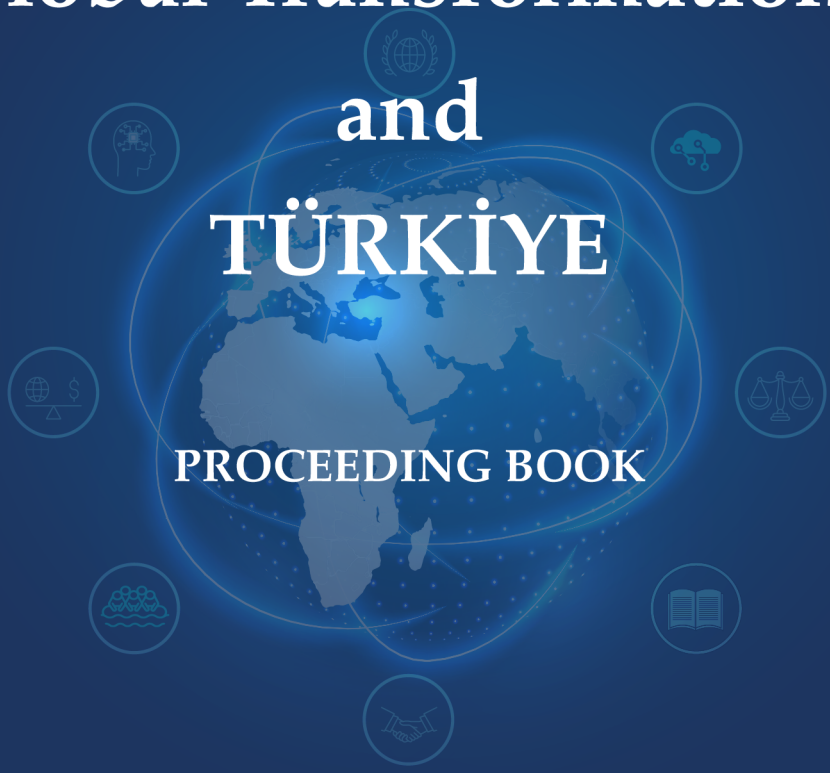
TÜBA

Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi

Turkish Academy of Sciences

International Conference on

Global Transformations and TÜRKİYE



PROCEEDING BOOK

İstanbul - 2024

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Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi
Turkish Academy of Sciences

TÜBA Conferance on "Global Transformations and Türkiye" Proceeding Book

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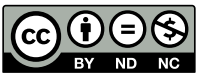
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Foreword

The Turkish Academy of Sciences (TÜBA) is an autonomous organization dedicated to the development and promotion of science in Türkiye. Its origins can be traced back to the Ottoman Society of Scholars, founded in 1851. TÜBA encompasses a broad spectrum of scientific fields, divided into three groups: Basic and Engineering Sciences; Health and Life Sciences; and Social Sciences and Humanities. Committed to fostering scientific research, TÜBA organizes working groups, provides grants and awards, supports scientific reports, and collaborates with sister academies worldwide.

During the 2023 meeting of TÜBA's International Relations Working Group, the decision was made to organize a conference in 2024 titled "Global Transformations and Türkiye". This title aligns with the theme of the Science-20 conferences, "Science for Global Transformation", scheduled to be held in Brazil in early 2024. It underscores the significance and immediacy of global changes and challenges. As a prominent member of the Science-20 Academies, TÜBA plays a pivotal role in guiding discussions on global issues. The academy's approach to addressing global challenges with collaborative scientific efforts and innovative solutions is demonstrated by its focus on areas such as Global Political Crisis/War, Artificial Intelligence, Bioeconomy, Energy Transition, Health Challenges, and Social Justice.

In the context of a rapidly evolving global landscape characterized by shifting geopolitical paradigms and changing international relations, prioritizing solution-oriented and science-driven initiatives in Türkiye is critical. To navigate these transitions effectively, it is essential to utilize scientific expertise judiciously. Central to our ethos is the principle of social justice. We are dedicated to fostering a world of fairness and equity, where resources are distributed equitably, and environmental stewardship is emphasized for the collective well-being of future generations. Our commitment extends beyond mere advocacy; we actively encourage dialogue and collaboration to support inclusive socio-economic development.

The conference provides a platform for scholarly discourse and interdisciplinary collaboration. The aim is to navigate towards a more sustainable and equitable future through rigorous deliberation and the exchange of insights. Additionally, it is important to acknowledge the severe humanitarian crises occurring in various parts of the world amidst our scholarly endeavors. Recent escalations, such as the Israeli occupation in Gaza and the Russian occupation in Ukraine, highlight the importance of promoting peace and stability through diplomatic efforts. As objective scholars, we condemn acts of aggression and encourage peaceful resolutions through dialogue and diplomacy.

The conference is anticipated to offer valuable scholarly insights and contribute to the advancement of knowledge in our respective fields. I would like to express my gratitude to the TÜBA International Relations Working Group for organizing this conference. Additionally, my thanks go to all the speakers and participants for their contributions.

Prof. Dr. Muzaffer Şeker
President
Turkish Academy of Sciences (TÜBA)

Preface

The TÜBA Conference on "Global Transformations and Türkiye", held at Istanbul University on 18-20 April 2023, is organized by TUBA's Working Group on International Relations.

The theme of the conference is Global Transformations and Türkiye focusing upon the recent significant changes the world has undergone and their impacts upon Türkiye. Global transformations may be traced back to the beginning of significant intercontinental exchanges from the end of first millennium onwards. Yet the developments and interactions that occurred in the last five hundred years have been incomparable to the earlier periods and they have been further precipitated in the last couple of decades. With the new inventions and increased speed in transportation and telecommunication technology, the world indeed has become a "global village" leading to the change in the nature of international relations both in theory and practice. There are now new concepts and issues, which were not in the agenda of both scholars and the public two or there decades ago, such as virtual space, digital communication, artificial intelligence, human security and cyber security, unconventional channels of diplomacy, sustainability, etc., to name but a few. On the other hand, the traditional-conventional concepts and issues are still there and keeping their pressure on international relations such as war, increased destructive capacity of states and non-state actors, migration, energy security, etc., again to name but a few. Located at the crossroads of the continents, Türkiye has always been under the impact of global transformations and recently she aspires to be an agent of those transformations. We are no doubt faced with both the positive and negative effects of these developments.

The conference aims to provide a comprehensive platform catering to scholars, policy-makers, and the general public. It will serve as a forum for engaging discussions across a spectrum of practices and viewpoints. Among the themes to be explored are global transformations throughout history, contemporary shifts, and the diverse paradigms within International Relations. Topics will encompass security and cyber security, energy security, supply chain integrity, human security, migration and refugee issues, as well as emerging channels of diplomacy and science diplomacy. Additionally, the conference will delve into the roles of non-state actors such as NGOs and multinational corporations, while addressing cultural, civilizational, and identity dynamics. Discussions will extend to various polities and collectivities including states, empires, governance bodies, nations, and ethnic and religious groups. Furthermore, there will be deliberation on the feasibility of establishing a "just" international order and strategies for sustainability.

We earnestly hope that this conference proves to be both fruitful and enriching for all involved. I am sure it will serve as a platform for insightful discussions, meaningful exchanges, and the cultivation of new ideas and perspectives. We will be hearing from 70 speakers and I extend my sincerest appreciation to each of you for your invaluable participation.

Prof. Dr. A. Nuri Yurdusev
Chair
TÜBA International Relations Working Group

Organization Committee

Prof. Dr. Muzaffer Şeker
TÜBA President

Prof. Dr. A. Nuri Yurdusev
TÜBA Full Member | Middle East Technical University
(Executive of TUBA International Relations Working Group)

Prof. Dr. Pınar Bilgin
TÜBA Full Member | Bilkent University

Prof. Dr. Ayşegül Komsuoğlu
TÜBA Full Member | Nişantaşı University

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Üsküdar University

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nkara Social Sciences University

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TÜBA Associate Member | Sakarya University

Prof. Dr. Şener Aktürk
TÜBA Associate Member | Koç University

Assoc. Dr. Eliza Gheorghe
TÜBA Young Academy | Bilkent University

Asst. Prof. Dr. Mürsel Doğrul
Turkish National Defense University

Turkish Academy of Sciences (TÜBA) is an autonomous apex body for the development and promotion of sciences in Türkiye. The origins of the Academy go back to "Encümen-i Daniş" (Society of Scholars), which was founded in 1851 and known as the first Turkish science academy in the modern sense. TÜBA is the single national academy in Türkiye and it comprises all fields of sciences which are grouped under three categories namely a) basic and engineering sciences, b) health and life sciences, and c) social sciences and humanities. TÜBA contributes to the promotion of sciences through its working groups, grants and awards, scientific reports and collaboration with sister academies in the world.

