capacités dans les domaines stratégiques. Et la géopolitique vient à point nommé pour justifier cette nécessaire collaboration entre les pays de toutes les contrées. La division économique et commerciale du monde depuis 18^{ème} siècle par l'Occident dans son projet impérialiste impose de surcroît aux Etats exclus de chercher des partenaires fiables. Dans le même sillage nous pouvons comprendre ces propos de Bertrand Badie "Le messianisme du plus fort est un phénomène bien connu et très ancien. Il associe classiquement puissance et rayonnement, légitimant l'une et l'autre en présentant les normes diffusées comme supérieures, meilleures et applicables à tous. Comme par enchantement, la conquête devient un instrument de libération et d'émancipation : ainsi le monde environnant fut-il successivement hellénisé, romanisé, mais aussi sinisé, christianisé, islamisé, occidentalisé, pour, dit-on, le « plus grand profit » des peuples soumis" (2002, p. 43).

Les Etats émergents par le monde cherchent à contourner ce partage inéquitable et illégal du marché mondial. Pour accéder à l'économie du monde, les pays du Sud longtemps sous le jouet de la domination cherchent à sortir leur épingle du jeu. Pour ce faire, les nouveaux partenaires économiques ou politique sont convoités à toute occasion. De surcroît que ce sont des Etats qui regorgent d'énormes ressources minières. Ces richesses qui font l'objet de toutes les convoitises attirent particulièrement les pays industrialisés. Les Etats en voie de construction ont également besoin de la technologie des pays industrialisés afin de transformer leurs matières premières. Si un pays a la nécessité de vendre,

l'autre a la nécessité d'acheter. Les Etats modernes, démocratiques et souverains établissent des partenariats bilatéraux en fonction des besoins des uns et des autres. Les relations diplomatiques se font de nos jours sur des bases solides et stratégiques. Cette relation peut souvent créer une certaine dépendance l'un envers l'autre. Ce qui fait que si la relation vient à être brisée, le pays peut être exposé à des conséquences économiques ou politiques considérables. Tel est le cas de quelques pays qui dépendent de l'uranium de certains pays. Pour éviter que les relations diplomatiques ne s'effritent complètement, les Etats multiplient leur secteur d'intervention et de coopération. La population galopante et la consommation massive exigent aux Etats à chercher des partenaires pour relever les défis multisectoriels du 21^{ème} siècle. Le Mali ne fait pas exception à cette réalité et de surcroit, il est confronté à une crise multidimensionnelle qui dure depuis une décennie. La Türkiye aussi à l'instar des autres Etats de l'Europe fait face aux défis énergétiques. Le berceau de civilisation gréco-romaine est perçu par le Mali comme un partenaire faible. L'industrie et la technologie militaire de la Türkiye intéresse le Mali à plus d'un titre. Le partenariat Mali- Türkiye bat son plein à travers des investissements dans les énergies renouvelables. Il est devenu de nos jours un partenaire estimable par les échanges de technologies militaires et des investissements scolaires pour éveiller les consciences surtout celles des jeunes générations. Ce qui est l'une des appréhensions majeures du Mali confronté aux défis de la sécurité et du terrorisme. Mais tout porte à croire que la situation que le Mali est dans une guerre inventée ou provoquée par les puissances obscures ensevelies pour la toge de la démocratie et des droits de l'Homme.

Le Mali et la Türkiye ont tous deux une conscience du multiple visage du droit international créée à dessein et utilisés dans le seul intérêt des puissances occidentales. Ce qui rapproche de plus les deux pays victimes de leurs ressources et de leurs patrimoines culturels. En sus, depuis quelques décennies, les deux nations ont fortifié leurs relations par le biais de l'éducation. Par les écoles MAARIF, le Mali et la Türkiye tissent de solides relations diplomatiques. Les établissements scolaires de MAARIF constituent de nos jours un partenaire majeur du Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale. Chaque année, les écoles MAARIF présentent des centaines de candidats dans les différents examens nationaux du Mali. Et elles ont chaque année les meilleurs pourcentages en termes de réussite. A cela s'ajoute de nombreuses bourses que l'Etat turc accorde aux bacheliers chaque année dans le cadre de la coopération établie entre la Fondation MAARIF et l'organisme des bourses gouvernementales. Le Mali regorge de plus en plus de turcophones à travers des ingénieurs, des médecins, des agronomes, des docteurs en recherches histoire géographie (RHG), en psychologie, en sociologie, en philosophie etc. Cette communication met en exergue deux éléments fondamentaux de bonne relation entre le Mali et la Türkiye. Il s'agit d'une part l'impact crucial des écoles MAARIF dans la relation entre les deux Etats. Et d'autre part le volet culturel et scientifique fondé sur la promotion des études et des recherches sur

les deux pays à travers la coopération inter-universitaire et les centres culturels.

1. Les écoles MAARIF le socle de la relation MALI-TÜRKIYE

La diplomatie et l'éducation sont deux domaines importants qui sont interconnectés et qui contribuent à renforcer mutuellement le lien entre deux pays. Ainsi, l'éducation joue un rôle prépondérant dans ce contexte et les écoles MAARIF de Türkiye, présentes depuis plus de cinq ans au Mali, répondent favorablement dans le renforcement de ce lien.

Les écoles MAARIF de Türkiye, également connues sous le nom de Türkiye MAARIF Vakfı en langue turque, sont des établissements d'enseignement présents dans plusieurs pays et gérés par la Fondation MAARIF de Türkiye. Cette fondation a été créée dans le but de remplacer des écoles affiliées au mouvement Gülen (un mouvement qui n'a aucune relation avec le gouvernement turc et qui fait usage de la religion pour parvenir à certains objectifs tels que l'espionnage et le terrorisme). De cette façon, ces écoles contribuent à une éducation de qualité moderne tout en s'alignant derrière le système éducatif malien et à la promotion de la culture turque au Mali et ainsi que dans d'autres pays en particulier ceux de l'Afrique.

La fondation MAARIF considérée comme une forme d'influence diplomatique de la Türkiye en Afrique a pour objectif de former les futures générations capables de préserver le patrimoine culturel unique en leur permettant un avenir indépendant et responsable. Grâce à cet objectif, elle contribue à renforcer les relations bilatérales entre la Türkiye et les pays africains en investissant dans l'éducation tout en favorisant les échanges culturels. En d'autres termes, elle offre des solutions africaines aux problèmes africains.

Dans le domaine de la diplomatie culturelle, l'éducation est un des outils clés. C'est pourquoi les écoles MAARIF de Türkiye au Mali aujourd'hui permettent de promouvoir la compréhension interculturelle et le dialogue entre le Mali et la Türkiye. Les échanges entre les étudiants, les programmes d'échange universitaire et les collaborations éducatives internationales favorisent les liens entre les peuples. Sur le plan public, ces écoles MAARIF favorisent les échanges éducatifs et partagent les connaissances. Ces initiatives éducatives renforcent également l'image de la Türkiye au Mali et favorise leur coopération. C'est ce cadre que nous comprenons ces idées de Bertrand Badie qui nous a montré l'importance de la coopération entre Etats en disant...

"L'international n'est donc pas figé dans une construction simpliste et immuable de l'absolue altérité. Il est également dangereux d'opposer le paradigme des souverainetés closes sur elles-mêmes à celui d'un cosmopolitisme plus ou moins accompli. Les situations intermédiaires sont nombreuses, assurant des modes complexes d'humanisation de la scène internationale. Ceux-ci sont

partout à la source d'une politique internationale rythmant l'Histoire et, par la manière dont ils se nouent, engagent les pratiques qui fondent aujourd'hui notre modernité. L'âge humaniste que fut la Renaissance occidentale est probablement une étape essentielle de l'invention de notre scène internationale, peut-être autant, sinon plus, que les sacro-saints traités de Westphalie" (p. 21).

Sur le plan économique, l'éducation étant un moteur important, les investissements de ces écoles renforcent la compétitivité au Mali et favorisent les partenariats économiques et commerciaux. Les systèmes éducatifs et les institutions académiques peuvent être des outils puissants de projection de soft power pour un pays. Les universités de renom, les programmes éducatifs innovants et la recherche de pointe peuvent renforcer l'influence d'un pays à l'échelle mondiale.

En résumé, l'éducation peut jouer un rôle crucial dans la diplomatie en favorisant la compréhension mutuelle et en renforçant les liens entre les peuples et en contribuant au développement économique et culturel des nations.

Le monde d'aujourd'hui change et progresse à très grande vitesse jouant un rôle important sur la dynamique des sociétés. La fondation MAARIF de Türkiye vise à former des personnes qualifiées qui participeront au développement économique, social et culturel. Elle attribue de ce fait, une grande importance à la confiance, la collaboration, la solidarité, la transparence et met l'accent sur la bonté, la globalité, l'universalité, l'aptitude et le mérite. Elle adopte aussi une compréhension de l'enseignement favorisant l'innovation dans le cadre des exigences de l'époque, qui prend pour base la science reposant sur le patrimoine commun de l'humanité, et qui est sensible aux diversités culturelles, qui privilégie les valeurs universelles, nationales, régionales, et qui considère la connaissance, la capacité et la valeur.

Ainsi, MAARIF Türkiye considère chaque humain comme un trésor. L'essentiel dans l'enseignement est d'éduquer les individus sur la bonne voie et de révéler les joyaux qui s'y trouvent. Prenant en compte les différences propres à chacun, la compréhension de l'enseignement MAARIF a pour objectif de former des personnes de caractères possédant des aptitudes innées et des qualifications qui lui sont propres. Une personne de caractère en plus de ses caractéristiques inhérentes, s'approprie de la richesse et de l'expérience de la société dans laquelle elle a grandi, et devient une personne unique possédant des compétences, des qualifications et le savoir. En partant de ce principe, un enseignement spécifique est proposé dans les écoles MAARIF en fonction des qualités individuelles, des aptitudes et de l'intérêt de chacun des pays où elles interviennent.

2. Pour une diplomatie fondée sur la promotion des langues entre le Mali et la Türkiye

Les échanges culturels ont de tout temps été au cœur des échanges entre

les peuples. Ces échanges culturels créent entre les peuples de la solidarité, de la tolérance et le sentiment de justice. Pour apprendre sur eux-mêmes et mieux jauger leurs valeurs, leurs coutumes, les sociétés ont toujours été ouvertes aux valeurs des contrées pour mieux s’orienter et consolider le vivre ensemble. Car ce qui fait la grandeur d’une société ou d’une civilisation c’est sa capacité à respecter la civilisation des autres. Mieux on apprend sur la culture des autres, mieux l’on se cultive et l’on contribue à la civilisation universelle. C’est ce qui fonde l’humanité, la mosaïque de cultures, de langues et de traditions qui font la singularité des uns et des autres. Ce qui permet également de comprendre que la différence est inhérente à la nature. Et qu’il va de soi que l’on soit différents les uns des autres mais que nous avons en commun l’humanité. Cette humanité qui n’appartient pas à une quelconque contrée, qui n’est pas l’apanage d’une société ou d’une civilisation mais fondée sur la loi de l’hétéronomie. La culture est ainsi une force majeure pour rapprocher les peuples. Senghor dit que, “Pour ce qui est de l’homme, l’Universel ne peut être universel que s’il est teinté d’humanité, enraciné dans l’homme” (1977 : 18). L’humanité est donc rencontre des humains qui transcende les cultures, les civilisations, les langues et traditions pour revenir à ce qui nous unie, ce qui nous rassemble qui est l’inconditionnalité d’être humain et d’avoir une dignité. Le Mali et la Türkiye majeures de leur histoire et de leur apport à la civilisation universelle, la différence n’est pas une opposition. Elle n’est pas contradiction encore moins une confrontation mais une diversité. Raison pour laquelle les langues du Mali et celle de la Türkiye sont utilisées lors des échanges et pour un renforcement diplomatique. Ce que corrobore les propos de Raoul Delcorde (2021)

Reconnaissons-le d’emblée, diplomatie rime d’abord avec voyages, souvent lointains, et avec une certaine forme de nomadisme. Toutefois, le diplomate est un voyageur d’un genre particulier, puisqu’il reste plusieurs années dans le même pays, ce qui lui permet de découvrir ce pays à loisir, d’en apprendre parfois la langue et de s’y faire des amis. La diplomatie, généralement donc itinérante, invite au voyage, au dépaysement et à la découverte d’autres cultures. Ce goût pour les voyages entre pour une bonne part dans la vocation de nombreux diplomates (2021, p. 9).

