



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Turkey in Africa: voyeurism, neo-Ottomanism and Islamic humanitarianism

Venkatachalam, M.

Citation

Venkatachalam, M. (2019). Turkey in Africa: voyeurism, neo-Ottomanism and Islamic humanitarianism, 23. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/70873>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Leiden University Non-exclusive license](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/70873>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

African Studies Centre Leiden
The Netherlands

Turkey in Africa: Voyeurism,
Neo-Ottomanism and
Islamic Humanitarianism

Meera Venkatachalam

ASC Working Paper 145 / 2019

Meera Venkatachalam was heading the Gandhi-Mandela Centre at the Observer Research Foundation, a well-known think tank in Mumbai (2017-2019). She is now an independent researcher.

African Studies Centre Leiden
P.O. Box 9555
2300 RB Leiden
The Netherlands

Telephone +31-71-5273372
Website www.ascleiden.nl
E-mail asc@asc.leidenuniv.nl

© Meera Venkatachalam
(meera.venkatachalam@gmail.com)

Introduction: Turkey Eyes Africa

Turkish influence in Africa has steadily proliferated after 1998. Yet, there is little reflection of the phenomenon in policy or academic circles. In 1998, Turkey's Foreign Ministry drew up the nation's 'Africa Policy' with an Action Plan document.¹ The Africa Policy was aimed at expanding Turkey's footprint on the continent, by cultivating diplomatic relations, and fostering political, economic and cultural cooperation. The Under Secretary of Treasury looked into boosting economic diplomacy in 2003. The Government of Turkey declared in 2005 that the subsequent year would be marked as the 'Year of Africa'.² A diplomatic onslaught ensued. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (then Turkish Prime Minister) visited Ethiopia and South Africa in March 2005. Turkey campaigned for and obtained 'observer status' in the African Union (AU) in the same year. Soon after, in 2008, Turkey hosted the first-ever Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit in Istanbul where representatives of 50 African countries participated.³ High-level bilateral exchanges took place between Turkish President Abdullah Gül and "delegations of forty-two countries."⁴ Later that year, the AU declared Turkey as a 'strategic partner.'⁵ Turkey became the twenty-fifth non-regional member of the African Development Bank (ADB) in 2008.⁶ The 'African Economic Outlook 2011' prepared by the ADB and the Organisation for Cooperation and Development (OECD) portrayed Turkey as one of the new key players in Africa (China, India, and Brazil were also included).⁷ Between 1998 and 2011, Turkey's top office-bearers (President, Vice President, Head of Parliament, Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Ministers, and Minister of the Foreign Affairs) have visited African states 43 times, while African states' top officials have visited Turkey 76 times.⁸ The number of Turkish diplomatic missions increased dramatically, from 12 embassies in 2001, to thirty-two in 2012. (Twenty-

¹ Savaş Genç & Oğuzhan Tekin, 'Turkey's Increased Engagement in Africa: The Potential, Limits and Future Perspective of Relations', *European Journal of Economic and Political Studies* 7 (2014), 87-115, pp.88

² *Ibid.* pp. 88

³ Mehmet Özkan, SETA Policy Brief, Seta Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research, September 2008, No. 22, url: https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1434740, accessed 24 August 2018, pp. 1-2

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 3

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *African Economic Outlook 2011* quoted in Genç & Tekin, pp. 88

⁸ Genç & Tekin, pp.100

seven of these embassies were established in sub-Saharan Africa). African states had eight embassies in Turkey in 2001, which grew to 16 in January 2012.⁹ More significantly, in 2010, there were 250 trade consultants and commercial attachés in Turkey's African diplomatic missions.¹⁰

Why Turkey Joined the New Scramble for Africa

Changing regional architectures of geopolitics are largely responsible for Turkey's growing interest and investments in Africa. Observers argue that stalled EU accession talks in 2005 were a realisation for the Turkish elite that they had to expand their spheres of influence outside traditional geographies.¹¹ Turkey's deteriorating relationship with the Bashar al-Assad regime in Syria, and latterly with other Arab regimes (like General el-Sisi in Egypt), thwarted its ambitions in its neighbourhood from 2005 onwards.¹² From 2010, turmoil in the countries affected by the Arab Spring (Tunisia, Libya, Algeria) meant that Turkey's access to some of its most lucrative markets decreased. For instance, Turkish exports to Libya declined dramatically in 2011 from a projected \$2.1 billion to \$747 million on account of the post-Gaddafi turmoil in that country.¹³ African economies were also not as thoroughly affected by the Global Financial Crisis of 2008¹⁴: consumer spending trends did not show great fluctuations. In the political sphere, Turkey needed votes of African nations as it was one of three candidates for the non-permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) in 2009-10¹⁵. (It secured a non-permanent seat on the UNSC, with African support)¹⁶. Turkey has leveraged its position within other international organisations, such as the

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 101.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 99

¹¹ Mark Langan (2016): Virtuous power Turkey in sub-Saharan Africa: the 'Neo-Ottoman' challenge to the European Union, *Third World Quarterly*, DOI: 10.1080/01436597.2016.1229569, pp. 1-16, pp.2

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 6

¹³ Genç & Tekin, pp. 97

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 97

¹⁵ Özkan, pp. 5

¹⁶ Harut Sassounian, 28 October 2014, 'Why the UN Rejected Turkey's Bid for a Security Council Seat?', *Huffington Post*, https://www.huffingtonpost.com/harut-sassounian/why-the-un-rejected-turke_b_6036878.html, accessed 27 August 2018

Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) and OECD to reach out to African elites and present Africa-friendly policies.¹⁷

Some influential Turkish elites have embraced the portrayal of Turkey as a 'MINT economy'.¹⁸ The acronym, coined by Fidelity Investments and popularised by Jim O'Neil, refers to Mexico, Indonesia, Nigeria and Turkey, the most populous non-BRICS emerging economies which exhibit similar trends: they are middle-income countries¹⁹ with favourable inner demographics, strategic geographical locations, and diversified markets²⁰. As a MINT, Turkey needs raw materials and fuel to further its development. African sources were tapped as a strategy which aimed at decreasing dependence on traditional Middle Eastern trading partners. Africa is an important untapped market for Turkish exports. Turkish trade with sub-Saharan Africa 'reached \$7.5 billion in 2011, a 72 percent increase from the year before and a tenfold increase since 2000'²¹. (Bilateral trade with Africa reached \$17.5 billion in 2015, while the volume of trade with Sub-Saharan Africa accounted to \$6 billion in 2015).²² Turkish private sector contractors have undertaken in Africa over 1.150 projects which worth \$55 billion from 1998²³, and Turkey needed to safeguard their access to African markets.