PROGRAM

April 18, 2024, Thursday

09:00-09:30 **Opening Session**

A. Nuri Yurdusev - *TÜBA International Relations Working Group Chair*
Osman Bülent Zülfikar - *İstanbul University Rector*
Muzaffer Şeker - *TÜBA President*
M. Fatih Kacır - *Ministry of Industry and Technology (TBC)*

09:30-10:30 **Keynote Speaker**

Imaginaries of International Society: Cross-Roads From 'Rome', 'Serendippo', and 'Yalta'
Siba N. Grovogui - *Cornell University*

10:30-11:00 **Coffee Break**

11:00-12:30 **PANEL 1.1. (Doctorate Hall): Diplomacy in a Changing World**

Moderator: Çağrı Erhan - *Altınbaş University*

Enhancing the Economic Diplomacy Capacity and Performance of Türkiye in the New Global Political Economy Environment: A Model Proposal
Mustafa Said Yazıcıoğlu, Nazım Ekren,
Uğur Yasin Asal, Mefule Fındıkçı Erdoğan
İstanbul Ticaret University

Indonesia's Strategies in Developing Covid-19 Vaccine: From Moderate Vaccine Nationalism to Vaccine Science Diplomacy
Siti Rochmawati Susanto - *Airlangga University*

Energy security in the Eastern Mediterranean: A case study on the naval diplomacy of Cyprus, Greece, and Türkiye
Giovanni Parente - *Maynooth University*

Energy Security and the Turkish Shipyards in the Arctic: A Global Perspective
Ebru Caymaz - *Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University*
Adnan Dal - *Hatay Mustafa Kemal University*

11:00-12:30 **PANEL 1.2. (Blue Hall): Security and Strategy in a Changing World**
Moderator: Ali Balcı - *Sakarya University*

Wings for Middle Powers between Eurasia and the West: Türkiye's Drone Diplomacy in the Russo-Ukrainian War and the Quest for Strategic Autonomy
Alessandra Russo - *Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore*
Riccardo Gasco - *University of Bologna*
Samuele C.A. Abrami - *Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore*

Scaling The State Interest: Middle Power Alignments in Status Qou-Revisonism Dualism
Metin Yücekaya - *Social Sciences University of Ankara*

More Assertion in the Middle: Effects of Systemic Transition
Younis Sarwer - *Georgia State University*

Regional Power, Middle Power, Emerging Power? The Role of Türkiye in the Contemporary International Relations
Marian Karagyozov - *Bulgarian Academy of Sciences*

11:00-12:30 **PANEL 1.3. (Kılıçlık Hall): Middle Powers**
Moderator: Şener Aktürk - *Koç University*

Grand Strategy: Middle Powers and Türkiye
Nurşin Ateşoğlu Güney - *National Intelligence Academy*

Türkiye's Multifaceted Relations with the US and China: An Analysis of Factors Affecting their Relations
Behzad Abdollahpour - *İstanbul University*

Türkiye's Successor Actors in North Africa
Hacı Duran - *İstanbul Aydin University*
Menaa Laldja - *Institute of Law and Political Science*

Transnational Authoritarianism and State Response in Türkiye and Canada: A Comparison of the Murders of Jamal Khashoggi and Hardeep Singh Nijjar
Murat Yılmaz - *Kastamonu University*

12:30-14:00 **Lunch**
İstanbul University - House of Professors

14:00-15:30 PANEL 2.1. (Doctorate Hall):
Peace Keeping and Military Interventions
Moderator: Mehmet Fatih Aysan - *Marmara University*

Beyond Borders: Türkiye's UN Peacekeeping Contributions as Instruments of Foreign Policy
Firuze Simay Sezgin - *Bilkent University*
Sümeyye Kaya Uyar - *Ibn Haldun University*

Transformation of Peacekeeping Operations and Türkiye's Contributions
Menent Savaş Cazala - *Galatasaray University*
Dilek Karabacak - *Turkish National Defence University*

Transformation of Türkiye's Policy on Military Deployment Abroad in a Changing World Order
Muzaffer Şenel - *SUNY Binghamton University*

14:00-15:30 PANEL 2.2. (Blue Hall) : Civilizations and World Orders
Moderator: Hacer Topaktaş Üstüner - *İstanbul University*

Reflections on Culture, Civilization and Identity in the Era of Global Transformations
Gabor Hamza - *Hungarian Academy of Sciences*

A Contribution to Rules-Based International Order : Codification of Kin-state Protection for Inter-State Relations
Hasan Ulusoy - *İstanbul University*

War and Captivity. Romanian POWs in Ottoman POW Camps and Ottoman (Turkish) POWs in Romanian POW Camps During WWI
Radu-Romeo Tudorancea
Nicolae Iorga Institute of History Romanian Academy

Türkiye and Strengthening Position in Organization of Islamic Cooperation: Toward a Just World Order?
Yasser Salimi Namin - *University of Warsaw*

14:00-15:30 **PANEL 2.3. (Kılıçlık Hall):**
Human Mobility Meets the Rise of Populism
Moderator: Ayselin Yıldız - *İstinye University*

Discursive Power of Scholarly Produced Knowledge about Syrian Refugeedom and Subaltern Potential of Turkish Scholarship
Sandra Cvikic - *Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar*

Are Turkish Citizens Concerned with Refugee Issues in Elections? Evidence from a Public Opinion Survey
Kohei Imai - *IDE-JETRO*

The Populism–Foreign Policy Nexus in Contemporary Türkiye
Tamás Dudlák - *ELTE Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest*

A White Paper Proposal for Ingos Towards Refugees in Türkiye
Hakan Dulkadiroğlu - *Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University*

15:30-16:00 **Coffee Break**

16:00-17:30 **PLENARY PANEL (Doctorate Hall):**
Türkiye on the Cusp of Persistent Challenges and Global Transformations
Moderator: Ahmet Nuri Yurdusev (*Middle East Technical University*)

Türkiye, Sustainable Development, and the New World Economy
Jeffrey David Sachs - *Columbia University*

Navigating Subjectivity in the Age of Anxiety: An Existentialist Perspective on post-2010 Turkish Foreign Policy
Bahar Rumelili - *Koç University*

The Stalemate Model of Peacemaking: Ripe for the Emergence of Multipolarity in International Order
Oliver Richmond - *University of Manchester*

17:30 **Closing**

19:00 - 22:00 **Conference Dinner**
İstanbul University - House of Professors

April 19, 2024, Friday

09:00-10:30 PANEL 3.1. (Doctorate Hall): Soft Power Politics
Moderator: Ayşegül Komsuoğlu - *Nişantaşı University*

Cultural Heritage Management and NGO's Event Management Practices: The Case of ÇEKL Foundation
Erdal Bilici, Lütfiye Yaşar, Simge Ünlü - *Sakarya University*

International Scholarships as Development Assistance: The Role of Türkiye as an Educational Aid Donor
Selver Buldanlıoğu Şahin, Hacer Atabaş - *Bilkent University*

Dual Pressures Through Inflow and Outflow: An Overview of Türkiye's Migration Governance Framework
Deena Saleh Şahin - *Piri Reis University*

09:00-10:30 PANEL 3.2. (Blue Hall) : Cyber Behaviour and the Challenge of AI
Moderator: Mürsel Doğrul - *National Defence University*

Türkiye's Responsible Cyber Behaviour – A Critical Evaluation
Fahad Nabeel, Umair Pervez Khan - *National Defence University, Pakistan*

Responsible AI: Transforming Climate Action in International Relations
Fatih Hüseyin Börekçi - *Maltepe University*
Şadi Evren Şeker - *İstanbul University*

The Imperative of Artificial Intelligence in Diplomatic Endeavors: Navigating India-Pakistan Relations Amidst Historical Tensions and Nuclear Realities
Muhammad Tabish Abdul Qayyum - *University of Lahore*

Geopolitical Impacts of Cyberspace on International Relations: An Indepth Analysis
Nezir Akyeşilmen - *Selçuk University*

09:00-10:30 **PANEL 3.3. (Kılıçlık Hall):**
Great and Middle Powers and World Orders
Moderator: Mehmet Özkan - *National Defence University*