Ce voyage vers l’autre contrée, vers l’altérité est coupé cours par manque de viatique humaine pour cause la diabolisation de l’autre par certaine civilisation dite lumière. Des civilisations qui n’hésite pas à dialoguer l’altérité par divergence de point de vue et surtout d’intérêt. Le droit qui est sensé nous unir sur l’essentiel est utilisé au nom des concepts pour déshumaniser l’autre et trouver des raisons d’envahir un peuple en massacrant des milliers d’innocents. La violence illégale n’a jamais fait l’ordre même dans la jungle, elle n’y existe pas sinon il n’y aura aucun animal. La confrontation et les agressions ne font que retomber l’humanité dans sa phase sombre. Le rapprochement entre les peuples est plus que

nécessité et demeure la fin inéluctable de l'humanité. Donc plus converge cette unité, plus on se rapproche du but, celui de l'unité des diversités. C'est cette voie salubre que la Mali et la Türkiye ont décidé d'empreinter pour débroussailler pour les autres le chemin qui mène à l'universel. Et la meilleure façon de la faire parler de langue à langue comme le dit le philosophe sénégalais Souleymane Bachir Diagne.

Conclusion

La relation entre les nations de nos jours est plus qu'opportune tant les défis de la société de consommation sont innombrables. Les Etats dépendent plus en plus les uns des autres pour satisfaire les besoins des citoyens et pour se faire une place sur l'échiquier international. Quand bien même que les relations entre Etat permettent aux deux parties de répondre à des besoins immédiats ou lointains, elle permet également de se faire place dans la diplomatie mondiale. Plus les Etats ont des partenaires, plus ils se renforcent sur plusieurs domaines. Ils peuvent bénéficier d'un renforcement économique, politique et sécuritaire. En ce sens que les Etats partenaires tiennent à la sécurité de leur partenaire pour protéger leurs investissements. Le Mali et la Türkiye ont décidé de s'investir dans les domaines solides et pérennes comme l'éducation et la culture. Comme nous l'avons mentionné tantôt, les écoles MAARIF constituent un volet important dans la consolidation des relations diplomatiques entre les deux pays. Il y a également un échange culturel entre les deux Etats à travers la promotion des langues nationales du Mali en Türkiye. Cet aspect est pris en charge par le Centre Culturel de Türkiye à Bamako. Il y a aussi la coopération inter-universitaire qui ambitionne la promotion des langues entre les Etats. Le Mali et la Türkiye sont donc partis pour un partenariat solide et pérenne grâce à l'existence de la fondation MAARIF.

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The Advancements in Türkiye-Africa Cooperation: Impacts and Prospects for Development*

Türkiye-Afrika İş Birliğindeki Gelişmeler: Etkiler ve Gelişim İçin Beklentiler

Dr. Patrice Racine DIALLO

Türkiye Research Center (Maarif Foundation), Bamako, MALI
Türkiye Araştırmaları Merkezi Türkiye Maarif Vakfı Bamako, MALI
racinediallo5481@gmail.com
ORCID 0000-0003-1800-1725

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Abstract: The growing trend in recent years for Türkiye to strengthen its cooperation with African countries, and the increasing need for African nations to diversify their partners, underline the importance of studying relations between Türkiye and Africa. Indeed, despite these significant advances, academic research dedicated to African issues remains limited. Consequently, an in-depth analysis of the dynamics of bilateral ties between Türkiye and Africa is needed to better understand the opportunities and challenges of this growing cooperation. This article undertakes an analysis of specific cooperation projects between Türkiye and Africa, aiming to provide an innovative perspective on the opportunities and challenges of this evolving collaboration. By examining these projects in detail, we seek to highlight successes as well as

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shortcomings in order to identify best practices and opportunities for improvement. Also, a methodical assessment of the social, economic, and environmental impacts of these initiatives is undertaken. In addition, this article proposes a forward-looking exploration of emerging areas where cooperation between Türkiye and Africa could be intensified in the future. By identifying these areas of potential growth, we aim to guide policymakers and stakeholders towards more strategic and beneficial initiatives for Africa's sustainable development. Such a study would not only enlighten policymakers and economic players on the economic, political, and social implications of these relations, but also fill the current gaps in academic knowledge on Türkiye-Africa interactions.

Keywords: Africa, Türkiye, Cooperation, Development

Öz: Son yıllarda Türkiye'nin Afrika ülkeleriyle iş birliğini güçlendirmeye yönelik artan eğilimi ve Afrika ülkelerinin ortaklarını çeşitlendirme ihtiyacının artması, Türkiye ile Afrika arasındaki ilişkilerin incelenmesinin önemini vurgulamaktadır. Aslında, bu önemli gelişmelere rağmen, Afrika konularına adanmış akademik araştırmalar sınırlı kalmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, bu büyüyen işbirliğinin fırsatlarını ve zorluklarını daha iyi anlamak için Türkiye ile Afrika arasındaki ikili ilişkilerin dinamiklerinin derinlemesine bir analizine ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır. Bu makale, Türkiye ve Afrika arasındaki belirli işbirliği projelerinin bir analizini yaparak, bu gelişen işbirliğinin fırsatları ve zorlukları hakkında yenilikçi bir bakış açısı sunmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu projeleri detaylı bir şekilde inceleyerek, en iyi uygulamaları ve iyileştirme fırsatlarını belirlemek amacıyla başarıların yanı sıra eksiklikleri de vurgulamaya çalışmaktayız. Ayrıca, bu girişimlerin sosyal, ekonomik ve çevresel etkilerinin metodik bir değerlendirmesi de yapılmaktadır. Buna ek olarak, bu makale Türkiye ve Afrika arasındaki işbirliğinin gelecekte yoğunlaştırılabileceği yeni alanların ileriye dönük bir araştırmasını önermektedir. Bu potansiyel büyüme alanlarını tespit ederek, politika yapıcıları ve paydaşları Afrika'nın sürdürülebilir kalkınması için daha stratejik ve faydalı girişimlere yönlendirmeyi amaçlamaktayız. Böyle bir çalışma sadece politika yapıcıları ve ekonomik aktörleri bu ilişkilerin ekonomik, siyasi ve sosyal sonuçları konusunda aydınlatmakla kalmayacak, aynı zamanda Türkiye-Afrika etkileşimleri konusundaki mevcut akademik bilgi boşluğunu da dolduracaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Afrika, Türkiye, İşbirliği, Kalkınma

Introduction

Cooperation between Türkiye and Africa has expanded considerably in recent years, resulting in significant impacts and promising prospects for development. Africa has always been a priority for Türkiye, which considers the continent an essential partner in its foreign policy (Tepeciklioglu, 2017). Through a series of initiatives and agreements, cooperation between the two parties has been strengthened in various fields such as the economy, trade, security, education, and culture (Dodo, 2016; Donelli, 2018; Orakçi, 2022).

In economic terms, Türkiye has become one of the largest investors in Africa, with key sectors including energy, agriculture, infrastructure, and tourism. These investments have had a significant impact on the economic development of the

African countries concerned, creating jobs, stimulating growth, and promoting the transfer of knowledge and technical skills (Kizilarслан, 2009; Njuafac & Katman, 2016).

Trade cooperation between Türkiye and Africa has also intensified, with an increase in the volume of bilateral trade. Turkish exports to Africa have increased significantly, while African countries have found Türkiye a diversified market for their products (Uchehara, 2008). This increase in trade has contributed to the diversification of African economies and the creation of new outlets for businesses on both sides.

In the field of security, Türkiye has developed close cooperation with African countries in the fight against terrorism, organized crime, and transnational threats (Sıradağ, 2018). By providing assistance in terms of training, equipment and intelligence, Türkiye has helped to strengthen the capacities of African countries in this crucial area.

Education has also been a major focus of Türkiye-Africa cooperation. Türkiye welcomes a growing number of African students to its universities, offering scholarships and high-quality research programs (Njuafac & Katman, 2016). This cooperation in the field of education promotes cultural exchanges, strengthens human relations, and contributes to the training of young African talent, who will drive the development of their countries in the future.

Finally, cultural cooperation between Türkiye and Africa plays an essential role in strengthening ties between the two sides. Cultural festivals, art exhibitions, artistic exchanges and twinning programs are organized on a regular basis, enabling the Turkish and African peoples to get to know each other better, share their values and promote cultural diversity (İpek & Biltekin, 2013; Gamawa, 2017).

• **Motivation**

Figure 1 below shows the main motivations for this research.

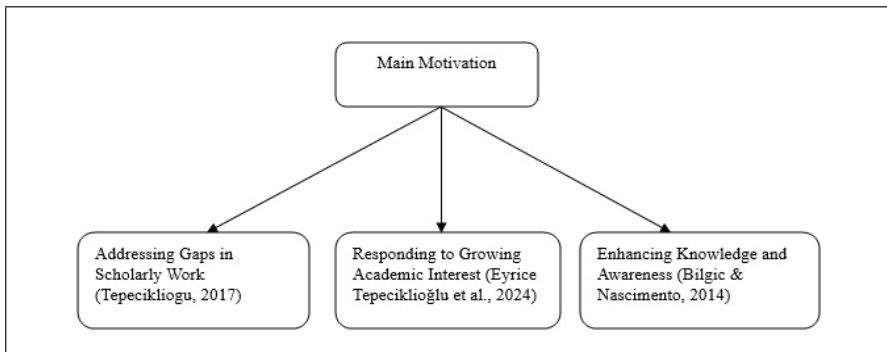


Fig. 1 Research Motivation

• **Critical Issues**

Figure 2 depicts the five critical issues that the study focuses on.

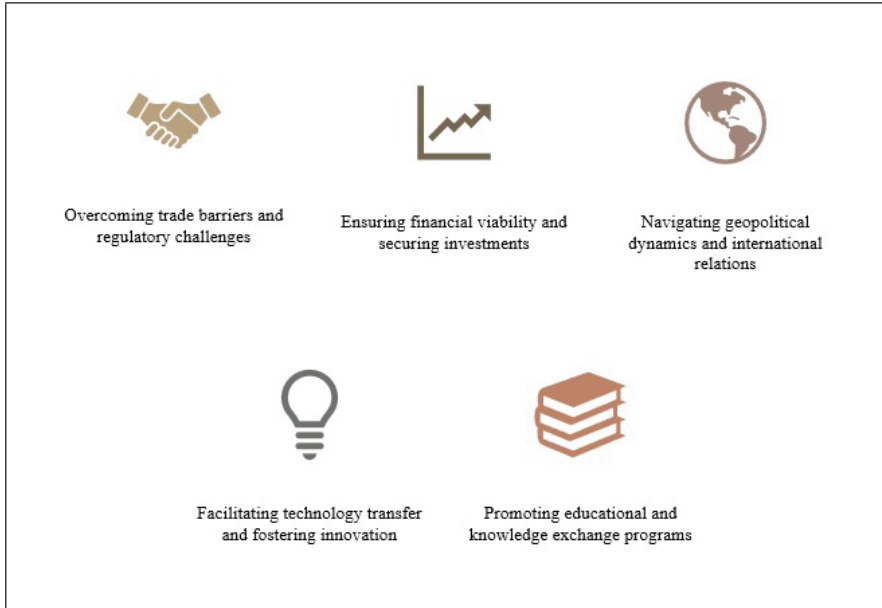


Figure 2: Five main critical issues

Overall, advances in cooperation between Türkiye and Africa are having a very positive impact on the development of African countries. They foster economic growth, job creation, the transfer of technological knowledge, the strengthening of security capabilities, and the promotion of education and culture. Development prospects are therefore promising, with even greater potential for cooperation between the two parties in the years to come.