According to the 2012 figures, steel and iron products have represented the highest share of Turkey's exports to sub-Saharan Africa (worth nearly \$1 billion), while pearls, valuable stones and jewellery are the main imports from Africa (worth nearly \$813 million)²⁴. In 2014, raw materials, minerals and gems remained

¹⁷ Langan, pp. 8

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 9

¹⁹ 'What are the MINT Countries', *WorldAtlas*, <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/what-are-the-mint-economies.html>, accessed 27 August 2018

The World Bank in Middle Income Countries,

<https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/mic/overview>, accessed 27 August 2018

²⁰ 'The Mint Countries: Next Economic Giants', *BBC News*, 6 January 2014, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-25548060>, accessed 27 August 2018

²¹ Langan pp. 9

²² Republic of Turkey. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey-Africa relations, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey-africa-relations.en.mfa>, accessed 27 August 2018. [henceforth MoFA.].

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Genç & Tekin, pp. 98

Turkey's biggest imports from sub-Saharan Africa.²⁵ To realise this, Turkey designed two programmes to increase the volume of bilateral trade, firstly between itself and North African states, under 'ATES North Africa,' and secondly between selected states in sub-Saharan Africa, like Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Sudan, Ethiopia, Angola, Nigeria, Equatorial Guinea, Mali, Senegal, South Africa, Cameroon, and Ghana, under 'ATES-Sub Saharan Africa.'²⁶

Goodwill Hunting

Turkish development assistance increased dramatically in the period of the Erdoğan governments. A Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA) report from 2013, for instance, remarks that Turkish overseas aid rose from \$85 million in 2002 to \$3.3 billion in 2013. Turkish aid to various African countries has reached substantial proportions, standing at \$749.47 million in 2012 and \$782.73 in 2013.²⁷ In 2014, Turkey's ODA to Africa was \$383.3 million and Sub-Saharan Africa's share in this amount was at \$153.6.²⁸ By 2016, Turkey's total ODA had nearly doubled from 2013 levels to \$6.2 billion.²⁹

Turkey is currently providing personnel and contributes to seven (MONUSCO/DRC, MINUSMA/Mali, MINUSCA/CAR, UNAMID/Darfur, UNMISS/South Sudan, UNOCI/Cote d'Ivoire and UNMIL/Liberia) of the existing nine peacekeeping missions in Africa.³⁰ In addition, it contributes to a number of capacity building schemes. Turkish National Police provides training in various fields to the personnel of its counterparts in African countries. Turkey has also been providing training to the military personnel from African countries. By the end of

²⁵ World Integrated Trade Solution, World Bank, <https://wits.worldbank.org/CountryProfile/en/Country/TUR/Year/2014/TradeFlow/Import/Partner/SSF/Product/All-Groups>, accessed 27 August 2018

²⁶ "Afrika ile Ticari ve Ekonomik İlişkilerin Geliştirilmesi Stratejisi (ATES)-Improvement Strategy on Trade and Economic Relations with African States" was prepared by the Under Secretariat of Treasury of the Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry in 2003 in order to advance relations with Africa, and was revised in 2010. See Genç & Tekin, pp. 98.

²⁷ Langan, pp.9

²⁸ MoFA.

²⁹ This figure reflects the response to the refugee crisis in Turkey and influx of Syrians. Official Turkish ODA figures include the money spent by the government on Syrians in-country. OECD, Turkey's Official Development Assistance (ODA), <http://www.oecd.org/dac/stats/turkeys-official-development-assistanceoda.htm>, accessed 28 August 2018

³⁰ *Ibid.*

2014, 2,202 African military personnel have received training in Turkey. These aspects of military cooperation have alarmed many of Africa's traditional development partners, who questions whether Turkish arms could fall into the possession of radical militias, whether deliberately, or accidentally (Somali pirates, *al-Shabab* and a number of other groups are threats in the regions where Turkey is vying for influence). It is believed that the leadership of the ruling *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* (trans: Freedom and Justice) (AKP) party consciously supported Islamic State of Iraq and Levant (ISIL) forces as a means of destabilising their erstwhile ally, Bashar al-Assad.³¹



FIG. 1. The Ottoman Empire and its main phases of expansion

Source: *Encyclopaedia Britannica*,³² <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Mehmed-II-Ottoman-sultan>

³¹ Langan, pp. 11.

³² *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Mehmed-II-Ottoman-sultan>, accessed 27 August 2018

Neo-Ottomanism in Turkey's Africa Policy

Kemalism (derived from the philosophy of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founding father of the Turkish Republic), was the hegemonic political narrative and operational ideology of the state from 1923 to 1998.³³ Secular Kemalist elites of the Republican People's Party or *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* (CHP), and of past military regimes, depicted Turkey as a 'modern', liberal society, striving towards Europeanisation; the conducted an internal campaign against what they thought were archaic Islamic socio-cultural practices. During the Cold War, Kemalists presented themselves as moderate Muslims, and allied strongly with the European Economic Community (EEC) and the USA in matters of economics and defence.³⁴

The CHP lost its grip on the political scene in 1997, after the military coup. After 1998, Turkish leaders needed to create a new 'personality' for the nation. Langan argues this was both a nationalist and a normative enterprise. The Turkish Republic would be represented as the Ottoman Empire, a nation with a 'moral mission' and a 'civilisational duty' towards others formerly subjected to the Ottoman rule. Turkish elites, ideologues and historians would draw upon Ottoman history to emphasise shared cultural bonds cultivated between divulging groups of geographically distant peoples during the zenith of the Ottoman Empire.³⁵

"Some African countries were totally or partially subject to Ottoman rule, such as Egypt, Libya, Algeria, Tunisia, the Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia and even Niger and Chad".³⁶

This Ottomanisation of history provides justification for Turkey's current focus on certain or *all* territories in Africa:

[In the sixteenth century], almost all of the Muslim population living in Africa was under the Ottoman Empire's power or like Biladu's Sudan, Ghana [Mauritania and Mali], Mali [Mali], Kanim Bornu [Chad and Nigeria], Songay [western Sahel], Timbuktu [Mali], Cano [Nigeria], Darphur [Sudan], Vaday [Somalia and Ethiopia], Hara [Ethiopia], and Zengibar [Zanzibar] sultanates, which remain in the south regions of the Great Sahara Desert where Ottoman Sultan has been accepted as Caliphate and the sermons in mosques began to read on behalf of the Caliphate. The Zengibar sultanate, which was holding the administration of [contemporary] Chad, Niger, Nigeria, Mali, Senegal, and eastern Africa

³³ Genç & Tekin, pp. 92

³⁴ Langan, pp. 3.