Complexity, Opacity, and the Making of China's Grand Strategy
Kadir Temiz - *National Intelligence Academy*

Greek-Turkish Relations: In Search for Honest Peace
Georgios Koukoudakis - *Hellenic Army Academy*

Turbulent Great Power Reflexes of the United States After 2001 and the International Order
Murat Demirel - *Nevşehir Hacı Bektaş Veli University*

Türkiye in the Age of Deglobalization: In the Way of World-Building within Worlds?
Mehmet Akif Okur - *Yıldız Technical University*

10:30-11:00 **Coffee Break**

11:00-12:30 **PANEL 4.1. (Doctorate Hall):**
Hybrid Warfare and Non-State Actors in World Politics
Moderator: Ali Balcı - *Sakarya University*

The Challenges of Hybrid Warfare for Türkiye in Light of the South American Experience
Fátima Carolina Funes, Mariano Danculovic - *Salvador University*

Negative Global Flows and Organized Crime as a Litmus Test for Türkiye's Globalization Endeavor
Ayşen Baylak Güngör - *İstanbul Ticaret University*

How Failure of Major Powers' Deterrence Against Non-State Actors in the Post Truth Era is Transforming Warfare (A Case Study of Afghanistan, Palestine-Israel Conflict and Russia Ukraine War)
Waqar Hasan Khan Khan - *Station Head of Suno News / Pakistan Army*

Transformation of Eurasia: Türkiye and Rise of the Organization of Turkic States (OTS)
Vasif Huseynov - *ADA University & Khazar University*

11:00-12:30 **PANEL 4.2. (Blue Hall):**
Gendered Inequalities, Hierarchical Orders in World Politics
Moderator: Bahar Rumelili - *Koç Univesity*

Theorizing Social Reproduction through China's Internally Colonized Uyghur Community:
Reconciling Exploitation and Oppression
Crystal Whetstone - *Bilkent University*

Making Sense of Global Continuities and
Transformations Through Postcolonial Feminist IR
Mine Nur Küçük Sipahioğlu - *Yeditepe University*

Co-Construction of Orders at the National and the International Levels: Spatiotemporal Aspects of State Violence
Burcu Türkoğlu - *Bilkent University*

How Does the Concept of 'Human Security' Travel?
The Politics of Theorising Human Security Beyond the Core
Neslihan Dikmen Alsancak - *Bilkent University*

11:00-12:30 **PANEL 4.3. (Kılıçlık Hall): New Challenges to World Politics**
Moderator: Cem Korkut
Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University

Effects of Social Media Use on Universal Culture: Tiktok Language
Efe Kağan Yurt, Nebiye Konuk Kandemir - *Dokuz Eylül University*

Belonging to the Post Industrial City in Times of Globalization. Evidence from Central, Eastern Europe and Türkiye
Paweł Starosta - *University of Lodz*

Türkiye and Climate Change;
Lessons from Indian Local Governments
Balan Pappinissery Puthanveettil - *International Sociology Association*

Development of the Turkish Education Model for Immigrants
Murat Tuncer - *Fırat University*
Ahmet Egemen Akmençe - *Ministry of National Education, Türkiye*

12:30-14:30 **Lunch**
İstanbul University House of Professors

14:30-16:00 **PANEL 5.1. (Doctorate Hall):**
Business, Finance and Trade in a Changing World
Moderator: Halit Keskin - *Yıldız Technical University*

Guideline for Corporate Digital
Responsibility (CDR) in Global Environment
Emel Esen, Halit Keskin - *Yıldız Technical University*

Can Global Value Chain
Participation Mitigate Conflict Between Nations?
Halit Yanıkkaya, Pınar Tat - *Gebze Technical University*

The Importance of Islamic Finance for the Countries
of the Islamic World as the Balance of Economic Power Shifts
Mehmet Bulut - *İstanbul Sabahattin Zaim University*
Cem Korkut - *Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University*

Navigating Regional Shifts and Islamic Alliances:
Türkiye and Malaysia in the Face of Arab-Israeli Normalization
Ainul Asyraf Lokman - *Universiti Malaya*
Mohd Roslan Mohd Nor - *Universiti Malaya*
Khalid El-Awaisi - *Social Sciences University of Ankara*

14:30-16:00 **PANEL 5.2. (Blue Hall): Ordering the World**
Moderator: Birol Akgün
Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University

A New World Order: Continuity or Rupture?
M. Akif Kireçci - *Social Sciences University of Ankara*

The Global International Order; The Imperative of Reform?
Yahiaoui Hadia - *University of Khenchela*

The Transformation of the International System and Türkiye's Role
Burhanettin Duran - *Social Sciences University of Ankara*

The Geoeconomics of Türkiye:
A Safe Haven in the Times of New World Disorder
Yusuf Dinç - *İstanbul Sabahattin Zaim University*

International Migration National Education
Servet Kardeş - *Van Yüzüncü Yıl University*

16:00-16:30 **Conclusion Session**
Doctorate Hall

19:00 - 22:00 **Conference Dinner**
İstanbul University Baltalimanı Restaurant

April 20, 2024, Saturday

09:30 **Breakfast**

10:30 **Lobby Meeting and Departure**

14:30 **Bosphorus Boat Trip**

Keynote Speaker

Imaginaries of International Society:
Cross-Roads From 'Rome', 'Serendippo', and 'Yalta'

Prof. Dr. Siba N'Zatioula Grovogui, *Cornell University - USA*

Plenary Panel:
Global Transformations and Türkiye

The Stalemate Model of Peacemaking:
Ripe for the Emergence of Multipolarity in International Order

Prof. Dr. Oliver Richmond, *University of Manchester - UK*

Navigating Subjectivity in the Age of Anxiety:
An Existentialist Perspective on post-2010 Turkish Foreign Policy

Prof. Dr. Bahar Rumelili, *Koç University - TR*

Türkiye, Sustainable Development, and the New World Economy

Jeffrey David Sachs, *Columbia University - USA*
(Online)

IMAGINARIES OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY: CROSS-ROADS FROM 'ROME', 'SERENDIPPO', AND 'YALTA'

Siba N'Zatioula Grovogui

Abstract

To the extent that it infers 'society', international society is understood as the institutionalization of shared interests and norms. It arises as a result of phenomena, dynamics, and processes, across time and space. These are misunderstood partly because disciplinary science has occulted many. One of the factors leading to amnesia is the commonsense status currently held by Western canons in which the modern state and exclusive civilizational norms are identified as central identity and desire (or aspiration) of international society. This is particularly the case with the so-called English School. The problem is not merely that this school is perennially bound up in a post-imperial fantasy of inherent goodness of the West. It is also that it elides the fact that post-World War II imaginaries of power, interest, legality, legitimacy, and their terms and articulations are medieval in origin. My hunch is that even the received images of the Middle Ages are distorted in disciplinary canons. The paradox is that it would be impossible for the collective 'us' to properly project ourselves in the future without correcting the errors of disciplinary canons and their archives.

Keyword

International Society, Disciplinary Canons, Imaginaries of Power, Postcolonial Critique, Medieval Origins

About Author

Prof. Dr. Siba N'Zatioula Grovogui | Cornell University | sng52[at]cornell.edu

Prof. Dr. Siba N'Zatioula Grovogui, a native of Guinea, is a professor of international relations theory and African political thought at Cornell University. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin, Madison in 1988. Prior to joining Cornell, he served as a law clerk, judge, and legal advisor to the National Commission on Trade, Agreements, and Protocols in Guinea. Grovogui was previously a professor of international relations theory and law at Johns Hopkins University. He is the author of several influential works, including Sovereigns, Quasi-Sovereigns, and Africans (1996) and Beyond Eurocentrism and Anarchy (2006). He is currently completing a manuscript entitled The Gaze of Copernicus, which critiques international relations and offers postcolonial perspectives. Grovogui's research interests include political theory, transnationalism, and diaspora studies. He is also the Nelson Mandela Visiting Professor at Rhodes University for 2020 and 2021.