Cooperation projects between Türkiye and Africa

Existing projects within the framework of cooperation between Türkiye and Africa testify to the growing commitment of both parties to strengthening their economic, political, and social ties. These projects, undertaken in various sectors and fields, aim to promote sustainable development, strengthen local capacities, and foster mutually beneficial exchanges between Türkiye and African countries. The initiatives underway reflect both parties' desire to diversify their partnerships and explore new opportunities for cooperation. Existing projects cover a wide range of areas, including infrastructure, energy, agriculture, education, health, and trade (İpek & Biltekin, 2013; Gamawa, 2017; Gorgulu, 2010; Kizılarslan, 2009; Özkan, 2011).

For example, in the infrastructure sector, Türkiye is actively involved in the construction and renovation of transport infrastructure, such as roads, ports and airports, in various African countries. These infrastructure projects aim to improve regional connectivity, facilitate trade, and strengthen economic integration between the two regions (Ozkan, 2010b). In the field of energy, cooperation between Türkiye and Africa focuses on the development of renewable energies, in particular solar and wind power. Türkiye shares its expertise in clean technologies and supports the implementation of renewable energy projects in various African countries. These initiatives help to reduce dependence on fossil fuels, promote sustainable development and enhance energy security in Africa. Agriculture is another key sector in which Türkiye and Africa work closely together. Türkiye offers its expertise in modern agricultural techniques, farmer training and the development of sustainable agricultural value chains. Joint agricultural projects aim to improve agricultural productivity, raise farmers' incomes, and strengthen food security in Africa (Enwere & Yilmaz, 2014). In the field of education, Türkiye grants scholarships to African students and encourages academic exchanges between the two regions. Partnerships between Turkish and African higher education institutions are established to strengthen educational capacity and promote academic cooperation (Atabaş & Köse, 2023; Rudincová, 2014). In the field of health (Ozkan, 2010a), Türkiye provides medical assistance and participates in the construction of hospitals and medical centers in certain African countries. These projects aim to strengthen access to quality healthcare, improve local healthcare systems and build medical capacity in Africa. Finally, commercial cooperation (Wheeler, 2011) between Türkiye and Africa is supported by initiatives aimed at facilitating trade and investment between the two regions. Economic forums, trade fairs and business meetings are regularly organized to promote business opportunities and encourage business partnerships between Turkish and African companies.

These various existing projects testify to the diversity of areas of cooperation between Türkiye and Africa. They contribute to strengthening economic, political, and social ties between the two regions, and offer promising prospects for mutual development and prosperity. By highlighting these concrete projects, it is possible to underline the significant advances made in Türkiye-Africa cooperation, and to explore the prospects for the future development and impact of this cooperation (Özkan, 2014).

Future cooperation projects between Türkiye and Africa testify to the growing commitment of both parties to strengthening their diplomatic, economic, and cultural relations. These projects, which have emerged over recent decades, aim to promote mutual development, regional stability, and cooperation in various key sectors. They also illustrate the prospects and opportunities for growth that can arise from this bilateral collaboration (Ozkan, 2012). One of the main

areas of future cooperation between Türkiye and Africa is trade and investment. Projects such as the creation of special economic zones, the expansion of bilateral trade agreements and the promotion of public-private partnerships will help to facilitate trade and promote investment between the two sides. The strengthening of transport and logistics infrastructures, the establishment of trade corridors and the development of joint industrial clusters are all future projects that will promote economic development and job creation in Türkiye and Africa. Cooperation in the energy field is also a strategic focus for future relations between Türkiye and Africa. The implementation of renewable energy projects, such as wind and solar power, in African countries will improve access to electricity and reduce dependence on fossil fuels. The construction of power plants, the development of electricity distribution networks and the promotion of research and development in the energy sector are all initiatives that will stimulate economic growth and contribute to Africa's energy transition (Kyirewiah & Bilate, 2022). Promising future cooperation between Türkiye and Africa also concerns the fields of agriculture and food security. Türkiye possesses considerable expertise in agriculture, as well as advanced agricultural technologies and practices. Cooperation with African countries can help strengthen agricultural capacities in Africa, improve agricultural productivity and guarantee food security in the region.

Future projects such as sharing knowledge, training farmers, developing agricultural research, and promoting investment in the agricultural sector will stimulate economic growth and improve living conditions for the people of Africa (Eyrice Tepecikliouglu et al., 2024). Finally, future cooperation between Türkiye and Africa also includes projects in the field of education and training. Türkiye is setting up scholarship programs for African students and is welcoming a growing number of African students to its universities. This cooperation is aimed at strengthening academic and cultural exchanges, as well as promoting the sharing of knowledge and skills. Future projects, such as the strengthening of partnerships between Turkish and African universities, the creation of joint research centers and the organization of vocational training programs, will contribute to the training of African youth and the strengthening of human capacities in Africa.

In nutshell, future cooperation projects between Türkiye and Africa will open new development prospects and strengthen existing ties between the two parties. These projects are in line with the logic of partnership and mutually beneficial cooperation, focusing on key sectors such as trade, energy, agriculture, and education. They testify to both parties' commitment to working together to promote economic growth, regional stability, and sustainable development. The future of cooperation between Türkiye and Africa holds promising opportunities and prospects for a strengthened and mutually beneficial partnership.

Social, Economic, and Environmental Impacts of the Cooperation between Türkiye and Africa

• Social Impact

The social impact of cooperation between Türkiye and Africa is many and varied. This cooperation helps create social links between the two regions, promotes cultural exchange, contributes to capacity building, and supports the human development of the populations concerned. Initiatives in the fields of education, health, vocational training, and the fight against poverty are all socio-economic measures aimed at improving the living conditions of African populations.

In the field of education, cooperation between Türkiye and Africa helps to increase access to education for the most vulnerable populations. University exchange programs, scholarships and educational partnerships have been set up to strengthen African education systems and foster the development of younger generations. These initiatives help to reduce poverty and inequality by offering educational opportunities to the most disadvantaged populations (Atabaş & Köse, 2023). In the field of health, Turkish-African cooperation supports the implementation of health policies and programs aimed at combating endemic diseases and strengthening African health systems. Medical training, awareness-raising campaigns, infrastructure construction and partnerships in medical research all contribute to improving access to quality healthcare and reducing infant and maternal mortality in Africa. Vocational training is another area in which cooperation between Türkiye and Africa is having a significant socio-economic impact (Kavala, 2016). Training, exchange of expertise and technology transfer programs are set up to enhance the skills of African workers in various sectors such as agriculture, industry, infrastructure, and trade. These initiatives help to promote employment and entrepreneurship in Africa, offering economic and social opportunities to local populations.

Finally, Türkiye-Africa cooperation is also committed to the fight against poverty. Socio-economic development projects, such as the construction of basic infrastructure, access to drinking water, rural electrification, and the promotion of local entrepreneurship, help to reduce poverty and improve the living conditions of affected populations (Orakçi, 2022). These socially responsible interventions foster inclusive growth where everyone can benefit from economic opportunities.

In short, cooperation between Türkiye and Africa has a significant social impact. By promoting access to education, strengthening healthcare systems, developing vocational training, and combating poverty, this cooperation contributes to the human development of African populations. The socio-economic initiatives put in place promote social inclusion, reduce inequalities, and improve living conditions. By guaranteeing the well-being of populations,

cooperation between Türkiye and Africa lays the foundations for a lasting and balanced relationship between the two regions.

• Economic impact

Cooperation between Türkiye and Africa has significant social, economic, and environmental impacts. On the economic front (Tepeciklioglu, 2017), this cooperation opens new opportunities and promotes economic development for both Türkiye and African countries. Trade relations, investments, and strategic partnerships between the two regions are constantly expanding, creating sustainable economic growth.

Within the framework of this economic cooperation, trade between Türkiye and Africa is developing positively. Türkiye has increased its exports to Africa, particularly in the automotive, construction, pharmaceutical and textile sectors. Turkish products are finding new outlets on the African continent, boosting the competitiveness of Turkish companies, and diversifying their export markets (Dodo, 2016). For their part, African countries benefit from access to quality goods and services from Türkiye, which in turn promotes their economic development. Turkish investment in Africa is also a key factor in this economic cooperation. Türkiye has increased its foreign direct investment in Africa, particularly in the construction, energy, agriculture, and manufacturing sectors. These investments contribute to local job creation, technology transfer and the diversification of economic activities in African countries. They help to improve infrastructures, strengthen productive capacities, and promote the industrialization of the continent. Economic cooperation between Türkiye and Africa also promotes the development of strategic partnerships and joint projects (Habiyaremye & Oguzlu, 2014). Cooperation agreements have been signed in areas such as transport, energy, agriculture, information and communication technologies, health, and education. These partnerships combine the strengths and skills of both parties, fostering mutual development and the achievement of common goals. Fair trade and sustainable investment operations are also encouraged within the framework of economic cooperation between Türkiye and Africa. These initiatives aim to promote economic practices that are both environmentally friendly and socially responsible. They help preserve natural resources, improve working conditions, fight corruption, and promote inclusive development.

By highlighting economic benefits such as trade expansion, investments and partnerships, this cooperation contributes to economic growth and sustainable development. In addition, fair trade and sustainable investment initiatives reinforce the positive social and environmental impact of this cooperation. Overall, economic cooperation between Türkiye and Africa creates a dynamic that promotes mutual prosperity and improved living conditions for the populations concerned.

• **Environmental impact**

The environmental impact of cooperation between Türkiye and Africa is of paramount importance for the sustainability and preservation of ecosystems in both regions. When we consider the environmental impact of this cooperation, several aspects need to be considered, including the management of natural resources, the protection of biodiversity, the fight against climate change and the sustainability of development projects.

The management of natural resources is a major issue in cooperation between Türkiye and Africa (Tepeciklioglu, 2017). Both regions are rich in natural resources, such as water, minerals, and arable land, but they are also faced with problems of overexploitation and unsustainable management of these resources. Cooperation between Türkiye and Africa can contribute to better management and use of natural resources, by putting in place conservation policies, monitoring systems and sustainable practices, to preserve these resources for future generations. Protecting biodiversity is also a crucial issue in cooperation between Türkiye and Africa. Both regions are home to a great diversity of ecosystems, plants, and animals, but also face challenges in terms of biodiversity loss due to urbanization, deforestation, and degradation of natural habitats. Cooperation can promote the exchange of best practices in biodiversity conservation, ecosystem restoration and protected area protection, to ensure the survival and sustainability of flora and fauna in both regions.

In the context of climate change, cooperation between Türkiye and Africa can play a key role in combating its adverse effects. Both regions face challenges such as rising temperatures, drought, flooding, and rising sea levels. Cooperation can foster the sharing of knowledge and technologies to mitigate greenhouse gas emissions, promote renewable energies, and strengthen adaptation and resilience efforts in the face of the impacts of climate change. Regarding the sustainability of development projects, it is essential to ensure that they do not have negative environmental impacts. Cooperation between Türkiye and Africa must be accompanied by a rigorous assessment of the potential environmental impacts of the various projects envisaged, whether they involve infrastructure, mining, or agriculture. Environmental protection measures must be integrated right from the planning stage, to minimize adverse effects on local ecosystems, natural resources, and biodiversity.