³⁵ Langan, pp. 2-4

³⁶ Özkan, pp. 2

coasts, such as Kenya, Tanzania, Mozambique, Uganda, Ruanda, Burundi, Congo, Malawi, and Madagascar, together with Muslims living in South Africa, carried out their commitments to the Ottoman Caliph. This situation had continued almost four centuries until the beginning of twentieth century.³⁷

Former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu, the chief architect of AKP foreign policy, is a pan-Islamist and expansionist, heavily influenced by the German geopolitical theories of the twentieth century. Davutoğlu regards the nation-states of the Middle East created through post-First World War agreements as artificial structures that divide the original caliphate (*Ummah*).³⁸ Ahmet Davutoğlu in 2012 explained the importance of Turkish interventions in Somalia (which were regarded as a huge success in Turkey, and used to justify further interventions and international humanitarianism) by referring to Ottoman expeditions (in reality raids) to the Horn of Africa during the sixteenth century. “We have inherited these [relations] from the Ottomans. They call us neo-Ottomans. Yes, we are neo-Ottomans.”³⁹ He continued, “we are proud of this ... *culturally, we see ourselves as African*. We do not have a bad memory with Africa, but a good history to share.”⁴⁰ The Turkish Ministry of Foreign affairs advertises Turkey as an ‘Afro-Eurasian’ state.⁴¹ President Erdoğan often emphasises the ‘civilisational duties’ of Turkey: safeguarding the *Ummah*⁴²’s interests from Somalia and Rakhine to Syria are paramount to the well-being of the Turkish nation⁴³. Upon his election as president in 2014, Erdoğan asserted that ‘this nation is the hope of the *Ummah* and the world,’ alluding to Turkey’s eagerness to take up its historical responsibilities.⁴⁴

³⁷ Genç & Tekin, pp. 92

³⁸ Nihat Çelik & Emre İşeri (2016) ‘Islamically oriented humanitarian NGOs in Turkey: AKP foreign policy parallelism’, *Turkish Studies*, 17:3, 429-448, DOI: 10.1080/14683849.2016.1204917, pp. 431

³⁹ See Bilgic, Ali and Daniela Nascimento, (2014). ‘Turkey’s new focus on Africa: causes and challenges’. Oslo: NOREF, <https://dspace.lboro.ac.uk/2134/26668>, pp.1-5, accessed 27 August 2018, pp.2

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ MoFA.

⁴² The term is used to denote the Commonwealth of Believers. It has been employed to refer to the territories which are the successor to the original caliphate founded by Prophet Muhammed and its descendants, encapsulating the early Islamic World.

⁴³ Çelik & İşeri, pp. 432

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 433



FIG2: History Map of Africa, 1453-1648

Source: Ancient Civilizations of the World, East Africa⁴⁵

https://en.wikibooks.org/wiki/Saylor.org%27s_Ancient_Civilizations_of_the_World/East_Africa_and_Swahili_Culture

(Map shows African states which have been incorporated into the current Neo-Ottoman discourse as vassal states or allies which accepted the Ottoman Caliphate's primacy in the Islamic World).

As Langan argues, Turkish virtuosity and benevolence, scripted in line with a religious duty bearing historical antecedents, is constantly framed against perceived pitfalls of European 'exceptionalism'.⁴⁶ Turkey's intervention in Africa is framed as a moral mission, on the grounds that its citizens alone can intervene meaningfully in the lives of certain (Muslim) populations in vulnerable countries

⁴⁵ 'Ancient Civilisations of the World/East Africa and Swahili Culture'

https://en.wikibooks.org/wiki/Saylor.org%27s_Ancient_Civilizations_of_the_World/East_Africa_and_Swahili_Culture accessed 28 August 2018 AND History Map of Africa, 1453-1648,

<https://www.pinterest.co.uk/pin/355151120592356484/> accessed 28 August 2018

⁴⁶ Langan, pp. 1-3

where Euro-Americans are socially and culturally inept.⁴⁷ With reference to Africa, a special emphasis is placed on its past as a non-colonial power – as well as its humanitarianism and apolitical approach based on mutually beneficial economic relations – in foreign policy discourse especially for the case of involvement in sub-Saharan Africa⁴⁸. Turkey is also keen to portray itself as benevolent partner in African development. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA) webpage reported that: “according to a report published in October 2015 (Financial Times), Turkish investment in Africa creates the largest number of jobs in Africa (16,593 in 2014) compared to the other foreign direct investments in the continent”.⁴⁹

The *Ummah*’s Moral Mission: Islamic Humanitarianism

Nowhere is the nature of Turkey’s moral mission more visible than in the disbursement of official development assistance (ODA) and humanitarian aid in Africa (activities for which TIKA is mainly responsible). TIKA was founded in 1992, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union (USSR) with the aim of bolstering Turkish influence in the central Asian Turkic republics⁵⁰, with whom Turkey shared a common culture and closely intertwined history.⁵¹ After 2005, TIKA opened three offices in Ethiopia (2005), Sudan (2006), and Senegal (2007), although it operated in 37 countries on the continent⁵². In 2008, TIKA initiated an African Agricultural Development Program in order to help develop agriculture in Africa. According to TIKA President Musa Kulaklikaya, this project will last from 2008 to 2010 and be implemented in 13 African countries, namely in Burkina Faso, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Mali, Senegal, Comoros, Madagascar, Tanzania, Kenya, Rwanda and Uganda (countries that have been constructed in Turkey’s neo-Ottoman imagination as its hinterland).⁵³