NAVIGATING SUBJECTIVITY IN THE AGE OF ANXIETY: AN EXISTENTIALIST PERSPECTIVE ON POST-2010 TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY

Bahar Rumelili

Abstract

This paper develops an existentialist theoretical framework for the analysis of foreign policy and applies it to the analysis of post-2010 Turkish foreign policy. It starts from the premise that international relations is increasingly characterized by radical uncertainty, constituted by a greater awareness of unknown unknowns and their ever-present possibility of materializing. This intensifying uncertainty is activating existential anxieties on part of state actors about their future position, role, identity, and purpose in international politics. The IR literature is yet to identify the foreign policy manifestations of these anxieties. This paper makes a first step by focusing on the case of Türkiye. It is argued that the intensifying uncertainty is aggravating Türkiye's pre-existing insecurities and ambivalences about its identity. The paper employs discourse analysis to analyze the speeches of Turkish foreign ministers delivered at the annual Ambassador's conferences to show how these existential anxieties are experienced in the Turkish context and how the erratic directions that Turkish foreign policy has taken in the post-2010 period are justified.

Keywords

Existentialist Framework, Foreign Policy Analysis,
Post-2010 Turkish Foreign Policy, Radical Uncertainty, Identity Crisis

About Author

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Bahar Rumelili is Professor and Jean Monnet Chair at the Department of International Relations, Koc University, Istanbul. Her research to date has focused on international relations theory, European studies, and conflict resolution. Most currently, she has published on implications of anxiety and uncertainty in international relations, international hierarchies shaped by global performance indices, historical myths that shape anti-Western discourse in Türkiye, and gender performances in Turkish diplomacy. She is the author of Constructing Regional Community and Order in Europe and Southeast Asia (Palgrave, 2007) and the editor of Conflict Resolution and Ontological Security: Peace Anxieties (Routledge 2015). Her articles have appeared in journals such as European Journal of International Relations, Review of International Studies, Cooperation and Conflict, Journal of Common Market Studies, Security Dialogue, and Journal of International Relations and Development. She is the 2009 recipient of Turkish Academy of Sciences' Distinguished Young Scientist Award and the 2014 recipient of Turkish Scientific and Technological Research Council's Incentive Award.

THE STALEMATE MODEL OF PEACEMAKING: RIPE FOR THE EMERGENCE OF MULTIPOLARITY IN INTERNATIONAL ORDER

Oliver Richmond

Abstract

The dominant research methodologies, conceptual, and practical doctrines of the post- Cold War order widely related to peacemaking, such as 'backsliding', 'hurting stalemates', 'ripe moments' and 'liberal peacebuilding', indicated a Northern convergence around limited goals for peacemaking, international mediation, and conflict resolution. These problem-solving approaches, which operated within the contradictory frameworks of the liberal international order, Realism, and geopolitical pragmatism, have led to unintended consequences because of such parsimony. Unable to capitalise on momentum from critical scholarship drawing on work in conflict-affected societies for a positive, hybrid and locally legitimate peace, they have perhaps inadvertently given rise to a range of authoritarian, stalemated, and unimplemented outcomes. These have exploited stalemates, weak implementation, and limited international political will, as can be observed from Cambodia to the Balkans in the 1990s, and Colombia or Ukraine more recently. This also partly explains the phenomena of 'partial reform syndrome' and 'backsliding' in weak and failed states across sub-Saharan Africa since the end of the Cold War. This paper examines these post-Cold War unintended consequences of the dominant epistemological developments in peacemaking. In summary, conceptual though pragmatic formulations for peacemaking have led to stalemated peace processes and indicate that peacemaking in a multipolar order may be complex, crude, and unstable at best.

Keywords

Multipolar Order, Peacemaking, Authoritarian Outcomes,
Liberal Peacebuilding, Hybrid Peace

About Author

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Oliver Richmond is Professor in IR and Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Manchester, UK. He is also International Professor at Dublin City University, Ireland, Distinguished Visiting Professor at Ewha University, Seoul, Korea, and Honorary Professor in the School of International Relations, University of St Andrews, Scotland. He is also Visiting Professor at Near Eastern University, Lefkosha, Cyprus. He received a Distinguished Scholar award from the ISA Peace Studies Section in 2019. His publications include The Grand Design: The Evolution of the International Peace Architecture (Oxford University Press, 2022), Peace Formation and Political Order in Conflict Affected Societies (Oxford University Press, 2016), and Failed Statebuilding (Yale University Press, 2014). He is co-editor of the Palgrave book series, Rethinking Peace and Conflict Studies, and co-editor of the Journal, Peacebuilding.

Panel 1.1 (Doctorate Hall)
Diplomacy in a Changing World

Enhancing the Economic Diplomacy Capacity and Performance of Türkiye in the New Global Political Economy Environment: A Model Proposal

Prof. Dr. Mustafa Said Yazıcıoğlu,
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Indonesia's Strategies in Developing COVID-19 Vaccine: From Moderate Vaccine Nationalism to Vaccine Science Diplomacy

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Energy Security in the Eastern Mediterranean: A Case Study on the Naval Diplomacy of Cyprus, Greece and Türkiye

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Energy Security and the Turkish Shipyards in the Arctic: A Global Perspective

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ENHANCING THE ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY CAPACITY AND PERFORMANCE OF TÜRKIYE IN THE NEW GLOBAL POLITICAL ECONOMY ENVIRONMENT: A MODEL PROPOSAL

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Abstract

Diplomacy refers the daily conduct of foreign policy. Regarding to global and regional geopolitical, economic, and military shifts, the way and the tools of both foreign policy and diplomacy have been changing. Some states are more adaptive to these structural changes, but most of the states are not very successful to adopt their institutions upon to these circumstances. This paper will first define the changing nature of diplomacy with its economic and commercial axis and then examine the current economic diplomacy structure (actors, tools, data gathering and analysing) of Republic of Türkiye. This paper will also present a new model how the capacity and performance of the economic diplomacy of Türkiye enhanced? In what senses Türkiye can/should transform its institutional body to have more influential in this new era. The data's will be analysed from the selected macroeconomic indicators of Türkiye. These indicators are GDP, annual economic growth, public debt ratio to GDP, fiscal deficit to GDP, interest rate, currency rate, employment/unemployment rate and foreign trade balance. Selected indicators will be used as part of the econometric model, which will be properly tested for this study. Thus, this study will have interdisciplinary approach on political economy, international relations, and econometrics.

Keywords

Energy Economic Diplomacy, Political Economy, Institutions, Model, Türkiye

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INDONESIA'S STRATEGIES IN DEVELOPING COVID-19 VACCINE: FROM MODERATE VACCINE NATIONALISM TO VACCINE SCIENCE DIPLOMACY

Siti Rochmawati Susanto

Abstract

The COVID-19 pandemic that emerged in early 2020 has transformed the global political landscape. This is due to its significant impact, notably which resulting the highest death toll compared to previous global pandemics, for instance Spanish Flu. Preventing more devastating consequences, most international actor, either state or non-state, are making their best efforts to combat the pandemic. One crucial initiative during the pandemic crisis is developing COVID-19 vaccine. Indonesia is one of the countries that actively making breakthroughs in doing so. Although it was not ambitiously pursuing to be among the first country to find the vaccine, but as middle power country, Indonesia has persistently attempted to make innovations, including establishing 6 frameworks for the development of the COVID-19 vaccine. Among the six schemes, five of them are national research-based activities conducted by universities and research institutes; meanwhile, there is one project that representing a collaboration between Indonesia's state-owned pharmacist company, Biofarma and Baylor College of Medicine (BCM), United States. Therefore, this paper analyzes Indonesia's strategy in developing COVID-19 vaccine. The approach used in this study is multidisciplinary, combining the field of medicine and international relations. The theories that used in the paper are vaccine nationalism which then expanded into moderate type of vaccine nationalism and vaccine science diplomacy. Methods that used for this paper is based on library studies and expert interview. Regarding the research question, this paper argues that Indonesia has two different strategies in developing COVID-19 vaccine that have been conducted simultaneously. First, Indonesia chooses moderate way to produce the vaccine, by relying on its academic, science, and technology capacities, yet it is not too ambitious to do so, which means not like other developed countries that struggle to develop the vaccine in a very short period. Second, Indonesia applies vaccine science diplomacy, by establishing a COVID-19 vaccine collaboration with foreign research institute to produce the vaccine.