The sustainable development approach in cooperation between Türkiye and Africa is essential to preserve the environment and guarantee a sustainable future for future generations. This implies responsible management of natural resources, protection of biodiversity, mitigation of climate change and sustainability of development projects. Cooperation can play a key role in promoting these objectives, by enabling the sharing of knowledge, resources and best practices between Türkiye and Africa.

In other words, cooperation between Türkiye and Africa must incorporate a strong environmental dimension to preserve natural resources, protect biodiversity, combat climate change, and promote the sustainability of development projects. Joint efforts in these areas will help create a more sustainable future for both regions and strengthen their commitment to environmental protection.

Emerging Areas where Cooperation Between Türkiye And Africa could be intensified in the Future

• Identification of emerging areas

The intensification of cooperation between Türkiye and Africa involves the identification of specific areas in which this cooperation could be strengthened in the future. These emerging areas offer new opportunities for collaboration and mutual development between Türkiye and African countries. The identification of these areas is based on an analysis of Africa's needs and development priorities, as well as Türkiye's assets and skills (Ozkan, 2012). In this way, points of convergence can be identified that will promote fruitful and mutually beneficial cooperation.

The first emerging area where cooperation between Türkiye and Africa could be stepped up is infrastructure. Africa's infrastructure needs are immense, whether in the fields of transport, energy, telecommunications, or urbanization. Türkiye, with its solid expertise in these fields, can contribute its technological know-how, its experience in the construction and management of quality infrastructures, as well as financial partnerships to support the development of these projects in Africa. Enhanced cooperation in the field of infrastructure would make it possible to bridge existing gaps and foster Africa's socio-economic development. Another emerging area is agriculture and food security. Africa has vast agricultural land, but farming is often constrained by outdated practices, limited access to modern technologies and failing support infrastructures. Türkiye, which has successfully modernized its agricultural sector and achieved food self-sufficiency, can share its expertise in advanced agriculture, irrigation techniques, water resource management and innovative agricultural technologies with African countries. This enhanced collaboration in agriculture would help to improve agricultural productivity, enhance food security, and promote rural development in Africa. A third emerging area is education and training. Africa faces major challenges in the field of education, particularly in terms of access to quality education, vocational training, and skills development. Türkiye, with its expanding education system, can play an important role in strengthening educational capacity in Africa (Atabaş & Köse, 2023). Cooperation in this field can take the form of student exchange projects, scholarship programs, institutional collaboration, and the transfer of pedagogical knowledge. By working together, Türkiye and Africa can foster sustainable human development and strengthen the skills needed to meet the challenges of the 21st century. A final emerging area is technology

and innovation. Digital transformation is underway in Africa, and demand for information and communication technologies, digital solutions and innovation is constantly growing. Türkiye, which has experienced rapid growth in the field of information and communication technologies, can share its experience in digital transformation, technological entrepreneurship and innovation with African countries. This collaboration would help boost the development of Africa's IT sector and foster the emergence of a dynamic digital economy.

Identifying these emerging areas of cooperation between Türkiye and Africa opens new opportunities for development and mutually beneficial partnerships. By focusing on these areas, both parties can strengthen their economic, social, and cultural cooperation, thus contributing to sustainable and inclusive growth in both regions. Enhanced cooperation in the fields of infrastructure, agriculture, education, and technology would tap Africa's development potential, strengthen ties between Türkiye and Africa, and promote mutually beneficial collaboration for a prosperous future.

• *The need for cooperation in these emerging areas*

Cooperation between Türkiye and Africa in various emerging fields is of great importance for the mutual development of both entities. The need for cooperation in these areas is based on several key factors, including the opportunities for economic growth, the common challenges facing Türkiye and Africa, and the mutual benefits of bilateral cooperation (Kyirewiah & Bilate, 2022). To exploit the full potential of this collaboration, cooperation in these areas must be strengthened and intensified in the future.

One of the areas where cooperation between Türkiye and Africa could be intensified is the agricultural and agro-industrial sector. Africa has significant untapped agricultural resources and strong potential for agricultural development. On the other hand, Türkiye has acquired expertise in the field of agriculture and agro-industry, particularly in terms of production techniques, resource management and food safety. Increased collaboration between the two parties would help to promote sustainable agricultural development, improve agricultural productivity, and promote food security in Africa. Another area where cooperation between Türkiye and Africa is needed is the energy sector (Tepeciklioğlu, 2017). Africa is rich in natural resources, including oil, gas, and renewable energies. Türkiye, for its part, has advanced expertise and experience in the energy field, particularly in exploration, production, and distribution. By strengthening cooperation in the energy sector, Türkiye and Africa could mutually benefit from the diversification of energy sources, the transfer of knowledge and the promotion of renewable energies, thus contributing to a more sustainable energy transition. Cooperation in the field of infrastructure is also essential for the development of trade and economic ties between Türkiye and Africa. Improving transport in-

infrastructure, including roads, railroads, ports, and airports, would facilitate trade flows and the exchange of goods between the two sides. Türkiye has expertise in the construction and management of transport infrastructure, while Africa has considerable development potential in this field. Enhanced cooperation in infrastructure would contribute to better regional connectivity and greater economic integration between Türkiye and Africa. Finally, cooperation in the field of education and training is crucial to the development of human resources in Africa. Türkiye boasts a dynamic education system and high-quality higher education institutions. By strengthening ties in the field of education, Türkiye could contribute to the capacity building of students in Africa, the promotion of higher education and vocational training. Increased cooperation in this field would help bridge the skills gap, promote innovation and talent development in Africa, paving the way for sustainable economic growth.

The need for cooperation in these emerging areas between Türkiye and Africa is based on identifying mutual opportunities for growth, recognizing common challenges and seeking pragmatic solutions. Enhanced cooperation in the fields of agriculture and agro-industry, energy, infrastructure, and education will boost economic development, promote sustainability, and strengthen ties between Türkiye and Africa (Dodo, 2016). By working together, both sides can create a strong and mutually beneficial partnership that contributes to the prosperity and sustainable development of both regions.

Conclusion

Cooperation between Türkiye and Africa has grown significantly in recent years, with numerous commercial, political, and cultural agreements between the two parties. This cooperation has opened new development opportunities and established strong ties between Türkiye and African countries. What lessons can we draw from this fruitful cooperation?

Firstly, Türkiye-Africa cooperation demonstrates the importance of political and diplomatic commitment. Türkiye has developed a clear strategy towards Africa, sending high-level diplomatic missions, organizing forums and summits between African and Turkish leaders, and setting up regular dialogue mechanisms. This political will has created a favorable environment for cooperation and strengthened mutual trust between the two parties. Secondly, economic cooperation between Türkiye and Africa has been a key driver of their partnership. Türkiye has invested heavily in various sectors in Africa, including agriculture, energy, textiles, and infrastructure. These investments have helped to create jobs, strengthen the productive capacities of African countries, and foster economic development. Türkiye has also facilitated access to its market for African products, opening new export opportunities for African countries.

These lessons can serve as a model for other international relations and contribute to the sustainable and balanced development of countries and regions. It is essential to continue strengthening cooperation between Türkiye and Africa, fully exploiting their potential and consolidating the ties already established, to contribute to the common prosperity of both parties.

All in all, these different lines of research offer perspectives for in-depth analysis and understanding of cooperation between Türkiye and Africa. By looking at political and economic relations, specific sectors of cooperation, the socio-cultural dimension, and environmental issues, it is possible to provide answers to the complex questions linked to this cooperation and to propose recommendations for its future development. This research will thus contribute to strengthening Türkiye-Africa cooperation and fostering mutually beneficial development for both parties.

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Fuel Dependency and Energy Insecurity in Sierra Leone: An Analytical Enquiry

Yakıt Bağımlılığı ve Sierra Leone'de Enerji Güvensizliği: Analitik Bir İnceleme

Dr. Victor MOININA

Institute of Public Administration and Management, University of Sierra Leone
Sierra Leone Üniversitesi İşletme ve Kamu Yönetimi Enstitüsü
victor.moinina@ipam.edu.sl
ORCID: 0000-0001-8746-987X

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Abstract: This paper examines the economic, social, and environmental implications of Sierra Leone's dependence on fossil fuels and the resulting energy insecurity. By conducting a comprehensive analysis of energy consumption patterns, import reliance, and the national energy infrastructure, this study highlights the vulnerabilities inherent in the country's energy system. The findings reveal that Sierra Leone's over-reliance on imported fossil fuels exposes it to price volatility and supply disruptions, which hinder economic growth and exacerbate social inequalities. The study also explores the environmental consequences of this dependency, including significant contributions to climate change and local pollution. Additionally, the research proposes a multifaceted approach to address these challenges, emphasizing the importance of diversifying energy sources, investing in renewable energy infrastructure, and implementing energy efficiency measures. These strategies are crucial for mitigating the adverse effects of fossil fuel dependency and fostering a more resilient and sustainable energy system. This analytical inquiry contributes to the growing body of knowledge on energy security in developing countries, offering valuable insights

for policymakers and stakeholders. It provides a comprehensive understanding of the current energy challenges faced by Sierra Leone and outlines practical solutions aimed at achieving a more sustainable and resilient energy future for the country. By addressing both the immediate and long-term implications of energy insecurity, this study serves as a critical resource for those seeking to enhance energy resilience and sustainability in Sierra Leone.

Keywords: Sierra Leone, Energy security, Fossil fuel dependency, Renewable energy, Energy diversification

Öz: Bu makale, Sierra Leone'nin fosil yakıtlara bağımlılığının ve bunun sonucunda ortaya çıkan enerji güvensizliğinin ekonomik, sosyal ve çevresel etkilerini kapsamlı bir şekilde incelemektedir. Çalışma, enerji tüketim kalıplarının, ithalat bağımlılığının ve ulusal enerji altyapısının derinlemesine bir analizi aracılığıyla ülkenin enerji sisteminde var olan kırılganlıkları vurgulamaktadır. Bulgular, Sierra Leone'nin ithal fosil yakıtlara aşırı bağımlılığının fiyat dalgalanmalarına ve tedarik kesintilerine maruz kalmasına neden olarak ekonomik büyümeyi engellediğini ve sosyal eşitsizlikleri artırdığını ortaya koymaktadır. Ayrıca, bu bağımlılığın iklim değişikliğine katkıları ve yerel kirlilik gibi çevresel sonuçları da ele alınmaktadır. Araştırma, bu zorluklarla başa çıkmak için enerji kaynaklarının çeşitlendirilmesi, yenilenebilir enerji altyapısına yatırım yapılması ve enerji verimliliği önlemlerinin uygulanması gibi çok yönlü bir yaklaşımı önermektedir. Bu stratejiler, fosil yakıt bağımlılığının olumsuz etkilerini hafifletmek ve daha dirençli ve sürdürülebilir bir enerji sistemi oluşturmak için çok önemlidir. Bu analitik inceleme, gelişmekte olan ülkelerde enerji güvenliği üzerine artan bilgi birikimine önemli katkılar sağlamaktadır ve Sierra Leone için daha sürdürülebilir ve dirençli bir enerji geleceği yaratmak isteyen politika yapıcılar ve paydaşlar için değerli bilgiler sunmaktadır. Çalışma, enerji güvensizliğinin hem kısa hem de uzun vadeli etkilerini ele alarak, Sierra Leone'nin enerji direncini ve sürdürülebilirliğini artırmayı hedefleyenler için kritik bir kaynak olarak hizmet etmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sierra Leone, Enerji güvenliği, Fosil yakıt bağımlılığı, Yenilenebilir enerji, Enerji çeşitlendirmesi

Introduction

The intricate relationship between energy dependency and security remains a pertinent and complex issue within the contemporary global landscape. Fuel dependency, in particular, represents a critical facet of this broader discourse, with far-reaching implications for economic development, environmental sustainability, and national security. This study embarks on an analytical inquiry into the dynamics of fuel dependency and energy insecurity in Sierra Leone, a nation with unique socioeconomic and historical characteristics that have shaped its energy landscape.