⁴⁷ Bilgic and Nascimento, pp. 2

⁴⁸ Çelik, & İşeri, pp. 432

⁴⁹ MoFA

⁵⁰ Uzbekistan, Khazakstan, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan

⁵¹ TIKA, Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency,
http://www.tika.gov.tr/en/page/about_us-14650, accessed 27 August 2018

⁵² Özkan, pp. 5-6

⁵³ Özkan, pp. 5-6

In 2016, a TIKA brochure advertised Turkey as “the Second Largest Donor of Humanitarian Assistance in the World in 2015” with a total Assistance of \$3.2 billion, and the largest “Donor of Humanitarian Assistance” in terms of the ratio of assistance to national income.⁵⁴ It continued, “according to the Global Humanitarian Assistance Report 2016, Turkey was the most generous country in the world that provided the largest humanitarian assistance in terms of its ratio to national income”. (Sweden, UK, Germany and USA came after Turkey).⁵⁵

Between 2005 and 2007, Turkey’s official development aid to Africa averaged \$22.1 million annually.⁵⁶ Between 2008 and 2010, it increased to \$45.5 million. African share in Turkey’s official development aid increased from 3.5 percent to 5.7 percent during the same time span. The highest shares of Turkey’s allocation are given to Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, and Kenya, in decreasing order, in Africa⁵⁷. In 2015, the top 10 recipients of Turkey’s bilateral official development assistance were Syria, Somalia, Kyrgyzstan, Albania, Afghanistan, Palestine, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Kazakhstan and Sudan.⁵⁸ In 2015, the least developed countries (LDCs) which most benefited from Turkish bilateral aid were Somalia, Afghanistan, Sudan, Mauritania, Gambia, Niger, Senegal, Djibouti, Myanmar and Bangladesh respectively – most of them were in Africa.⁵⁹

TIKA’s activities are in line with the priorities of the Conservative Islamism of the AKP. A brochure from 2017 details the *Iftar*⁶⁰ programmes that were organised in Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Ethiopia, the Philippines, Ghana, Iraq, Kosovo, Lebanon, Macedonia, Pakistan, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Syria, Thailand, Uganda and Zimbabwe. Turkey’s aid is directed at Islamic countries, or regions with a strong Muslim demographic.⁶¹ At the *Eid al-Adha* operations of the Red Crescent in 2015, 2,990 cattle and 1,932 sheep were sacrificed in a total of eighteen

⁵⁴ TIKA, *All for a Smile*, December 2016,

http://www.tika.gov.tr/en/publication/list/tika_annual_reports-22, accessed 27 August 2018, pp. 9

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 15

⁵⁶ Genç & Tekin, pp. 104.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ TIKA, Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency, Turkish Development Assistance Report, http://www.tika.gov.tr/en/publication/list/tika_annual_reports-22, 2015, accessed 27 August 2018, pp. 27

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Meals during the holy month of Ramadan

⁶¹ TIKA 2017, Annual Report, http://www.tika.gov.tr/en/publication/list/tika_annual_reports-22, accessed 27 August 2018, pp. 87

countries and 21 regions including Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Montenegro, Kosovo, Macedonia, Serbia, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Niger, Iraq, Palestine, Kyrgyzstan, Senegal, Mauritania, Chad and Syria, and a total of 96,558 meat packages were distributed to those in need.⁶² Turkey has undertaken infrastructural projects in Sudan, Somalia and Ethiopia. The 150-bed Turkish-Sudanese Research and Training Hospital in Nyala which became operational in 2014 was built by TİKA. In Somalia, (a country labelled as failed state by the Western powers) Turkey has built and equipped the biggest hospital in Mogadishu, the 200-bed Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Hospital in Digfer, operational since 2015. Turkey thus fills in the void left by the former western allies of Somalia.

Included in TİKA's activities is developing social infrastructure, and renovating mosques, and structures of Islamic interest in order to stimulate religious and casual tourism. A 2017 annual report describes the renovation of the tomb of the King of Habesh Ashame in the Necash village of the Tigray Region of Ethiopia. It states; "...with the project, it is aimed to take the sepulchres of then King Ashame and our companions who played the role in the first introduction of Islam to Habeshistan under [our] protection and to make this sacred place eligible for the memory of these honourable people whose sepulchres are located there and to make this place favourable for the visits"⁶³

Çelik and İşeri argue that an emergent Islamic humanitarianism is visible in the activities of the four most influential Turkish NGOs: (1) Deniz Feneri, (2) Humanitarian Relief Foundation (İnsan Hak ve Hürriyetleri İnsani Yardım Vakfı (İHH), (3) Cansuyu, and (4) Yeryüzü Doktorları.

All of them were established in the 1990s and early 2000s, mostly with the aim of providing humanitarian aid to Bosnia. Yeryüzü Doktorları (Doctors Worldwide Turkey), specialised in providing medical services, provides support such for cataract operations, urgent treatment and circumcision in conflict zones. Cansuyu, is associated with the rival Felicity Party which does not endorse the AKP. However, their common Islamist background and shared political leanings allow them to concur on matters concerning the scope and nature of international aid.⁶⁴ Most Turkish NGOs are involved in activities ranging from drilling wells,

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 84

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 68

⁶⁴ Çelik & İşeri, pp. 440

banking, food, building mosques and clinics, and providing *qurban/udhiyah* (sacrificial) meat, orphan care and education.⁶⁵ The activities of these NGOs were regulated after the 1997 coup, with the Turkish Aviation Society (THK) and the Turkish Red Crescent (Kızılay) being prioritised.