Keywords

COVID-19 Vaccine, Indonesia, Vaccine Development, Moderate Vaccine Nationalism, Vaccine Science Diplomacy

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ENERGY SECURITY IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN: A CASE STUDY ON THE NAVAL DIPLOMACY OF CYPRUS, GREECE, AND TÜRKİYE

Giovanni Parente

Abstract

This conference paper discusses the energy security in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea by focusing on the naval diplomacies of the Republic of Cyprus, Greece, and Türkiye. Maritime security is now recognised as a crucial area of EU security and a vibrant field within current academic discourse. Within this broad discipline, the concept of naval diplomacy has assumed an increasingly relevant role in the last two decades. Naval diplomacy concerns the usages of navies and naval assets for achieving political, economic, and diplomatically goals. In this vein, the peculiar case study of the Eastern Mediterranean will be explored by looking at the timely and complex dimensions of naval diplomacy in the last ten years. This research will analyse the increasingly assertive behaviour of the Turkish Navy, following the discoveries of undersea energy in the territorial waters of Cyprus, and the ad-hoc alliance between the Greek and Cypriot Navies to counter their regional competitor for energy. The effects of naval diplomacy will be investigated to verify how it informed the strategic and military preferences of these three countries. This conference paper sheds light on the energy security's crises in the Eastern Mediterranean in the last decade from historical and geopolitical points of view. It will then investigate the causes, developments, and impact of these events to identify the reasons for their different actions. The central research question is: "To what extent has the concept of naval diplomacy informed the energy security in the Eastern Mediterranean for Cyprus, Greece, and Türkiye?" The central hypothesis relates to the similar usage of naval assets and personnel for achieving different goals in the same region: for Türkiye, the goal was to secure access to the undersea resources, for Cyprus the purpose was to protect their sovereign rights, while for Greece it involved the potential economic benefits of securing the Cypriot undersea energy thanks to their voluntary defence.

This conference paper will be mainly qualitative. Official documents of the EU, newspaper articles, statements, strategy and parliamentary debate drafts, minutes, official declarations, and press statements will be explored to offer a more comprehensive framework of energy security in the region. Then, elite semi-structured interviews with serving or retired EU officers, national çivil servants and military personnel of each country will be conducted, following the ethical approval granted by Maynooth University to gain better insight into the political and military decision-making processes in their home countries.

Keywords

Energy Security, Eastern Mediterranean, Naval Diplomacy, Cyprus, Greece, Türkiye, Geopolitics

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ENERGY SECURITY AND THE TURKISH SHIPYARDS IN THE ARCTIC: A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

Ebru Caymaz
Adnan Dal

Abstract

Energy security, which is an integral part of energy policy along with affordability of energy, as well as environmental soundness, has become an essential discussion topic due to the negative effects of climate crisis. In recent years, the emergence of several factors that pose a risk to transporting energy resources safely, especially in the Suez Canal - such as the Evergreen crisis, the Houthis blocking the activities along the Canal, and the Panama Canal facing the risk of drought, have stimulated discussions about alternative transportation routes. The extant literature has started to focus on the utility of the Arctic maritime routes. In this context, the preference of ships produced in Turkish shipyards, especially by the Arctic states for the use of the Arctic maritime routes, hold potential to become an important step in ensuring energy security. Based upon the recent energy security framework in line with the developments in global politics, this paper examines the increasing activities of Turkish shipyards in the Arctic. Accordingly, from a global perspective, this study aims to present the role of Turkish shipyards in ensuring energy security in the region.

Keywords

Arctic, Arctic Maritime Routes, Energy Security, Turkish Shipyards

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Panel 1.2 (Blue Hall)
Security and Strategy in a Changing World

Wings for Middle Powers Between Eurasia and the West: Türkiye's Drone Diplomacy in the Russo-Ukrainian War and the Quest for Strategic Autonom

Ph.D. Cand. Alessandra Russo,
Ph.D. Cand. Samuele C.A. Abrami
Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore - IT
Ph.D. Cand. Riccardo Gasco,
University of Bologna/ Sabancı University

Scaling the State Interest: Middle Power Alignments in Status Qou-Revisonism Dualism

Dr. Metin Yücekaya, *Ankara Sosyal Bilimler Üniversitesi - TR*

More Assertion in the Middle: Effects of Systemic Transition

Ph. D. Cand. Younis Sarwer, *Georgia State University - TR*

Regional Power, Middle Power, Emerging Power? The Role of Türkiye in the Contemporary International Relations

Dr. Marian Karagyozov - *Institute of Balkan Studies - TR*

WINGS FOR MIDDLE POWERS BETWEEN EURASIA AND THE WEST: TÜRKİYE'S DRONE DIPLOMACY IN THE RUSSO-UKRAINIAN WAR AND THE QUEST FOR STRATEGIC AUTONOMY

Alessandra Russo
Riccardo Gasco
Samuele C.A. Abrami

Abstract

The Russo-Ukrainian war has highlighted the major role of third-country military supplies in tipping the scales of conflicts. Unmanned military technology is a spearheader of this effect, as shown by the case of Turkish armed drones. Research has assessed the impact of UAVs in symmetrical inter-state conflicts dispelling the myth of a boasted "drone revolution in warfare". However, less has been done in tackling the nexus between domestic politics and international security. This paper argues that the Russo-Ukrainian conflict was not just a catalyst moment in Türkiye's successful "drone diplomacy", but also a litmus test against the commonplace of emerging middle powers as second-tier players in military competition. This becomes clear when looking at the overall expansion of Turkish military industry in terms of technological development and export, as well as to the way its products and know-how represent a vehicle for political cooperation in various contexts, from the Horn of Africa to the Caucasus, till the Gulf Countries. Therefore, the enduring industrial exchange and military cooperation pre-dating the war between Ankara and Kyiv unveil Türkiye's strategy, demonstrating the emergence of a new paradigm of middle powers exploiting newer dual-use military technologies in their quest for a greater status . In this sense, expanding the focus also to the growing interest on Artificial Intelligence and emerging military technologies in general is crucial to detect how new dynamics are shaping the intermingling nature of policy making and military industry's relations. Overall, this paper aims to open new inquiries and shed light on how a long-term and state-led plan for the development of high-end military technologies needs to balance between a quest for strategic autonomy, grand-strategy objectives and dependence on both external buyers and suppliers.

Keywords

Security, Military Industry, Artificial Intelligence,
Türkiye, International Relations

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SCALING THE STATE INTEREST: MIDDLE POWER ALIGNMENTS IN STATUS QOU-REVISONISM DUALISM

Metin Yücekaya

Abstract

In the evolving dynamics of international politics, new groups of countries, labeled as middle powers or regional powers, among other terms, have gained increased attention and played critical roles, distinct from great powers. This study delves into how these middle powers shape their alliance preferences by using multiple case study method. In this context, the oversight of existing alliance theories in neglecting middle powers is highlighted, with a particular emphasis on the gap in realist literature. To address these shortcomings, the alliance preferences of three historical cases, namely the Ottoman Empire, the Japanese Empire, and the Kingdom of Italy, in the late 19th century have been examined. While the Balance of Interest Theory constitutes the main theoretical framework, modifications have been made where it falls short. The findings of the study confirm the preliminary hypotheses, indicating that the base for middle power state interest and the primary systemic influence on the alliance preferences of middle powers is not the international system but the regional system which they operated in. The regional system forms the foundation for the interest definitions (status quo or revisionism) of middle powers. This is because the capacities of middle powers are limited compared to great powers. Therefore, contrary to the original Balance of Interest Theory, a revisionist middle power can form an alliance with a status quo great power or a status quo middle power can ally with a revisionist great power in an unpredicted manner.

Keywords

Alliances, Middle Powers, Regional System, Revisionism, Status Quo

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MORE ASSERTION IN THE MIDDLE: EFFECTS OF SYSTEMIC TRANSITION

Younis Sarwer

Abstract

The proposed study aims to explore the relationship between system level power transition and the incentive dissatisfied/revisionist "Middle powers" have to alter the local distribution of power to their own advantage. To this end, it is argued that as the competition intensifies among the great powers (revisionists and status-quo), during the period of transition, a window of opportunity arises for the "Middle powers" to become more assertive in their foreign policy behavior. For this purpose, the study focuses on the period of transition- the stretch of time between two stable configurations of power. The study employs a mixed method approach- quantitively tests the strength of argument by examining different periods of transition in relation with the change/or lack of it in foreign policy of dissatisfied powers and digs deeper into individual middle powers at different points of history to observe any notable shift in their behavior under the changing conditions at the structural level. The two case studies, discussed in detail, include Türkiye and Iran.