Sierra Leone, nestled on the coast of West Africa, has been grappling with the challenges of fuel dependency, particularly on imported fossil fuels, as it seeks to secure a sustainable and resilient energy future. The case of Sierra Leone is emblematic of the broader struggles that many developing nations face in the

21st century and, thus, warrants scholarly attention. The present inquiry seeks to unravel the underlying causes, consequences, and potential solutions for fuel dependency and energy insecurity in Sierra Leonean to address this critical issue.

The causes of fuel dependency in Sierra Leone can be traced to a multitude of factors, including historical legacies, economic constraints, and governance challenges. The nation's reliance on imported petroleum products, often subject to volatile global prices and geopolitical uncertainties, poses a significant challenge to its energy security. Furthermore, the lack of diversification in the energy mix leaves Sierra Leone vulnerable to supply disruptions and price shocks in the global energy market.

This study aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of these interconnected issues through a multifaceted analysis, drawing on the expertise and insights of scholars and practitioners in the fields of energy security, development studies, and environmental sustainability. It is guided by the belief that a nuanced exploration of fuel dependency and energy insecurity is essential for Sierra Leone and other countries facing similar challenges.

By delving into the historical, economic, and environmental dimensions of fuel dependency and energy insecurity, this research endeavors to provide a foundation for informed policy decisions and sustainable energy planning. It is our hope that this analytical inquiry will not only contribute to the body of knowledge on energy security but also offer pragmatic solutions that can bolster economic resilience and promote a sustainable energy future in Sierra Leone and other nations confronting analogous challenges.

Statement of the Problem

Sierra Leone's continued reliance on imported fossil fuels and the associated lack of energy diversification present a multifaceted challenge with profound implications for the nation's economic stability, environmental sustainability, and energy security. While Sierra Leone possesses abundant renewable energy resources, including solar and hydroelectric potential, the country remains entangled in a precarious situation characterized by fuel dependency and energy insecurity. This problem statement highlights the issues at the heart of the case study "Fuel Dependency and Energy Insecurity in Sierra Leone: An Analytical Enquiry."

- **Economic Vulnerability:** Sierra Leone's heavy dependence on imported fossil fuels, such as petroleum products, exposes the nation to the volatility of global energy markets. Fluctuating oil prices can have dire consequences on the country's trade balance, fiscal stability, and overall economic development (Togan, 2009). The burden of fuel importation can strain the national budget and hinder the allocation of resources to critical sectors like education and healthcare (Ali & Hali, 2019).

- **Energy Security Concerns:** The importation of most of its energy sources renders Sierra Leone vulnerable to supply disruptions, which may be caused by geopolitical tensions, natural disasters, or other unforeseen events. This vulnerability compromises the nation's energy security and resilience (Sovacool & Mukherjee, 2011). Moreover, the limited diversification in the energy mix leaves Sierra Leone ill-prepared to address disruptions in the supply of fossil fuels.
- **Environmental Sustainability:** The reliance on fossil fuels contributes to environmental degradation and climate change, posing long-term risks to Sierra Leone's ecological health and its citizens' well-being. Failure to transition to cleaner and more sustainable energy sources further exacerbates environmental challenges (IEA, 2020). Additionally, the extraction and transportation of fossil fuels can have adverse local environmental impacts.
- **Social Implications:** Energy insecurity from fuel dependency can undermine social services, particularly in rural and underserved areas. Unequal access to reliable energy sources can exacerbate socioeconomic disparities and limit opportunities for education and economic development (Bensch & Peters, 2018).

Addressing the problem of fuel dependency and energy insecurity in Sierra Leone necessitates a comprehensive understanding of its root causes and consequences. This analytical inquiry aims to shed light on these issues, providing valuable insights that can inform policy decisions, energy planning, and sustainable development strategies for Sierra Leone and other nations facing similar challenges.

Research Aims and Objectives

Aim

This research aims to comprehensively analyze fuel dependency and energy insecurity in Sierra Leone, focusing on understanding their causes, consequences, and potential solutions, ultimately contributing to informed policymaking and sustainable energy development.

Objectives

The specific objectives of this study are as follows:

- **To Examine the Causes of Fuel Dependency in Sierra Leone:** This objective involves an in-depth investigation of the historical, economic, and governance factors contributing to Sierra Leone's heavy reliance on imported fossil fuels, particularly petroleum products. By identifying the underlying causes, this research seeks to elucidate why the nation is in this predicament.

- **To Analyze the Consequences of Fuel Dependency:** This objective involves a comprehensive assessment of the implications of fuel dependency for Sierra Leone's economy, environment, and energy security. It includes an exploration of the socioeconomic, fiscal, and environmental consequences of this dependency and its effects on national security.
- **To Assess the Potential for Energy Diversification:** This objective evaluates Sierra Leone's capacity to diversify its energy mix and transition towards more sustainable and secure energy sources, including renewable energy options. It involves an examination of the country's renewable energy potential, existing policies, and governance frameworks (IEA, 2020).
- **To Investigate Policy and Governance Frameworks:** This objective critically analyses existing energy policies, governance structures, and international agreements in Sierra Leone. It aims to assess the effectiveness of current policies in addressing fuel dependency and energy insecurity and to propose potential improvements (Sovacool & Mukherjee, 2011).
- **To Offer Policy Recommendations:** Drawing on the findings from the preceding objectives, this objective seeks to provide evidence-based policy recommendations for mitigating fuel dependency and enhancing energy security in Sierra Leone. These recommendations will be informed by international best practices and the country's specific context (UNDP, 2020).
- **To Contribute to the Global Discourse on Energy Security:** As part of the broader academic community, this objective aims to contribute to the global discourse on energy security and sustainability, offering insights that can inform the strategies of other developing countries facing similar challenges (Sovacool, 2013).

By addressing these objectives, this research endeavour aspires to provide a robust and multifaceted understanding of fuel dependency and energy insecurity in Sierra Leone, serving as a valuable resource for policymakers, energy planners, and development practitioners seeking to foster sustainable and secure energy futures in Sierra Leone and other nations confronting analogous challenges.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for the study on fuel dependency and energy insecurity in Sierra Leone draws on several essential theoretical perspectives and concepts relevant to energy security, economic development, and policy analysis. This framework is the foundation for understanding and analyzing the issues and guiding the research process. The primary theoretical frameworks and concepts include:

- 1. Energy Security Theory:** This framework is central to understanding the core concept of energy security. Energy security theory examines the dimensions of energy security, encompassing aspects such as availability, affordability, reliability, and environmental sustainability (Sovacool & Mukherjee, 2011). By employing this framework, the study assesses Sierra Leone's energy situation in terms of these dimensions and evaluates the nation's vulnerabilities and risks.
- 2. Resource Curse Theory:** The Resource Curse Theory is pertinent to the study's examination of the economic consequences of fuel dependency. This theory explores how countries rich in natural resources, such as fossil fuels, may experience adverse economic outcomes, including corruption and underdevelopment (Auty, 1993). In the case of Sierra Leone, this theory helps to analyze the potential negative impacts of resource dependency.
- 3. Institutional and Governance Theories:** Understanding the role of governance and institutions in shaping energy policies and mitigating energy insecurity is crucial. The Institutional and Governance Theories provide a lens for evaluating the effectiveness of Sierra Leone's energy governance structures, including the regulatory framework and the role of government agencies (North, 1990).
- 4. Sustainable Development Theory:** Sustainable development theory guides the analysis of environmental sustainability. This framework posits that development should meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (Brundtland, 1987). The study uses this framework to assess Sierra Leone's energy and environmental sustainability approach.
- 5. Energy Transition Theory:** Energy Transition Theory is relevant to assessing Sierra Leone's potential for diversifying its energy mix. This theory explores the processes and strategies for shifting from fossil fuel-based energy systems to renewable and sustainable sources (Geels, 2010). The study applies this framework to evaluate Sierra Leone's readiness and potential for transitioning to cleaner energy sources, such as solar and hydroelectric power.
- 6. Policy Analysis Framework:** Policy analysis frameworks, including the Policy Cycle Model (Howlett & Ramesh, 2003), guide examining existing energy policies, their development, implementation, and evaluation. This framework helps assess the effectiveness of policies in addressing fuel dependency and energy insecurity in Sierra Leone.

By integrating these theoretical perspectives, the study creates a comprehensive framework for investigating the causes and consequences of fuel dependency and energy insecurity in Sierra Leone. This theoretical foundation will inform the research methodology, data collection, and analysis, allowing for a multidimensional and holistic understanding of the issues at hand and, subsequently, the development of evidence-based policy recommendations.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework for the study on fuel dependency and energy insecurity in Sierra Leone is built upon a comprehensive understanding of the interrelated concepts and factors that influence the nation's energy landscape. This framework provides a structured approach to analyzing the complexities surrounding fuel dependency and energy insecurity in Sierra Leone. The key components of the conceptual framework include:

- 1. Energy Sources and Dependency:** This component outlines the primary sources of energy in Sierra Leone, focusing on the dominance of imported fossil fuels, particularly petroleum products. It examines the historical, economic, and geopolitical factors contributing to the country's dependency on these fuels.
- 2. Energy Security Dimensions:** The conceptual framework encompasses the various dimensions of energy security, including availability, affordability, reliability, and environmental sustainability (Sovacool & Mukherjee, 2011). These dimensions serve as key indicators for evaluating the adequacy and resilience of Sierra Leone's energy supply.
- 3. Governance and Policy Framework:** This component assesses the institutional arrangements, regulatory frameworks, and policy measures governing the energy sector in Sierra Leone. It examines the role of government agencies, industry stakeholders, and international partners in shaping energy policies and strategies.
- 4. Economic Impacts:** The framework addresses the economic consequences of fuel dependency, considering factors such as fiscal stability, trade balances, and the potential for resource curse effects (Auty, 1993). It explores how the reliance on imported fossil fuels may affect Sierra Leone's economic development and fiscal sustainability.
- 5. Environmental Sustainability:** This component evaluates the environmental implications of fuel dependency, including carbon emissions, air pollution, and the degradation of natural ecosystems. It considers the potential for transitioning to cleaner and more sustainable energy sources to mitigate environmental impacts.

- 6. Social and Developmental Considerations:** The conceptual framework acknowledges the social dimensions of energy insecurity, examining how unequal access to reliable energy sources may impact education, health-care, and overall human development indicators (Bensch & Peters, 2018). It also considers the potential for energy access to drive inclusive development.
- 7. Potential for Energy Diversification:** This component explores Sierra Leone's capacity for diversifying its energy mix, including assessing available renewable energy resources such as solar, hydroelectric, and biomass. It considers the technical, economic, and policy factors that may facilitate or hinder this transition.
- 8. International and Regional Context:** The framework situates Sierra Leone's energy challenges within the broader regional and global context, considering factors such as international energy markets, geopolitical dynamics, and the influence of international actors on the country's energy landscape.

By integrating these components, the conceptual framework provides a structured approach to analyzing fuel dependency and energy insecurity in Sierra Leone. It guides the selection of research methods, data collection, and analysis, enabling a comprehensive understanding of the complex interactions shaping the energy situation in the country.

Empirical Literature with Other Countries

The empirical literature on fuel dependency and energy insecurity is extensive and provides valuable insights from various countries, some of which share commonalities with Sierra Leone. Drawing on international empirical studies, we can identify trends, patterns, and lessons that are relevant to understanding the issues in Sierra Leone. Here are some key studies and findings from other countries:

- 1. Nigeria:** A study on Nigeria's energy landscape revealed the challenges associated with heavy fuel dependency and the impacts on economic development and energy security. It highlighted the need to diversify the energy mix and enhance governance in the energy sector to mitigate energy insecurity (Adeoti, 2014).
- 2. Ghana:** Research in Ghana emphasized the importance of energy diversification and the role of renewable energy sources, particularly solar and wind, in reducing dependency on imported fossil fuels. The study underscored the potential for sustainable energy solutions to enhance energy security (Ackom et al., 2017).