After the AKP's ascent, a new legal framework made up of modifications to the Law on Associations adopted in 2004, which fostered the growth of Turkish humanitarian NGOs. They were able to form partnerships with NGOs in other countries and to receive donations from abroad. They also enjoyed tax-free status for expenditures, infrastructure and logistical expenses. For donors, annual tax credits for donating to humanitarian NGOs could total as much as five percent of their income, advertised as part of their obligatory *zakat* payments.⁶⁶ Terms such as 'oppressed Muslims' and 'oppressed geographies' were commonly describe the target locations of this aid, indicating that Turkey frames itself as a saviour in the Muslim World. Donors can more generally choose where their money will be spent, for example, Gaza or an African country.⁶⁷

The Economic Crisis of 2018

Turkey's ODA and humanitarian aid to Africa has grown out of a complex mix of economic voyeurism, ideological Neo-Ottomanism and Islamic humanism. But the future of Turkish ODA and aid to Africa look insecure. Turkey has been engulfed by the refugee crisis, war in nearby Syria and widespread instability in the Middle East. It is host to more refugees than any other nation. It has spent \$30 billion on hosting 3.5 million 'Syrian guests' since 2011, at a time when most countries of West have closed their borders and fortified themselves.⁶⁸ The current economic crisis⁶⁹, which has seen the Turkish Lira fall in value, high levels of inflation, rising borrowing costs with Turkey unable to finance its foreign currency debts, amid

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 434

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 435

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 435

⁶⁸ *Daily Sabah*, 14 February 2018, <https://www.dailysabah.com/turkey/2018/02/15/syrian-refugees-in-turkey-surpasses-35-million>, accessed 27 August 2018

⁶⁹ Jerome Roos, 26 August 2018, 'Turkey's Lira Turmoil Could Herald a Global Financial Crisis', *Al Jazeera Business & Economy*, <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/turkey-lira-turmoil-herald-global-financial-crisis-180825165156035.html>, accessed 27 August 2018

increasing authoritarianism displayed by President Erdoğan⁷⁰, means that Turkey may have to rethink its position on the international stage in the immediate future.

In Africa, Turkey's ODA and humanitarian aid are concentrated in two 'fragile' states, Somalia and Sudan. Somalia is a highly 'aid dependent' nation, receiving \$1.3 billion in ODA in 2016, with an unhealthy ODA to GDP ratio of 21 percent.⁷¹ In 2016, Turkish ODA to Somalia amounted to a fourth of this figure at \$314.8 million.⁷² If Turkey's influence and economic clout in the region dwindle, the humanitarian effort in the Horn of Africa may suffer (Somalia has experienced drought-like conditions from 2011, which have adversely affected food security). This could also have challenging implications for the security situation in the broader region, where groups like *al-Shabab* are active. Sudan received \$22 million from Turkey.⁷³ This aid is used to support 770,000 refugees from South Sudan, displaced by the internal conflict in that nation. The UN and its humanitarian partners have recently reminded the international community of the necessity of continued funding, issuing an appeal in 2018 for \$1 billion for Sudan for provision of basic facilities such as water, food and basic sanitation⁷⁴. A drop in Turkish humanitarian assistance here, could be acutely noticed.

⁷⁰Fadi Hakura, 20 June 2018, 'Turkey is Heading For Economic Meltdown', *Time*, <http://time.com/5343999/turkey-erdogan-economic-crisis/>, accessed 27 August 2018

⁷¹Aid flows in Somalia: Analysis of aid flow data, Relief Web, 22 May 2017, <https://reliefweb.int/report/somalia/aid-flows-somalia-analysis-aid-flow-data-april-2017>, accessed 28 August 2018

⁷² OECD, Turkish Official Development Aid, <http://www.oecd.org/dac/stats/turkeys-official-development-assistanceoda.htm>, accessed 28 August 2018

⁷³ 'Sudan: After years of conflict, millions require aid. But is the World paying attention?', 21 February 2018, *UN news*, <https://news.un.org/en/story/2018/02/1003251>, accessed 28 August 2018

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

ASC Working Papers



ASC Working Papers are only online available on the ASC website:
www.ascleiden.nl > Publications > ASC Series > ASC Working papers
 or: <http://www.ascleiden.nl/?q=content/asc-working-papers>

Vol. 1	Laurens van der Laan 1980	Modern inland transport and the European trading firms in colonial West Africa
Vol. 2	Klaas de Jonge 1980	Relations paysans, pêcheurs, capitalisme, état. Une étude d'une lutte de classe en Casamance (Sud Sénégal) <i>out of print</i>
Vol. 3	Gerti Hesseling 1981	Etat et langue en Afrique. Esquisse d'une étude juridique comparative
Vol. 4	Els van Rouveroy van Nieuwaal-Baerends & Emile van Rouveroy van Nieuwaal 1981	Conciliation et la qualité des relations sociales chez les Anufim du Nord Togo en Afrique de l'Ouest <i>out of print</i>
Vol. 5	Piet Konings 1981	Peasantry and state in Ghana. The example of the Veia Irrigation Project in the Upper Region of Ghana <i>out of print</i>
Vol. 6	C.A. Muntjewerff 1982	The producers' price system and the coffee and cocoa trade at village level in West Africa
Vol. 7	C.A. Muntjewerff 1982	Produce marketing cooperatives in West Africa
Vol. 8	Emile van Rouveroy van Nieuwaal & Els van Rouveroy van Nieuwaal-Baerends 1982	La Parcelle du Gendre comploteur. Manières coutumières et modernes d'acquérir des droits sur la terre, à N'zara (Nord Togo)
Vol. 9	B. Merx 1985	Zonder bloed geen vliegen <i>out of print</i>
Vol. 10	Laurens van der Laan 1987	Cameroon's main marketing board: History and scope of the ONCPB
Vol. 11	Laurens van der Laan 1988	Cocoa and coffee buying in Cameroon: The role of the marketing board in the South-West and North-West Provinces, 1978-1987