Keywords

Middle Powers, Incentive Structures, Foreign Policy Behavior, Great Power Competition, Structural Changes, Türkiye and Iran

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REGIONAL POWER, MIDDLE POWER, EMERGING POWER? THE ROLE OF TÜRKİYE IN THE CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Marian Karagyozov

Abstract

In recent years, among the scholars of the international relations, there has been increased interest in countries that have been described as "middle powers". In defining this phenomenon a number of authors have proposed a set of criteria that states should meet in order to be classified as middle powers, including material factors such as military and economic power, diplomatic influence, as well as ideational factors. Türkiye is often classified as being such a power. Based on an extensive literature review, this presentation will compare the similarities and differences of these approaches and attempt to determine which definition best describes Türkiye's role in the contemporary world. The main methodology used is a descriptive inductive research design. The text argues that a number of analyses of classical middle powers are relevant to Türkiye, but on the other hand, studies of countries such as Australia and Canada do not adequately describe the status of Türkiye, which is the heir not of a colony but of a great European power, and which in some other respects does not exactly fit the existing theoretical framework regarding middle powers. Therefore, the working conclusion of the text is that Türkiye is a middle power with its own specific characteristics.

Keywords

International Relations, Middle Powers, Türkiye, Comparative Analysis, Diplomatic Influence, Economic Power

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Panel 1.3 (Kılıçlık Hall)
Middle Powers

Grand Strategy: Middle Powers and Türkiye

Prof. Dr. Nurşin Ateşoğlu Güney, *National Intelligence Academy - TR*

Türkiye's Multifaceted Relations with the us and China: An Analysis of Factors Affecting their Relations

Ph. D. Cand. Behzad Abdollahpour, *İstanbul University - TR*

Turkey's Successor Actors in North Africa

Prof. Dr. Hacı Duran, *İstanbul Aydın University - TR*

"Transnational Authoritarianism and State Response in Turkey and Canada: A Comparison of the Murders of Jamal Khashoggi and Hardeep Singh Nijjar"

Dr. Murat Yılmaz, *Kastamonu University - TR*

GRAND STRATEGY: MIDDLE POWERS AND TÜRKİYE

Nurşin Ateşoğlu Güney

Abstract

In today's new Cold War where the return of great power rivalry/competition has arrived though in a different fashion and context. This perception about new situation has started to be described since the outbreak of Ukrainian war as a new stand-off between the free world (USA-EU) and Russian- Chinese authoritarianism. However, when one gives a closer look at the world affairs witnesses a more complex picture where new middle powers activism where great powers has started to lose gradually their means/zone of influence around the different parts of the world- do appear as an important major driving force of reshaping the international environment. Since the 1990s, there exits confusion in IR literature regarding conceptualization and categorizations of middle powers and their similarities and differences. This situation currently still is relevant.

Grand Strategy mostly is associated with great powers however the present uncertainty is stemming from great power rivalry- is according to some expected to be result in power transition which is not certain yet- forced lately middle powers seek to reduce their exposure to systemic risks by developing different domestic capabilities. At the same time the recent observable shift in international order-from declining US hegemony to multipolar system- has surely allowed enough room for middle powers to influence the emergent regional orders and even beyond. This newly observed new middle power activism under the new multipolar system led a debate IR scholar to make difference between traditional and new middle powers whether they are in favor of preserving liberal order or being disruptive forces that attempt to change international order. Of course, one can discuss this assertation by depending on substantial examples from our time relying on evidence explaining where the new middle powers do differ among themselves being disruptive or cooperative in the face of liberal international order. However, in the past during the Cold War years, it was the middle powers that had to adjust themselves to the plans of great powers but today it is the USA, China and Russia need to manage a world shaped by middle power activism.

Hence, in the first section of this paper, a brief look will be given the different definitions made about middle powers between traditional and new ones. And, in this regard we will try to explain of why it's wrong to make such definitions by giving the example of Türkiye where she was able to play a role of reinforcing liberal order. And, in the second part of the paper, we will try to focus on what would be the availability of alignment strategies of middle powers of today. And, lastly knowing the lacking precise explanations of well-known internal and external theories of a state's grand strategy, we will try to emphasize what should be the main contours of Türkiye's grand strategy.

Keywords
Middle Powers, Grand Strategy, Power Transition,
Multipolar System, Türkiye

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TÜRKİYE'S MULTIFACETED RELATIONS WITH THE US AND CHINA: AN ANALYSIS OF FACTORS AFFECTING THEIR RELATIONS

Behzad Abdollahpour

Abstract

The US and China, as two great powers, occupy the key position in Turkish foreign policy and influence Türkiye's multifaceted approaches towards the West and Asia. Studying the bilateral relations of Türkiye with these countries will help the scholars to gain a deep understanding of Ankara's diversification of foreign policy preferences and underlying motivations behind its turn towards western or eastern axes. In fact, Washington and Beijing have significantly influenced Ankara's Asian and Western policies. In other words, a quest to strike a balance between East and West in general and the US and China in particular have always been a dominant feature of the AK Party's foreign policy. It seems that the triangular relations between Türkiye, the US and China have influenced their relations with each other. Therefore, this study will adopt a comparative perspective of Turkish-US and Turkish-Chinese relations in order to identify convergent and divergent policies that could affect Ankara's policies towards the US and China. Furthermore, the study will argue that the most important factor affecting Türkiye's relations with the aforementioned countries is common interests. So it is expected to show that how bilateral relations are maintained when Türkiye shares common interests with the US and China and what consequences this may have when Ankara have different interests with these countries. In order to understand such multifaceted and multilateral relations with the US and China under AK party, the study will focus on some case studies which have heavily influenced Ankara's foreign policy agendas namely, Syrian Crisis, July 15th failed Coup d'état, Greece conflict and Uighur issue. From a theoretical perspective, the study would adopt both constructivist and neo-classical realism frameworks in order to understand not only the ideational aspects of the triangular relations of the countries mentioned before but also the role of domestic politics, international structure and the perceptions of the leaders of the countries under the studies in shaping the foreign policies of their countries.

Despite a good amount of scholarly works describing current Türkiye -China and Türkiye -US relations, very few scholars seek to touch upon the triangular relations between these countries and providing a theoretical framework that extend beyond historical and anecdotal explanations and shed light on the divergent and convergent issues which shape Türkiye's US policy and China policy. As mentioned, few studies aim to address these issues and investigate the factors that could affect Ankara's foreign policies towards Washington and Beijing. With that said, the author realizes that there is a gap in the literature including lack of a compelling and comparative view that could address the convergent and divergent areas that existed in the debates about Türkiye's US and Chinese policies which could help us to understand Ankara's posture towards these countries in particular and its Western and Asian policies in general. Taking into account this shortcoming, this study aims to examine the triangular relations of these countries comparatively and shed light on the factors that could affect their bilateral relations.

Keywords

Turkish - US Relations, Turkish - Chinese Relations,
East, West, Common Interests

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TURKEY'S SUCCESSOR ACTORS IN NORTH AFRICA

Hacı Duran
Menaa Laldja

Abstract

In this communiqué, we will focus on local folk cultures, non-governmental organizations, economic organizations and traditional social networks that keep Türkiye's economic, cultural, political and global power and image alive in North African countries. We will try to explain how the peoples of the region revived their collective memories, which were suppressed during the imperialist period, through the activities of actors in the field. We will first use historical archive materials, while we doing this research. We will use official and unofficial documents in the Ottoman archives and in the French archives. Secondly, we will explain with examples the cultural policies implemented by imperialist countries in North Africa and their attempts to suppress the traditional culture, social networks and quest for sovereignty of the people of the region. Thirdly, we will focus on the metaphors and images that the peoples of North Africa preserved in oral culture about the rulers, military organizations and political authority of the Ottoman. Fourth, colonialist Western countries have been influenced by images and metaphors of Islamophobia and xenophobia over the last few decades. This exclusionary policy brought the people of North Africa closer to Türkiye, against the western societies they were next door to. North Africa has been a geography dominated by policies related to Türkiye through the Mediterranean, in all periods of history. These policies of interdependence, which were clearly structured in the Roman period, continued despite the cultural, religious, economic, political and social changes that occurred and changed over time in both regions. This interdependence, which was centered in Italy during the Roman period, was later replaced by Istanbul and Anatolia. The North African, it acted with Istanbul and Türkiye in world politics, trade and civilization activities until Colonial period. With the direct occupation of Algeria by France in 1830, North Africa's ties with Türkiye began to be severed. However, in recent years have started again political, cultural, economic partnerships and strategic cooperation activities between North Africa and Türkiye. As it is known, that have been signed between North African countries and Türkiye many cooperation agreements in defense, military, economic and cultural fields in recent years. This cooperation makes Türkiye's presence permanent in the Mediterranean basin and Africa.