3. **South Africa:** Studies on South Africa's energy sector have explored the implications of fuel dependency on economic growth and the environment. The research highlighted the importance of policies encouraging energy efficiency and the transition to cleaner energy sources (Alawode & Folarin, 2017).
4. **India:** Empirical research in India has addressed energy insecurity in rural areas and its impact on socioeconomic development. Studies have emphasized the significance of decentralized, off-grid renewable energy solutions to improve access and energy security (Modi et al., 2006).
5. **United States:** Studies in the United States have examined energy insecurity in the context of natural disasters, such as Hurricane Katrina. These studies emphasized the importance of resilient energy infrastructure and the role of government policies in ensuring energy security during crises (Rosenow & Eyre, 2013).
6. **European Union:** Research within the European Union has focused on reducing energy dependency on external sources, particularly natural gas from Russia. Studies have underscored the importance of energy diversification, interconnectivity of energy grids, and renewable energy integration to enhance energy security (European Commission, 2014).
7. **China:** Empirical studies in China have explored the country's energy security concerns related to coal dependency and air pollution. These studies highlighted the role of government policies and investments in transitioning to cleaner energy sources (Zhang et al., 2016).

These international empirical studies provide valuable lessons and insights into the causes, consequences, and potential solutions to fuel dependency and energy insecurity. While each country's context is unique, there are commonalities in the challenges and strategies employed to address these issues. Lessons from these studies can inform the analytical inquiry into Sierra Leone's energy landscape and help tailor policy recommendations to its specific context.

Sample Size and Research Design

Determining the sample size and research design for the study on fuel dependency and energy insecurity in Sierra Leone is crucial for the reliability and validity of the research findings. Here's a proposed sample size and research design:

Sample Size

The sample size should be sufficiently large to provide representative and statistically significant results while being manageable within the constraints of time and resources. Given the complexity of the study and the need to analyze various dimensions of the issue, a mixed-methods approach is recommended.

Quantitative Phase: In the quantitative phase, a survey can be conducted among a statistically representative sample of households and businesses across Sierra Leone. This survey should aim to collect data on energy usage patterns, energy costs, and perceptions of energy security. The sample size for the survey can be determined using a confidence level of 95% and a margin of error of, for example, 5%. The required sample size depends on the population size of households and businesses in Sierra Leone.

Qualitative Phase: In the qualitative phase, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions can be conducted with key stakeholders, including government officials, energy experts, environmental activists, and representatives from international organizations. A purposive sampling approach can be employed to select participants who possess in-depth knowledge and insights into the issues of fuel dependency and energy insecurity in Sierra Leone.

Research Design

To address the research objectives effectively, a mixed-methods research design is recommended. This design combines quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis methods to understand the issue comprehensively. The research can be divided into two phases:

Quantitative Phase:

Survey: The quantitative phase begins with developing a structured questionnaire designed to collect data from a representative sample of households and businesses in Sierra Leone. The survey will capture information on energy sources, costs, and reliability. It will also assess the perceived impacts of fuel dependency on economic and environmental factors. The survey data will be analyzed using statistical software like S.P.S.S. to identify patterns, correlations, and significant findings.

Qualitative Phase:

In-depth Interviews: In-depth interviews will be conducted with key informants, such as government officials, energy experts, and representatives from non-governmental organizations. These interviews will explore the underlying causes, governance issues, and policy perspectives on fuel dependency and energy insecurity in Sierra Leone.

Focus Group Discussions: Focus group discussions will be organized with community members and energy users to gain insights into energy insecurity's social and developmental impacts. These discussions will allow participants to share their experiences and perceptions.

Data Integration

After data collection, a mixed-methods analysis will integrate the quantitative and qualitative findings. This integration will help provide a holistic understanding of the research problem, allowing for triangulation of results and a comprehensive interpretation of the findings.

The mixed-methods research design, along with an appropriately sized sample, will enable a nuanced exploration of fuel dependency and energy insecurity in Sierra Leone, offering valuable insights and informing the policy recommendations and conclusions of the study.

Ethical Considerations and Data Collection Procedure

Ethical Considerations:

Ethical considerations are essential when conducting research, mainly involving human participants and sensitive topics like fuel dependency and energy insecurity. Ensuring the ethical treatment of participants and the responsible handling of data is paramount. Here are some key ethical considerations for the study:

- 1. Informed Consent:** Prior to data collection, participants, both in surveys and interviews, should be provided with clear and comprehensible information about the research purpose, procedures, risks, and benefits. Informed consent should be obtained from all participants, and they should be allowed to withdraw from the study at any time without adverse consequences.
- 2. Anonymity and Confidentiality:** Participants' identities and personal information must be confidential. Data should be anonymized and stored securely. Researchers should ensure no individual participant can be identified from the research findings.
- 3. Voluntary Participation:** Participation in the study should be entirely voluntary. There should be no coercion, undue influence, or pressure on participants to take part. Participants should be free to decline or discontinue their involvement in the research.
- 4. Protection of Vulnerable Groups:** Care should be taken when involving vulnerable populations, such as children, the elderly, or marginalized communities. Special measures should be in place to protect their rights and interests.
- 5. Beneficence and Non-maleficence:** Researchers must ensure that the research benefits outweigh potential harms. Steps should be taken to minimize any damage to participants. Researchers should be prepared to

provide information on support services and referrals if participants experience distress during the research process.

- 6. Approval from Ethics Committee:** Obtain ethical approval from an institutional review board or ethics committee before commencing the research. This ensures that the research adheres to ethical standards and guidelines.

Data Collection Procedure:

The data collection procedure for a study on fuel dependency and energy insecurity in Sierra Leone should be systematic, rigorous, and ethical. Here's a suggested data collection procedure:

- 1. Preparation and Training:** Before data collection, the research team should be adequately trained on ethical considerations, data collection tools, and the research objectives. They should also be well-versed in the local context and cultural sensitivity.
- 2. Obtaining Informed Consent:** researchers should approach potential participants, explain the research purpose, and obtain informed consent for surveys and interviews. Participants should be given consent forms to sign, indicating their willingness to participate.
- 3. Survey Administration:** To ensure consistency, surveys should be administered using standardized questionnaires. Researchers should explain the questions, assist participants if necessary, and record responses accurately.
- 4. Interviews and Focus Groups:** Interviews and focus group discussions should be conducted in a safe and comfortable environment for qualitative data collection. Participants should be encouraged to express their opinions and experiences freely.
- 5. Audio Recording and Note-taking:** In qualitative data collection, audio recording can be used, with participants' consent, to capture interviews and focus group discussions. Researchers should also take detailed notes to document non-verbal cues and contextual information.
- 6. Data Management:** All data collected should be securely stored and organized. Data should be coded or transcribed, and identifiers should be removed to maintain anonymity.
- 7. Data Analysis:** Quantitative data can be analyzed using statistical software, and qualitative data should be subjected to thematic analysis or other appropriate qualitative research methods.

- 8. Reporting Results:** Research findings should be reported accurately and objectively. The results should be presented in a manner that protects participants' identities and maintains their confidentiality.

By adhering to ethical principles and following a systematic data collection procedure, the study on fuel dependency and energy insecurity in Sierra Leone can yield valuable insights while respecting the rights and well-being of participants. Researchers should also be prepared to address any unforeseen ethical challenges that may arise during the research process.

Findings

The analytical inquiry into Sierra Leone's fuel dependency and energy insecurity revealed several key findings:

- 1. Over-reliance on Imported Fossil Fuels:** Sierra Leone heavily depends on imported petroleum products for electricity generation, transportation, and industrial activities. This reliance leaves the country vulnerable to global price fluctuations and supply chain disruptions, leading to frequent energy shortages and price hikes.
- 2. Limited Energy Access:** A significant portion of the population, mainly in rural areas, lacks modern energy services. This energy poverty hinders economic activities, educational opportunities, and overall quality of life.
- 3. Underdeveloped Energy Infrastructure:** The country's energy infrastructure is inadequate and outdated, characterized by inefficient power generation and distribution systems. This results in high transmission losses, frequent power outages, and limited capacity to expand energy access.
- 4. Missed Opportunities in Renewable Energy:** Sierra Leone possesses abundant renewable energy resources, including solar, hydro, and biomass. However, the exploitation of these resources remains untapped mainly due to financial constraints, lack of technical expertise, and policy inconsistencies.
- 5. Negative Socioeconomic and Environmental Impacts:** The energy crisis in Sierra Leone has far-reaching consequences. It hampers economic growth, increases production costs, and exacerbates poverty. Moreover, the reliance on fossil fuels contributes to environmental degradation, including air pollution and greenhouse gas emissions.

Discussion

The findings highlight the urgent need for Sierra Leone to transition towards a more sustainable and resilient energy system. This requires a multifaceted ap-

proach that addresses both the immediate energy challenges and the long-term development goals.

Firstly, efforts should be made to diversify the energy mix by promoting renewable energy sources and reducing dependence on imported fossil fuels. This can be achieved through incentivizing private sector investments in renewable energy projects, establishing feed-in tariffs, and providing technical assistance to project developers.

Secondly, the government needs to prioritize investments in energy infrastructure development, particularly in rural areas. This includes expanding the electricity grid, upgrading transmission and distribution networks, and promoting decentralized energy solutions such as mini-grids and off-grid systems.

Thirdly, energy efficiency measures should be implemented across all sectors to reduce energy consumption and wastage. This can be achieved through energy audits, adoption of energy-efficient technologies, and public awareness campaigns.

Fourthly, the government must create a conducive policy and regulatory environment for renewable energy development. This includes streamlining licensing procedures, ensuring transparency and accountability, and providing long-term policy certainty to attract private sector investments.

Finally, regional cooperation and international partnerships are crucial for mobilizing financial and technical resources to support Sierra Leone's energy transition. This includes collaboration with neighbouring countries on cross-border energy projects and seeking assistance from international organizations and development partners.

Conclusion

Analyzing fuel dependency and energy insecurity in Sierra Leone paints a stark picture of a nation grappling with a multifaceted energy crisis. Over-reliance on imported fossil fuels, inadequate infrastructure, and limited access to modern energy services have created a vicious cycle of poverty, economic stagnation, and environmental degradation. However, abundant renewable energy resources offer a glimmer of hope for a brighter future.

Sierra Leone's energy challenges are not merely technical but also deeply intertwined with social, economic, and political factors. Therefore, addressing these challenges requires a holistic approach that transcends sectoral boundaries and promotes integrated solutions. The transition towards a sustainable and resilient energy system is a matter of necessity and an opportunity to transform the country's development trajectory.

Recommendations

Based on the findings and discussions, the following recommendations are proposed:

- 1. Prioritize Renewable Energy Development:** Sierra Leone should accelerate the development of its vast renewable energy potential, particularly solar, hydro, and biomass. This requires creating a favourable investment climate, incentivizing private sector investors, and establishing clear targets for renewable energy generation.
- 2. Invest in Energy Infrastructure:** The government should prioritize investments in upgrading and expanding the energy infrastructure, including transmission and distribution networks, mini-grids, and off-grid systems. This will improve energy access, reduce losses, and enhance the reliability of the energy supply.
- 3. Promote Energy Efficiency:** Energy efficiency measures should be implemented across all sectors, including households, industries, and public institutions. This can be achieved through energy audits, awareness campaigns, and adoption of energy-efficient technologies.
- 4. Enhance Regional Cooperation:** Sierra Leone should actively engage in regional energy cooperation initiatives to leverage economies of scale, share resources, and develop cross-border energy projects. This will enhance energy security, reduce costs, and promote regional integration.
- 5. Strengthen Institutional Capacity:** The government should invest in building the capacity of its institutions to effectively manage the energy sector, formulate sound policies, and regulate the market. This includes training staff, establishing transparent procedures, and promoting accountability.
- 6. Mobilize International Support:** Sierra Leone should actively seek international support, both financial and technical, to accelerate its energy transition. This can be done through partnerships with international organizations, development banks, and bilateral donors.