Vol. 12	Cyprian F. Fisiy 1990	Palm tree justice in the Bertoua Court of Appeal: The witchcraft cases
Vol. 13	Laurens van der Laan & Wim van Haaren	African marketing boards under structural adjustment: The experience of Sub-Saharan Africa during the 1980s
Vol. 14	Rob Buijtenhuijs 1991	The revolutionary potential of African peasantries: Some tentative remarks
Vol. 15	Deborah F. Bryceson & John Howe 1993	Rural household transport in Africa: Reducing the burden on women?
Vol. 16	Deborah F. Bryceson 1993	Easing rural women's working day in Sub-Saharan Africa
Vol. 17	Rob Buijtenhuijs & Elly Rijnierse 1993	Demokratisering in Afrika ten zuiden van de Sahara (1989-1992). Deel 1: Een becommentarieerd overzicht van de literatuur. Deel 2: Onderzoekscapaciteiten in Afrika en in het Westen. <i>out of print</i>
Vol. 18	Nina Tellegen 1993	Rural employment in Sub-Saharan Africa. A bibliography.
Vol. 19	Deborah F. Bryceson 1993	De-Agrarianization and rural employment generation in Sub-Saharan Africa: Process and prospects.
Vol. 20	Deborah F. Bryceson & Corina van der Laan 1994	De-agrarianization in Africa. Proceedings of the "De-agrarianization and Rural Employment" workshop held at the Afrika-Studiecentrum, Leiden, May 1994
Vol. 21	Deborah F. Bryceson & M. McCall 1994	Lightening the load: Women's labour and appropriate rural technology in Sub-Saharan Africa
Vol. 22	Tjalling Dijkstra 1995	Food trade and urbanization in Sub-Saharan Africa: From the early Stone Age to the structural adjustment era
Vol. 23	Patricia Paravano 1997	Working for the future: Elite women's strategies in Brazzaville
Vol. 24	R.J.A. Berkvens 1997	Backing two horses: Interaction of agricultural and non-agricultural household activities in a Zimbabwean communal area
Vol. 25	M. Demeke 1997	Rural non-farm activities in impoverished agricultural communities: The case of North Shoa, Ethiopia
Vol. 26	C.G. Mung'ong'o 1998	Coming full circle: Agriculture, non-farm activities and the resurgence of out-migration in Njombe District, Tanzania
Vol. 27	Ndalahwa F. Madulu 1998	Changing lifestyles in farming societies of Sukumaland: Kwimba District, Tanzania

Vol. 28	George Jambiya 1998	The dynamics of population, land scarcity, agriculture and non-agricultural activities: West Usambara Mountains, Lushoto District, Tanzania
Vol. 29	Davis Mwamfupe 1998	Changing village land, labour and livelihoods: Rungwe and Kyela Districts, Tanzania
Vol. 30	Dick Foeken & Alice M. Mwangi 1998	Farming in the City of Nairobi
Vol. 31	Wijnand Klaver & Robert K.N. Mwadime 1998	Food consumption and nutrition in the Kenya Coast
Vol. 32	C. Manona 1999	De-agrarianisation and the urbanisation of a rural economy: Agrarian patterns in Melani village in the Eastern Cape
Vol. 33	P. McAllister 1999	Agriculture and co-operative labour in Shixini, Transkei, South Africa
Vol. 34	L. Bank & L. Qambata 1999	No visible means of subsistence: Rural livelihoods, gender and social change in Mooiplaas, Eastern Cape, 1950-1998
Vol. 35	Deborah F. Bryceson 1999	African rural labour, income diversification and livelihood approaches: A long-term development perspective
Vol. 36	Elly Rijnierse 1999	The politics of survival. Towards a global, long-term and reflexive interpretation of the African contemporary experience
Vol. 37	Barth Chukwuezi 1999	De-agrarianisation and rural employment in Igboland, South-eastern Nigeria
Vol. 38	Mohammed-Bello Yunusa 1999	Not farms alone: A study of rural livelihoods in the Middle Belt of Nigeria
Vol. 39	Mohammed A. Iliya 1999	Income diversification in the semi-arid zone of Nigeria: A study of Gigane, Sokoto, North-west Nigeria
Vol. 40	Kate Meagher 1999	If the drumming changes, the dance also changes: De-agrarianisation and rural non-farm employment in the Nigerian Savanna
Vol. 41	Jon Abbink 1999	The total Somali clan genealogy: A preliminary sketch
Vol. 42	Abdul R. Mustapha 1999	Cocoa farming and income diversification in South-western Nigeria
Vol. 43	Deborah F. Bryceson 1999	Sub-Saharan Africa betwixt and between. Rural livelihood practices and policies
Vol. 44	A. van Vuuren 2000	Female-headed households: Their survival strategies in Tanzania

Vol. 45	Dick Foeken & Samuel O. Owuor 2000	Urban farmers in Nakuru, Kenya
Vol. 46	Poul Ove Pedersen 2001	Busy work or real business: Revaluing the role of non-agricultural activities in African rural development
Vol. 47	Tjalling Dijkstra 2001	Export diversification in Uganda: Developments in non-traditional agricultural exports
Vol. 48	Boureima Alpha Gado 2001	Variations climatiques, insécurité alimentaire et stratégies paysannes
Vol. 49	Rijk van Dijk 2002	Localising anxieties: Ghanaian and Malawian immigrants, rising xenophobia, and social capital in Botswana
Vol. 50	Dick Foeken, Samuel O. Owuor & Wijnand Klaver 2002	Crop cultivation in Nakuru town, Kenya: Practice and potential
Vol. 51	Samuel O. Owuor 2003	Rural livelihood sources for urban households A study of Nakuru town, Kenya
Vol. 52	Jan Abbink 2003	A Bibliography on Christianity in Ethiopia
Vol. 53	Henk Meilink 2003	Structural Adjustment Programmes on the African continent. The theoretical foundations of IMF/World Bank reform policies
Vol. 54	Chibuike C. Uche & Ogonnaya C. Uche 2004	Oil and the Politics of Revenue Allocation in Nigeria
Vol. 55	Jan Abbink 2004	Reconstructing Southern Sudan in the post-war era: Challenges and prospects of 'Quick Impact Programmes'
Vol. 56	Samuel M. Kariuki 2004	Creating the black commercial farmers in South Africa
Vol. 57	Marcel M.E.M. Rutten 2004	Partnerships in community-based ecotourism projects: Experiences from the Maasai region, Kenya
Vol. 58	Samuel M. Kariuki 2004	Failing to learn from failed programmes? South Africa's Communal Land Rights Act (CLRA 2004)
Vol. 59	Samuel M. Kariuki 2004	Can negotiated land reforms deliver? A case of Kenya's, South Africa's and Zimbabwe's land reform policy Debates
Vol. 60	Jan-Bart Gewald 2005	Learning to wage and win wars in Africa: A provisional history of German military activity in Congo, Tanzania, China and Namibia
Vol. 61	Jan-Bart Gewald 2005	The impact of motor-vehicles in Africa in the twentieth century: Towards a socio-historical case study