Keywords

North Africa, Strategic Cooperation, Cultural Preservation,
Colonial Influence, Interdependence

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Associate Professor. Menaa Laldja is a lecturer at the Institute of Law and Political Science, Tipaza Algeria, where she conducts research in the fields of labor, sociology of government and the functioning of Constitutional institutions. She works in the fields of Algeria's transition to constitutional order, democracy and rule of law. He conducts academic studies on the effects of terrorism and fanatic social movements on the functioning of the democratic and constitutional order.

TRANSNATIONAL AUTHORITARIANISM AND STATE RESPONSE IN TURKEY AND CANADA: A COMPARISON OF THE MURDERS OF JAMAL KHASHOGGI AND HARDEEP SINGH NIJJAR

Murat Yılmaz

Abstract

The reach of authoritarian states beyond their borders is known as transnational authoritarianism. Previous research on transnational authoritarianism has explored how governments seek to silence their citizens abroad and in diaspora through despotic means. While silencing was the initial focus, transnational authoritarianism is increasingly violent. In addition to human rights concerns, state sovereignty is at issue given that transnational authoritarianism necessarily involves violating another state's sovereignty. This paper compares two recent murders carried out via transnational authoritarianism that have received extensive global attention, that of Jamal Khashoggi – killed in 2018 in Türkiye at the behest of the Saudi state – and Hardeep Singh Nijjar – killed in Canada in 2023 on orders of the Indian government. This paper asks whether the respective responses of Türkiye and Canada to the violations of their state sovereignty differ. Given the differences in levels of autocracy in Türkiye and Canada, this study explores the policy implications for states seeking to deal with transnational authoritarianism. Following a qualitative case study method, the paper draws upon primary and secondary resources to explore the policy responses of Türkiye and Canada to the respective murders of Khashoggi and Nijjar. The study contributes to the intersection of foreign policy analysis and transnational authoritarianism and holds insights into international politics in an environment where transnational authoritarianism is rising.

Keywords

Transnational Authoritarianism, Türkiye, Canada, State Sovereignty

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Murat Yılmaz is a junior scholar of International Relations at Kastamonu University. He received a doctorate in political science with two majors, International Relations and Comparative Politics in 2021 from the University of Cincinnati. His dissertation, which draws upon international political economy and entailed fieldwork, focused on Uyghurs and China, and was supported in part during his time as a Dissertation Fellow at the TAFT Research Center, 2018-2019. He is interested in transnational authoritarianism, cyber security, immigration and gender, which builds on he dissertation as Yılmaz focuses on Uyghurs, diaspora and China's oppression of minorities. He has in-progress and under-review works such as an article on global Uyghur resistances against the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and projects related to Uyghur reproductive justice and social reproduction. Recently he was awarded 2022 Carrie Chapman Catt Prize for an ongoing project with Dr. Crystal Whetstone.

Panel 2.1 (Doctorate Hall)
Peace Keeping and Military Interventions

Beyond Borders:
Turkey's un Peacekeeping Contributions as Instruments of Foreign Policy

Dr. Firuze Simay Sezgin, *Bilkent University - TR*

Transformation of Peacekeeping Operations and Türkiye's Contribution

Ph. D. Cand. Dilek Karabacak,
Turkish National Defence University - TR

Transformation of Türkiye's Policy on Military Deployment Abroad in a Changing World Order

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Muzaffer Şenel,
SUNY Binghamton University - TR

BEYOND BORDERS: TURKEY'S UN PEACEKEEPING CONTRIBUTIONS AS INSTRUMENTS OF FOREIGN POLICY

Sümeyye Kaya Uyar
Firuze Simay Sezgin

Abstract

How do states strategically engage with United Nations (UN) Peacekeeping Operations (PKOs) to achieve their foreign policy goals? Taking Türkiye as a case study, this research explores the conditions under which a state strategically employs multilateral relationships, such as personnel contribution to UN PKOs, as tools to accomplish specific foreign policy objectives. We argue that Türkiye's leadership employs multilateral relationships of UN PKO personnel contributions as strategic tools to achieve specific foreign policy goals. Emphasizing the instrumental role of UN PKOs in Türkiye's broader foreign policy ambitions within the framework of leadership objectives, the study presents a comprehensive analysis of Türkiye's participation in PKOs during the Justice and Development Party era from 2002 onwards. The research explores the evolution of Türkiye's foreign policy priorities in conjunction with its interactions with the UN, highlighting the instrumental role of PKOs in realizing national interests. The study aims to provide a nuanced understanding of the factors driving Türkiye's involvement in UN PKOs. Quantitative analyses will be conducted to identify patterns and trends in Türkiye's personnel contributions to UN missions over time as the dependent variable and the leader's foreign policy priorities as the main independent variable. TUBAKOV dataset will be employed for the data on Türkiye's UN PKO personnel contributions for the period of 2002-2015, and we will extend the contribution data until 2023. Foreign policy priorities of the leadership will be collected based on the existing literary articles, books, and case studies on this subject for the period of 2002-2023.

Keywords

PKOs, Multilateral Relationships, Strategic Engagement, Leadership Objectives, Personnel Contributions, Quantitative Analysis

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Sümeyye Kaya Uyar is an assistant professor at Ibn Haldun University. She received her Ph.D in Political Science and International Relations from Koç University. Her expertise is on peace studies with a particular focus on back-channel diplomacy used by the states in altering conflict. She collected a novel dataset on back-channel negotiations between rebel groups and democratic states as part of her doctoral dissertation, actively engaged in expanding its scope. She is interested in quantitative analyses of third-party interventions in conflicts and the interplay between foreign policy priorities and conflict resolution strategies.

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Firuze Simay Sezgin is a postdoctoral researcher at Bilkent University, working on the research project titled "Citizen-Centered Counterterrorism Strategies and Their Effectiveness." She holds a Ph.D. in International Relations and Political Science from Koç University. Her research revolves around international security, particularly within peace and conflict studies. Specifically, Sezgin has delved into the dynamics of UN peacekeeping operations, particularly concerning initial deployments and their impact on mitigating violence and fostering peace in conflict zones. Sezgin's research agenda is multifaceted, encompassing predictive modeling of multilateral interventions, qualitative analyses of UN peacekeeping operations, and exploring the intersection of economics and peace studies.

TRANSFORMATION OF PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS AND TÜRKİYE'S CONTRIBUTIONS

Menent Savaş Cazala
Dilek Karabacak

Abstract

Stating its purpose as "to maintain international peace and security", the United Nations (UN) has been given the powers of taking collective measures against threats to or breaches of international peace and security by its Charter. One of these measures is the Peacekeeping Operations (POs). Although there are no provisions regarding the POs in the UN Charter, they have a long history going back to the UN Military Observers in the Middle East in 1948. UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld, then in 1958, provided an adaptable framework for future POs. In line with this framework, the POs have been re-interpreted many times due to the changing international conjuncture and the changing nature of conflicts and thus very nature of the POs has transformed in the last 75 years. Participating for the first time during the Korean War, Türkiye has been contributing to the POs consistently. Türkiye considers POs as the legitimate means to realize one of its main foreign policy objectives, which is "to contribute to establish and maintain peace and stability in its region and beyond", and thus provides both personnel and financial support. Since the POs have transformed, so have the contributions of Türkiye.

This paper will consist of two parts. The first part will dwell on the transformation of the POs by dividing them into three generations. The structures and the mandates of each generation are to be analysed comparatively to establish the common characteristics of each generation. The second part will evaluate Türkiye's contributions to the ever-transforming POs. The changing contributions of Türkiye to the different generations of POs are to be evaluated to find a common pattern. Drawing on the conceptual framework of the English School (International Society Approach), this paper will track down the transformation of the POs and Türkiye's contribution to POs accordingly. Utilizing the UNSC resolutions, UN reports, and UN Department of Peace Operations (DPO) datasets as the primary resources, the paper uses the comparative analysis methodology to analyse the transformation of POs and Türkiye's contributions.

The paper concludes that Türkiye provided mainly military personnel during the first two generations of POs, whereas it has contributed and still contributes more police force and civilian experts to the third generation POs to help capacity-building in line with POs general characteristics and with Turkish foreign policy objectives.

Keywords

United Nations, Peacekeeping, Transformation of Peacekeeping Operations, Türkiye, Türkiye's Contributions to Peacekeeping.