By implementing these recommendations, Sierra Leone can overcome its energy challenges, achieve sustainable development, and create a more prosperous and equitable future for its people. The journey towards energy security will not be easy, but it is essential for the country's long-term well-being and resilience.

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The Role of Intellectuals in Ethiopia's Modernization Process: A Case Study of Ethiopian Philosopher Gebrehiwot Baykedagn

Etiyopya'nın Modernleşme sürecinde Entelektüellerin Rolü: Gebrehiwot Baykedagn'ın Durum Çalışması

Yibeltal Belayneh ABATE

Faculty of Communication at Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli University, Department of Journalism, Ankara, Türkiye
Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi, Gazetecilik Bölümü,
Ankara, Türkiye
yibebel@hotmail.com
ORCID: 0000-0001-8372-0262

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Abstract: Modernity is associated with human freedom, social change, and a sense of conscience. Modernity is a catalyst for freedom. It is also based on the idea that people can use reason to free themselves from culture and gain a better understanding of themselves and their surroundings. Although modernity is considered inseparable from Western civilization, the concept of modernity is reflected in different parts of the world. Throughout human history, the idea of modernity has been passed down from generation to generation. Thus, each community strives to demonstrate its increasing modernity and commitment to change. The manifestations of modern ideas in Ethiopian history naturally vary. As a result, we find diverse ideas in art, philosophy, social critique, and modern education. This study answers the question of the role of intellectuals in the modernization process of Ethiopian history, politics, economy, culture, and ideology. Ethiopian intellectual Gebrehiwot Baykedagn sought to

develop a path of progress that combined native art with Western civilization. Gebrehiwot struggled to see his country modernize while maintaining its cultural and political independence.

Keywords: Ethiopia, intellectual, modernity, civilization, politics

Öz: Modernite, insan özgürlüğü, sosyal değişim ve vicdan duygusu ile ilişkilidir. Modernite özgürlük için bir nedendir. Ayrıca, insanların kendilerini kültürden kurtarmak ve kendilerini ve çevreyi daha iyi anlamak için akıl kullanabilecekleri fikrine dayanmaktadır. Modernitenin Batı uygarlığından ayrılmaz olduğu düşünülse de, modernite fikri dünyanın farklı bölgelerine yansır. İnsanlık tarihi boyunca, modernite fikri nesilden nesile aktarılmıştır. Bu nedenle, her topluluğun daha modern ve değişime daha kararlı olduğunu göstermeye çalışır. Etiyopya tarihindeki modern fikirlerin tezahürleri doğal olarak farklıdır. Böylece sanat, felsefe, sosyal eleştiri ve modern eğitimde farklı fikirler buluruz. Bu çalışmada, Etiyopya tarihi, siyaseti, ekonomi, kültürü ve ideolojisi modernleşme sürecinde entelektüellerin rolünü neye benzediği sorusunu için cevap verir. Etiyopyalı entelektüel Gebrehiwot Baykedagn, yerli sanatı ve Batı medeniyetini birleştiren bir gelişme yolu geliştirmeye çalışmıştı. Gebrehiwot, kültürel ve politik bağımsızlığını korurken ülkesinin modernleşmesini görmek için mücadele etmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Etiyopya, entelektüel, modernite, uygarlık, siyaset.

Introduction

There is currently an effort to understand the relationship between the role of intellectuals and modern civilization. What interactions exist between intellectuals, modernity, and the culture of society? In Ethiopia, the idea of modernity is often associated with the central government and following the civilization of the Western world. According to Gebre Hiwot, the government has the task of shaping a path of development that combines Western civilization and indigenous culture (Adeleke, 1998, p. 9). This is related to personal freedom, religious equality, and self-learning. In this essay, the researcher will attempt to explore Gebrehiwot's modern ideas. Gebrehiwot was far from the concept of a civilizing mission that characterizes even contemporary African and African-American intellectuals.

Gebrehiwot's call for change targeted certain aspects of Ethiopian society and proposed pragmatic solutions to social and economic issues, without ever falling into thoughts of Ethiopia's superiority or inferiority (Bahru, 1993, pp. 271–295). He assumed that development for Ethiopia could be achieved not through revision, but by adopting an incremental process that aimed to free the country from the constraints of unchanged traditions that had transformed into traditions. The study will begin by exploring the role of intellectuals in modernity. Then, it will observe the nature and meaning of modernity in Ethiopia. Next, it will examine Gebrehiwot's ideas in his books "Atse Menelik and Ethiopia" and "Government and Public Administration" from the perspective of modernity.

Objective, Method, and Limitations of the Study

The purpose of this article is to explore the modernity ideas and role of the renowned Ethiopian political economist and intellectual Gebrehiwot Baykedagn. Gebrehiwot Baykedagn developed his vision of accelerating the growth and modernity of Ethiopia by writing two books, "Atse Menelik and Ethiopia" and "Government and Public Administration." In these works, he aimed to draw a line of development or civilization that combines Ethiopian culture and Western modernity. He sought to demonstrate that modernity should be compatible with Ethiopian culture and tradition. The study is structured using a descriptive research method. Descriptive research aims to collect detailed information about an event, phenomenon, or topic of interest and describe the subject. It seeks to provide detailed descriptions and explanations of events, objects, entities, institutions, groups, and various fields (Punch, 1998). This is a qualitative research study aiming to describe and understand the research subject in detail. This type of research encompasses case studies, biographies, and ethnographic studies. Following a descriptive research approach, the research article aims to examine the works written by Gebrehiwot Baykedagn in connection with the concept of modernity. Based on this, the study argues that Gebrehiwot Baykedagn made or played a fundamental contribution to the development of indigenous governance culture and contemporary ideas as well as local modernization in Ethiopia. This study was conducted using a literature review and analysis of Gebrehiwot's two books. Due to the difficulty in accessing articles published in newspapers at that time (the early 1900s), the researcher did not include Gebrehiwot's newspaper articles.

The Importance of the Study

In the 19th and 20th centuries, contemporary Ethiopian politicians and historians often explained the challenges and backwardness faced by the country as stemming from the feudal systems and traditional leadership structures of the time. While there is some truth to this perspective, the significant contributions of Ethiopian intellectuals who served under Tewodros, Yohannes, Menelik, and Haile Selassie, and who sought to modernize the country and address its issues through meaningful political and social changes, have often been overlooked. The struggles and contributions of these intellectuals have frequently been ignored or forgotten, as the lives of the Ethiopian royal family have been glorified. These important individuals' efforts in shaping modern Ethiopia have either been overly romanticized or completely disregarded. By focusing on the successes of kings and queens, the critical role these intellectuals played in Ethiopia's progress is often neglected.

This study aims to fill the existing gap by emphasizing the critical role played by Ethiopian intellectuals in the country's transition to modernity. By shedding

light on their contributions and struggles, the study seeks to present a more balanced view of Ethiopia's historical trajectory. In doing so, the study acknowledges the often underappreciated efforts of these intellectuals and provides a more nuanced understanding of Ethiopia's past and its path toward a more modern future.

Who Was Gebre Hiwot Baykedagn?

Gebrehiwot Baykedagn was born on July 30, 1886, in Massawa Mesham near Adwa, northern Ethiopia. During the Great Ethiopian Famine (1888-1892), he moved to Eritrea and grew up in a Swedish mission there. Gebrehiwot lost his father at the age of seven in the Battle of Metema. As a child, he attended a Swedish mission school in Massawa, and one day, he and his friends were given permission to tour a German ship in the Massawa port. After the tour, the ship left Massawa, but Gebrehiwot did not disembark. The captain realized Gebrehiwot had not disembarked only after the ship had already set sail. Upon the ship's arrival in Austria, Gebrehiwot was placed with a wealthy family who adopted him. The family sent him to study medicine in Berlin, and he completed his education at the University of Berlin (Teshale, 1995, pp. 4-6).

Gebrehiwot also lived in Germany and Austria for several years until the German government hired him as a translator for a diplomatic mission in Addis Ababa. As Ethiopian historian Bahru Zewde stated, Gebrehiwot was one of the few Ethiopian intellectuals of the first generation who had been educated abroad due to fortunate circumstances (Bahru, 2016). He quickly became a prominent figure in the court of Emperor Menelik II and made good use of his language skills. During the turbulent years leading to Menelik's death in 1913, Gebrehiwot was exiled to Sudan for writing in a newspaper criticizing the new government and Lejyasu (1913-1916).

Gebrehiwot was critical of the state for concealing the cause of Menelik's death. He also criticized the atrocities and oppressions of the new government (Claude, 1998, p. 29). He returned to Ethiopia from Sudan in 1916. After the 1916 coup in Ethiopia, Gebrehiwot was initially appointed as the controller of the railway and continued writing for the newspaper. Gebrehiwot authored two books in Amharic, both published by his friend Paulos Menameno. The first was "Atse Menelik and Ethiopia" published in 1912, and the second was "Government and Public Administration" published in 1921 (Teshale, 1995). Gebrehiwot died on July 1, 1919, at the age of 33.

Role of Intellectuals in Modernity

In traditional societies, an individual's position and status are largely determined by their tribe, ethnic group, religion, and family (Ali, 1985, p. 106). Individuals often find themselves confined within these boundaries, leading to limited

social mobility and opportunities for personal growth. Communication within such societies tends to be intense, with frequent face-to-face interactions and strong community ties. Religion plays a central role, acting as a guiding and all-encompassing value system that shapes people's perspectives and practices (Sulhi, 1999). In these societies, the economy is primarily agrarian, and educational opportunities are often restricted to a select few, typically from privileged backgrounds.

In contrast, modern societies prioritize the individual over traditional group affiliations, offering greater personal freedom and social mobility. Knowledge and views about the world are more diverse and accessible in modern societies, leading to greater opportunities for personal and professional development (Seyfettin, 2001, p. 94). Innovation and openness to new ideas are encouraged, fostering a culture of progress and change. Additionally, modern societies typically embrace a market-based economy, providing opportunities for economic diversification and growth. These factors contribute to a higher standard of living and a more dynamic and adaptable society.

The role of intellectuals in modernity is crucial in bridging the gap between traditional and modern societies. Intellectuals often advocate for education and knowledge dissemination as a means of empowering individuals and promoting social change (Ali, 1985). They can facilitate the transfer of modern ideas and values, while also preserving and respecting traditional customs and beliefs. By fostering dialogue and understanding between different cultural and societal groups, intellectuals help create a more inclusive and equitable society that values both tradition and progress. This delicate balance can pave the way for a more harmonious integration of modernity into traditional societies (Sulhi, 1999; Seyfettin, 2001).

The concept of modern society encompasses a specific type of human being, a particular understanding of the relationships between humans and nature, as well as between humans themselves. It involves a political structure built upon a specific economic relations system and ultimately, a social and economic foundation formed by their totality (Levent, 2004). Upon examining the structure of modern society, it is found that it is based on organization, which necessitates specialization in place of kinship relationships, and it relies on economic, political, religious, and educational integrations. Modern society is characterized by anonymity, mobility, and specialization in roles and statuses, with increased division of labor, a decrease in the power of traditions, and an individualistic approach to family structure and relationships (Sulhi, 1999). Generally, the dissolution of traditional social structures and the emergence of modernism in opposition to it span various areas. The role of the intellectual in the formation and ongoing process of modernism is indispensable.