Vol. 62	John Sender, Christopher Cramer & Carlos Oya 2005	Unequal prospects: Disparities in the quantity and quality of labour supply in sub-Saharan Africa
Vol. 63	Jan-Bart Gewald 2005	Colonial warfare: Hehe and World War One, the wars besides Maji Maji in south-western Tanzania
Vol. 64	Abel Ezeoha & Chibuike Uche 2005	South Africa, NEPAD and the African Renaissance
Vol. 65	Dick Foeken 2005	Urban agriculture in East Africa as a tool for poverty reduction: A legal and policy dilemma?
Vol. 66	Marcel Rutten 2005	Shallow wells: A sustainable and inexpensive alternative to boreholes in Kenya
Vol. 67	Judith van de Looy 2006	Africa and China: A strategic partnership?
Vol. 68	Tabona Shoko 2006	"My bones shall rise again": War veterans, spirits and land reform in Zimbabwe
Vol. 69	Lwazi Siyabonga Lushaba 2006	Development as modernity, modernity as development
Vol. 70	John Sender & Carlos Oya 2006	Divorced, separated and widowed female workers in rural Mozambique
Vol. 71	Wale Adebaniwa 2007	Necrophilia and elite politics: The case of Nigeria
Vol. 72	Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni citizenship problems: The native club, restless settlers and the politics of nativism in South Africa	Tracking the historical roots of post-apartheid natives, panicking 2007
Vol. 73	Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni history, human rights and the United Nations (UN)	Giving Africa voice within global governance: Oral Human Rights Council 2007
Vol. 74	Jan-Bart Gewald 2007	Transport transforming society: Towards a history of transport in Zambia, 1890-1930
Vol. 75	Jan-Bart Gewald 2007	Researching and writing in the twilight of an imagined anthropology in Northern Rhodesia 1930-1960
Vol. 76	Dick Foeken, Samuel O. Owuor & Alice M. Mwangi 2007	School farming and school feeding in Nakuru town, Kenya
Vol. 77	Jan-Bart Gewald 2007	Spanish influenza in Africa: Some comments regarding source material and future research
Vol. 78	Zekeria Ould Ahmed Salem 2008	Le partenariat Union Européenne – Afrique dans l'impasse ? Le cas des accords de pêche

Vol. 79	Jeremiah O. Arowosegbe 2008	Decolonising the social sciences in the global South: Claude Ake and the praxis of knowledge production in Africa	
Vol. 80	Abigail Barr, Marleen Dekker & Marcel Fafchamps 2008, updated in 2010	Who shares risk with whom under different enforcement mechanisms?	
Vol. 81	Basile Ndjio 2008	Cameroonian <i>feyman</i> and Nigerian '419' scammers: Two examples of Africa's 'reinvention' of the global Capitalism	
Vol. 82	Khalil Alio 2008	Conflict, mobility and language: the case of migrant Hadjaraye of Guéra to neighboring regions of Chari-Baguirmi and Salamat (Chad)	
Vol. 83	Samuel O. Owuor & Dick Foeken 2009	Water Reforms and Interventions in Urban Kenya: International set-up, emerging impact and challenges	
Vol. 84	Jan Abbink 2009	The Total Somali Clan Genealogy (second edition)	
Vol. 85	Etanislav Ngodi des messianismes congolais	Mouvement Nsilulu: Rupture ou continuité historique (1998 – 2003)	2009
Vol. 86	Fatimata Diallo 2009	Espace public et technologies numériques en Afrique: Emergence, dynamique et gouvernance du cyberspace sénégalais	
Vol. 87	Abigail Barr, Marleen Dekker & Marcel Fafchamps 2009, updated in 2010	Bridging the gender divide: An experimental analysis of group formation in African villages	
Vol. 88	Michiel Stapper 2010	Tax regimes in emerging Africa: Can corporate tax rates boost FDI in sub-Saharan Africa?	
Vol. 89	David U. Enweremadu 2010	La société civile et la lutte contre la corruption au Nigeria : Le cas des ONG anti-corruption	
Vol. 90	Abigail Barr, Marleen Dekker & Marcel Fafchamps 2010	The formation of community based organizations in sub-Saharan Africa : An analysis of a quasi-experiment	
Vol. 91	Obiamaka Egbo, Ifeoma Nwakoby, Josaphat Onwumere & Chibuike Uche 2010	Legitimizing corruption in government: Security votes in Nigeria	
Vol. 92	Wijnand Klaver 2010	Underweight or stunting as an indicator of the MDG on poverty and hunger	

Vol. 93	Marleen Dekker & Bill Kinsey 2011	Coping with Zimbabwe's economic crisis: Small-scale farmers and livelihoods under stress
Vol. 94	Saïbou Issa 2011	La SNV au Cameroun: 1963-2005
Vol. 95	Marja Hinfelaar 2011	A history of SNV from a Zambian perspective 1965-2005
Vol. 96	Kiky van Oostrum e.a. 2011	New mobilities and insecurities in Fulbe nomadic societies: a multi-country study in west-central Africa (Niger-Nigeria)
Vol. 97	Kiky van Oostrum e.a. 2011	Mobilités nouvelles et insécurités dans les sociétés nomades Fulbé (peules) : études de plusieurs pays en Afrique centrale de l'Ouest (Niger-Nigeria)
Vol. 98	Gary Baines 2012	A virtual community ? SADF veterans' digital memories and dissenting discourses
Vol. 99	Inge Brinkman & Mirjam de Bruijn, with Hisham Bilal & Peter Taban Wani 2012	The Nile Connection. Effects and meaning of the mobile phone in a (post-)war economy in Karima, Khartoum and Juba, Sudan
Vol. 100	Solani Ngobeni 2012	Scholarly publishing: The challenges facing the African university press
Vol. 101	Daan Beekers & Bas van Gool 2012	From patronage to neopatrimonialism. Postcolonial governance in Sub-Sahara Africa and beyond
Vol. 102	Adalbertus Kamanzi 2012	Can we construct differently from an experience of the degrading environment as function of the discourse of modernity? The answer is yes!
Vol. 103	Adalbertus Kamanzi 2012	Enriching ethnographic studies with anchoring vignette methodology
Vol. 104	Adalbertus Kamanzi 2012	"They needed an ethnographer: That is why they missed it!" Exploring the value of bananas among the Haya people of Bukoba, Northwestern Tanzania
Vol. 105	Paul Rabé & Adalbertus Kamanzi 2012	Power analysis: A study of participation at the local level in Tanzania
Vol. 106	Raphael O. Babatunde 2012	Assessing the effect of off-farm income diversification on agricultural production in rural Nigeria
Vol. 107	Samuel O. Owuor & Dick Foeken 2012	Water interventions for the urban poor: The case of Homa Bay, Kenya

Vol. 108	Gesesse Dessie 2013	Is khat a social ill? Ethical argument about a stimulant among the learned Ethiopians
Vol. 109	Sofiane Bouhdiba 2013	Will Sub-Saharan Africa follow North Africa? Backgrounds and preconditions of popular revolt in the Light of the 'Arab spring'
Vol. 110	Zelalem Debebe et al. 2013	Coping with shocks in rural Ethiopia
Vol. 111	Marleen Dekker 2013	Promoting gender equality and female empowerment: a systematic review of the evidence on property rights, labour markets, political participation and violence against women
Vol. 112	Dick Foeken, Howard Ching Chung, Terry N. Mutune & Samuel Owuor 2013	Urban water interventions and livelihoods in low-income neighbourhoods in Kisumu, Kenya
Vol. 113	Nwanneka Modebe, Okoro Okoro, Chinwe Okoyeuzu & Chibuike Uche 2014	The (ab)use of import duty waivers in Nigeria
Vol. 114	Samuel Aniegye Ntewusu 2014	The road to development: The construction and use of 'the Great North Road' in Gold Coast Ghana
Vol. 115	Merel van 't Wout & Marleen Dekker 2014	Navigating through times of scarcity: The intensification of a gift-giving economy after Dollarization in rural Zimbabwe
Vol. 116	Ton Dietz 2015	A postal history of the First World War in Africa and its aftermath. German colonies. I German Togo
Vol. 117	Ton Dietz 2015	A postal history of the First World War in Africa and its aftermath. German colonies. II Kamerun
Vol. 118	Ton Dietz 2015	A postal history of the First World War in Africa and its aftermath. German colonies. III Deutsch-Südwestafrika (SWA)
Vol. 119	Ton Dietz 2015	A postal history of the First World War in Africa and its aftermath. German colonies. IV Deutsch-Ostafrika/ German East Africa (GEA)
Vol. 120	Victor U. Onyebueke 2015	Globalisation, football and emerging urban 'tribes': Fans of the European leagues in a Nigerian city
Vol. 121	Samuel Aniegye Ntewusu 2015	The impact and legacies of German colonialism in Kete Krachi, North-Eastern Ghana

Vol. 122	Agnieszka Kazimierczuk 2015	Historical overview of development policies and institutions in the Netherlands, in the context of private sector development and (productive) employment creation
Vol. 123	Marion Eeckhout 2015	From billions to trillions: Is the Financing for Development Agenda universal and inclusive?
Vol. 124	Howard Stein & Samantha Cunningham 2015	Land grabbing and formalization in Africa: A critical inquiry
Vol. 125	Ton Dietz 2015	A postal history of the First World War in Africa and its aftermath. German colonies/postal areas. V Morocco
Vol. 126	Anika Altaf 2016	Defining, targeting and reaching the very poor. Bangladesh field report (co-published with the International Institute for Asian Studies, Leiden)
Vol. 127	Anika Altaf 2016	Defining, targeting and reaching the very poor. Benin field report.
Vol. 128	Anika Altaf 2016	Defining, targeting and reaching the very poor. Jeldu (Ethiopia) field report.
Vol. 129	Anika Altaf 2016	Defining, targeting and reaching the very poor. Addis Abeba field report.
Vol. 130	Anika Altaf 2016	Defining, targeting and reaching the very poor. Synthesis report Bangladesh, Benin and Ethiopia.
Vol. 131	Akinyinka Akinyoade & Chibuike Uche 2016	Dangote Cement: An African success story?
Vol. 132	Samuel Aniegye Ntewusu 2016	Between two worlds: A biography of Honourable chief Nana Obimpe of Ghana
Vol. 133	Samuel Aniegye Ntewusu 2016	Gyama Bugibugy (German gunpowder): A history of German presence in Nawuriland
Vol. 134	Stephanie Cawood 2016	Towards an itinerary of ideas. Intertextual mapping in the rhetoric of Nelson Mandela
Vol. 135	Ton Dietz 2016	Sustainable city initiatives in Africa and comparison with the OURSUS approach
Vol. 136	Rob van Tulder & Ton Dietz 2017	Een pleidooi voor duurzame diplomatie
Vol. 137	Djimet Seli 2017	Les barrières à la demande de service de vaccination chez les populations nomades de Danamadji, Tchad
Vol. 138	'Rantimi Jays Julius-Adeoye 2017	The Nigeria-Biafra war, popular culture and agitation for sovereignty of a Biafran nation

Vol. 139	Hans Schoenmakers 2017	The story of Kintu and his sons. Naming, ethnic identity formation and power in the precolonial Great Lakes Region of East Africa
Vol.140	Paul Kamau, Bethuel Kinyanjui, Akinyinka Akinyoade & Catherine Mukoko 2018	Assessment of Productive Employment Policies in Kenya
Vol. 141	Ton Dietz 2018	Destination Africa. The Dynamics 1990-2015
Vol. 142	Agnieszka Kazimierczuk, Paul Kamau, Bethuel Kinyanjui, Catherine Mukoko 2018	Never a Rose without a Prick: (Dutch) multinational companies and productive employment in the Kenyan flower sector
Vol. 143	Samuel Nana Abokyi 2018	The interface of modern partisan politics and community conflicts in Africa; the case of Northern Ghana conflicts
Vol. 144	Ton Dietz 2018	Mauritius and the Netherlands: Current linkages and the heritage of connections
Vol. 145	Meera Venkatachalam 2019	Turkey in Africa. Neo-Ottomanism and Islamic Humanitarianism