The role of intellectuals is crucial for the growth of modernity. Over the last two centuries, the influence of intellectuals has steadily increased. Indeed, the rise of secular intellectuals has been a significant factor in shaping the modern world. Looking at history from a long-term perspective, it is a relatively new phenomenon in many ways (Johnson, 1988). In their earlier incarnations as priests, scribes, and prophets, intellectuals claimed to guide society from the beginning.

Edward Said describes intellectuals as passionate narrators of reality and truth, employing their imagination. A more realistic assessment is that the intellectual role involves both criticism and intellectual labor (Edward, 1978). Another role of intellectuals is to critique. Being an intellectual who has written and published means engaging in the political arena. It is here that the intellectual's position relative to power becomes apparent. The intellectual is the one who continuously questions the actions of those in power and brings critique (Gramsci, 1997, p. 12). Questioning and conflicting with power have been part of the intellectual's existence in every era. Both in ancient and medieval times, intellectuals' commitment to the accuracy of understanding based on reason against dogma-driven beliefs often put them at odds with authority. Similarly, 18th-century intellectuals clashed with power with their views on spreading reason to all areas of social life in the light of reason (Ilgaz, 2002, p. 115).

The intellectual, in Said's words, is "marginal, dissident, in exile, oppositional, displaced, homeless." They can shake the very foundations of power. They adopt a critical perspective toward all elements that can exert power and pressure, such as power, authority, tradition, capital, the bourgeoisie, the public, the state, and the status quo. This is because these elements of power may obscure the truth due to their position in the "status quo." Edward Said's depiction of the intellectual as a brave and isolated individual who must "speak truth to power" functions as an almost obligatory context in contemporary discussions about intellectuals and intellectual labor (Edward, 1993). This means that Edward envisions the intellectual as the "voice of the voiceless." This significance of intellectuals is reflected in references to grand concepts like 'modernity' and 'civilization.'

In other words, Steve Fuller argues that the intellectual can still make valuable contributions to the ongoing reformation of traditional knowledge and the future directions of modern civilization. Therefore, for Steve, the true intellectual, who functions as the "superhero of reason," is responsible for ideals beyond the reach of ordinary people and can best demonstrate their credibility by showing intellectual autonomy (Steve, 2002). From these statements, we can conclude that intellectuals, particularly in parts of the world where unjust and abnormal behavior is the norm, act as agents of change. In their own ways, intellectuals around the world contribute effectively to the meaningful development of society and the political, social, and economic aspects of modernity. Therefore, in this study, the researcher aimed to explore how the famous intellectual Gebrehi-

wot Baykedagn's ideas for improving economic, political, and social life relate to these ideas of modernism and the role of the intellectual.

Modernity in Ethiopia

Modernity refers to a system of social values and organization that emerged in Europe around the 17th century and eventually spread worldwide. In general terms, it represents a transformation or change in individual, social, and political aspects of life, involving a break from tradition (Giddens, 2002, p. 1). Modernity has deeply and broadly reshaped and transformed every aspect of social and individual life. It centers reason and humanity, rationalizes social life, relegates religion to the background in social life, and adopts secularism as a principle.

It is important to consider how modernity developed in Ethiopia. The concept of modernity in Ethiopia is closely linked to the spread of Western education, the critique of native culture, and the tension between royalism and Western ideology (Paulos, 2008). This process includes various conflicts and adaptations as Ethiopia navigates the influences of Western thought and practices while grappling with its own traditions and cultural heritage. As modernization spread in Ethiopia, religious institutions, which were centers of knowledge, began to be replaced by modern schools. Modern civilization entails modern economic and political institutions, modern education, and modern thought (Paulos, 2008). Additionally, (Bahru, 2016) concludes that Emperor Tewodros's state-building and central governance efforts demonstrated how the modern goals of modernism conflicted with the religious traditions in Ethiopia.

Emperor Tewodros implemented policies to reduce the number of priests and deacons working in the church. However, Tewodros did not oppose the church's wisdom or doctrine; rather, he was challenging the church's extensive reach or involvement in establishing a centralized government. Paulos (2008) argues that this marked the beginning of modernity in Ethiopia. Emperor Tewodros's efforts were foundational in introducing changes that aimed to modernize the state, balancing traditional religious influence with the need for modern governance.

According to Andreas Eshete (2002), it is difficult to definitively answer when modernity began in Ethiopia, how it differs from the pre-modern world, and whether it has liberated individuals from the system. Andreas suggests that Ethiopian intellectuals sought to undermine the monarchical system, the relationship between the nobility and nomads, and the ideas of equality, justice, freedom, and thought (Andreas, 2002, p. 22). Bahru Zewudie argues that modernism in Ethiopia began in earnest toward the end of the 19th century under the reign of King Zerrubabel and became widespread at the beginning of the 20th century.

One of the prominent Ethiopian intellectuals who advanced modern ideas and criticized the feudal system in the early 20th century was Gebrehiwot

Baykedagn, who played a significant role in developing the concept of modern education (Bahru, 2016). Gebrehiwot's contributions to modern thought and his willingness to challenge traditional structures highlight his pivotal role in Ethiopia's journey towards modernity.

Gebrehiwot Baykedagn's Ideas and Role in Modernity

Gebrehiwot Baykedagn has been portrayed as a European-educated intellectual who was fascinated by European civilization and adopted a critical stance towards the state of his own country. His sharp critique of the Ethiopian aristocracy and economic perspective has been described by Richard Caulk (1984) as a significant aspect of Gebrehiwot's intellectual legacy in "Red Terror." Gebrehiwot's ideas provide important evidence for a class-based analysis of Ethiopian history, as he sought to dismantle Ethiopian militarism and banditry. In the following years, cultural and identity studies challenged economic-based perspectives and largely took precedence (Richard, 1984). Gebrehiwot challenged the existing system and demanded that the government change the system. His stance pushed against the traditional hierarchies and structures in Ethiopia, advocating for transformative changes in governance and society.

According to Donald Levine, efforts to implement modernization in Africa create an unprecedented gap between culture and modernity, modern thought and indigenous knowledge, and Western civilization. It is essential to examine interactions and learning between cultures and ideas (Levine, 2004, p. 14). In Ethiopia, we find the works of Gebrehiwot Baykedagn, one of the scholars or intellectuals trying to develop a unique modernist perspective. According to Bahru Zewde, in his book "Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia," Gebrehiwot's opportunity to study in Europe and acquire Western education was due to a stroke of luck (Bahru, 2016, p. 36). Bahru Zewde further notes that in Gebrehiwot's work "Atse Menelik and Ethiopia," his thoughts are influenced by comparisons between colonial and independent states and the peoples among whom he stayed in Sudan and Eritrea (Bahru, 2016). This exposure allowed Gebrehiwot to gain a broader perspective on governance and development and influenced his ideas on Ethiopia's future trajectory.

In his book "Atse Menelik and Ethiopia," Gebrehiwot Baykedagn demonstrates how a community's history and social development are inseparable. He shows that recounting historical events in a foreboding, audacious, and honest manner can help a community better understand its own identity. Consequently, until a government establishes a well-structured system, it is not expected to remain in power for long (Gebrehiwot, 2007, p. 9). According to Gebrehiwot, modern societies understand that government is a contract among citizens, intended to serve the needs of the people. For a country to have a strong and progressive government, it requires an enlightened and demanding citizenry. In

contrast, a society without vision cannot expect or accept the ideas of its leaders. In "Atse Menelik and Ethiopia," Gebrehiwot questions why the rest of the world remains behind as the world becomes more civilized. He laments that "while peace reigns around the world and minds are enlightened, we live in darkness" (Gebrehiwot, 1912, p. 19). His observations suggest a deep engagement with the challenges of governance, societal development, and modernization in Ethiopia. Gebrehiwot emphasizes the importance of education, enlightened leadership, and critical thinking for the progress of the country. Through his work, Gebrehiwot contributed to the discourse on modernity and the ways in which Ethiopia could navigate its path toward a more advanced and just society. Overall, Gebrehiwot outlines ten ways to achieve modernization goals in Ethiopia.

First, public resources must be properly separated from the king's personal property. Second, there should be a direct connection between personal wealth and taxation. Third, everyone should use the same currency and engage in the same trade. Fourth, further study of Amharic as a common language is necessary. Additionally, fifth, our "Fateha Negest" (an ancient book used by rulers to govern people) does not align with today's public order (Gebrehiwot, 1916, p. 25). Sixth, a modern military army needs to be established. Seventh, our country's trade system and currency need to be improved. Eighth, a legal system needs to be implemented. Ninth, a strong government must be instituted. Lastly, tenth, religious freedom was declared (Gebrehiwot, 1912, p. 27). Gebrehiwot's role in modernity in Ethiopia involved a multifaceted approach: critiquing the established aristocracy and economic practices, promoting education and modern thought, and seeking to reform the system from within. His bold ideas and willingness to challenge the status quo positioned him as a key intellectual figure in Ethiopia's transition towards modernity.

He highlighted the concept of secular discourse in a country where the Orthodox Church played a significant role in the philosophical and practical application of knowledge. By nature and in its origin, he presented a secular discourse that provided an analysis of social and political life, which was unusual for the tenors of the church's discourse. He also introduced the concept of the institutionalization of ideas. This contribution provided the philosophical framework of enlightenment reason, which is objectified and authorized by consenting institutions that are freed from the persistence of the subject. Gebrehiwot also spoke about the importance of the institutionalization of ideas, the necessity of education, and the critical nature of systems for any modernity project (Gebrehiwot, 2007, p. 19). In the book *Atse Menelik and Ethiopia*, he persistently discussed the importance of education for modernity, referring to *aemero yelelew hezb* (people without a thinking mind) and *temehert yelelew hezb* (people without education).

In his second work titled "Government and Public Administration," Gebrehiwot demonstrates how modern societies throughout human history have governed backward and less developed peoples. He argues that wealth is a measure of dominion over the earth, while poor people are its servants (Gebrehiwot, 2007, p. 83). Thus, the wealth of a community can be seen as an indicator of how much a nation controls nature. He criticizes this economic system, asserting that a balance between population growth and employment is essential for the development of a society. Furthermore, the development of communities cannot be separated from the culture of work.

Gebrehiwot poses the question: Are Ethiopians truly free now? A liberated people does not merely mean having an independent government. Modern education and civilization play a significant role in ensuring there is no gap between a country's laws and the awareness of its people. As part of his desire to promote the welfare of all Ethiopians, Gebrehiwot believed that the creation of a new educational system was a fundamental step toward an honorable future for the new generation of Ethiopians. He stated, "knowledge is the immutable, eternal law that governs the world" (Gebrehiwot, 2007). Here, Gebrehiwot emerges as a champion of Ethiopian identity, striving to combine what he saw as the best of both worlds by rejecting the cultural alienation of Ethiopian youth from their own culture. Although the majority of the population may have accepted the government and its administration, Gebrehiwot stood in opposition. He sought to demonstrate the special place of indigenous cultures and views in Ethiopia.

Conclusion

This study concludes that Gebrehiwot's ideas offer a fresh and innovative perspective on the economic and political challenges Ethiopia has historically faced. By emphasizing the importance of addressing these challenges from a modern perspective, the study deviates from traditional viewpoints. Examining Ethiopia's challenges through Gebrehiwot's theories illuminates potential pathways for progress and development within the country. Gebrehiwot Baykedagn's philosophical views on modernity are deeply embedded in Ethiopia's history and culture. His approach demonstrates how traditional values can be combined with contemporary thought, showing how these elements can come together and influence one another.

Through his analyses, he reveals how rational, individual, and social development can trigger social change and facilitate the nation's journey toward modernity. Additionally, Gebrehiwot emphasizes the importance of establishing a strong political and economic system to propel Ethiopia's progress toward modernity. He advocates for the creation of an educated and rational society as the foundation of this transformation. By stressing the necessity of systematic reform and education, Gebrehiwot envisions a path for Ethiopia toward a stable and prosperous future, ensuring sustained growth and development.

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