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Menent Savaş Cazala is a graduate of the International Relations Department at Galatasaray University. She pursued her advanced studies, obtaining both master's and doctoral degrees, at Paris 2 Panthéon-Assas University in France. Currently, Savaş Cazala serves as a faculty member in the Galatasaray University International Relations Department and holds the position of Coordinator at the university's International Relations Office. Her areas of research and teaching expertise are concentrated in conflict and peace studies, international security, and international relations theories.

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Dilek Karabacak graduated from Boğaziçi University Department of Translation and Interpreting in 2000 and got her MA degree in EU Law from Marmara University European Communities Institute in 2006. She started to work as a translator at the Strategic Research Institute Turkish War Colleges in 2003 and has served in the same capacity at Turkish War Colleges, Rectorate of the Turkish National Defence University (TNDU), and Atatürk Institute of Strategic Studies, TNDU. She became a lecturer at the Fatih Institute of Military History Studies TNDU in September 2022. She holds responsibilities in the Journal of Security Studies and the Erasmus Office at the TNDU. She started her doctoral studies in security studies at the Atatürk Institute of Strategic Studies and Graduate Institute, TNDU in 2019 and has been working on her Ph.D. dissertation. Her research areas include English School, humanitarian intervention, responsibility to protect, and peace operations.

TRANSFORMATION OF TÜRKİYE'S POLICY ON MILITARY DEPLOYMENT ABROAD IN A CHANGING WORLD ORDER

Muzaffer Şenel

Abstract

The speech of Russian President Vladimir Putin at the 2007 Munich Security Conference which would be seen as one of the signs of the emerging multipolar world, represents a turning point for the transformation of security threats from non-military to military in the world order. The possible points and crises and conflicts around Türkiye have been steadily increasing. Hence, Türkiye reformulated his policy on military deployment abroad. The number and size of foreign military deployments of Türkiye have gradually increased, especially in the past decade. It has transformed from being a contributor to international efforts to establishing its own military bases. With the 2000's, redefinition of Türkiye's place within the regional and global system has been done by Ankara. The aim of this paper is to try to analyze the transformation of Türkiye's policy on independent military deployment abroad and specifically focus on the military base policy and its ramifications on world order. To examine Türkiye's aim to establish its own military bases, firstly, the paper will concentrate on the reasons and factors of the above-mentioned transformation and its impact on Turkish Foreign Policy. Then it will examine the logic behind the military installation in the African Continent. Lastly, the place and impact of the military deployment policy on Turkish foreign policy will be discussed. Türkiye's policy is examined through books, articles, reports, and publications of the Turkish Foreign Ministry, press releases of the Presidential office, speeches and interviews of the decision-makers, newspaper articles, and interviews. Data will be examined by using methodologies of content and discourse analysis.

Keywords

Türkiye, Military Deployment, Air Basis, Foreign Policy, World Order

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Muzaffer Şenel is a scholar of world order and European Studies and comparative foreign policy broadly defined, with a focus on European foreign policy toward the Middle East, Foreign Policy of Türkiye, World Order, and the Cyprus issue. He is currently serving as a visiting researcher at the at the Department of Political Science at SUNY Binghamton University. He worked at Kocaeli, Marmara, Ankara Medipol, İstanbul Kültür and İstanbul Şehir University were served as the Director of the Center for Modern Turkish Studies. As a visiting scholar, Şenel has been in various countries such as Hungary, Poland, the UK, and Armenia and the USA.He edited two books, with Sadık Ünay, titled "Global Orders and Civilizations: Perspectives from History, Philosophy and International Relations", Nova Science Publications, New York, 2009; and with Mesut Özcan, "Modernite ve Dünya Düzen(ler)i / Modernity and World Order(s), Küre Yayınları, Istanbul, 2010. Technical request: Projector machine (I will prepare a PowerPoint presentation,)

Panel 2.2 (Blue Hall)
Civilizations and World Orders

Reflections on Culture, Civilization and Identity in the Era of Global Transformations

Gabor Hamza, *Hungarian Academy of Sciences- HU*

A Contribution to Rules-Based International Order : Codification of Kin-State Protection for Inter-State Relations

Ambassador, Dr. Hasan Ulusoy, *İstanbul University - TR*

War and Captivity Romanian Pows in Ottoman Pow Camps and Ottoman (Turkish) Pows in Romanian Pow Camps During WWI

Dr. Radu Tudorancea, *University of Bucharest - RO*

Türkiye and Strengthening Position in Organization of Islamic Cooperation: Toward a Just World Order

Ph. D. Cand. Yasser Salimi Namin, *University of Warsaw - LB*

Reflections on Culture, Civilization and Identity in the Era of Global Transformations

Gabor Hamza

Absract

The terms culture, civilisation and identity are notions with no doubt in close connection with each other. It is obvious that both in the history and in our present time we cannot find among these notions clear dividing line. In the doctrine, however, a considerable number of historians, political scientists, politicians, sociologists as well as lawyers put emphasis on the difference with regard to the three notions i.e. terms. Moreover many efforts as well as attempts were made both in European and non European countries (States) regarding the separation on the field of culture, civilisation and identity taking into serious consideration the historical, economic and geographical components. The general characteristic feature of these researches is the quite often biased view serving as basis of research. The unfortunate consequence of the rather one-sided basis of research led in many cases to misconception/s/, biased and one-sided views. One of the most negative misconceptions was and still is, unfortunately, in our view, even in present day time the underestimation of the value of the culture and civilisation of a considerable number of nations. The inadequacy of this quite often biased and more then one-sided view can be eliminated by means of a serious, well founded identity-related research brought into compliance with culture and civilisation. The most important i.e. relevant characteristic features of culture, civilisation and national, ethnic as well as religious identity should be basis of a complex, mainly history related analysis. The international cooperation is in this regard of utmost importance. The era of global transformation could be a helpful, efficient and useful means towards an appropriate and well founded analysis of the most important charateristic features of culture, civilisation and identity. Scholars and politicians could and should avail themselves of the predominance of the various trends and tendencies of the growing economic and cultural globalisation taking place in the first decades of the 21st century.

Keywords

Doctrine, History-Related Research, Identity-Related Research, Misconception, Value of Culture and Civilisation

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Dr. iur. DDr. h.c. Gábor Hamza, a Chair Professor of Law and Full Member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTA), specializes in Civil (Roman) law, EU law, Comparative law, and Eastern European legal systems. He serves as a listed arbitrator of the Budapest Chamber of Commerce Arbitration Center. With a rich academic background, he has held various positions at the "Eötvös Loránd" University (ELTE) Faculty of Law and has extensive experience as a visiting professor and research fellow at numerous prestigious institutions worldwide. Hamza is widely published, with 24 monographs and over 1600 articles covering a range of legal subjects. He is a member of several academic and professional organizations and has received numerous awards, including the prestigious "Széchenyi Prize" and being named an honorary member of the Turkish Academy of Sciences. Proficient in multiple languages, he regularly lectures in English, French, German, Italian, Portuguese, Russian, and Spanish.

A CONTRIBUTION TO RULES-BASED INTERNATIONAL ORDER : CODIFICATION OF KIN-STATE PROTECTION FOR INTER-STATE RELATIONS

Hasan Ulusoy

Abstract

Based on the fact that there live their kinsmen outside their borders, kin-states act inevitably attentive to the treatment of their kinsmen in host-countries, where they are the citizens of the latter. The Balkans is a typical case, given historical legacies in the region. In such a political environment, policies of kin-states on their kinsmen living in other states are often prone to interpretations, such as violating the principle of non-intervention in internal affairs, which constitute a problematic for the international order affecting inter-state relations and good- neighbourliness. This paper seeks to provide food for thought for possible formulations of internationally accepted norms for states to follow policies for their kinsmen in other states without being accused of such non-compliance of the said principle. In IR the treatment of kinsmen has gradually become a subject of either bilateral or multilateral regulations, mostly within the realm of minority rights' law. Beside such regulatory instruments, the protection of kinsmen is also addressed under the UN norm of "responsibility to protect", which can be inter alia initiated in the case of atrocity crimes committed by a state against its own citizens, mostly of different origins. Against this background, kin-state protection stands as a promising norm to formulate a multilateral instrument binding for signatories to follow in their policies towards their kinsmen in full compliance with the principle of non-intervention in internal affairs. Added to relevant human rights and non-discrimination norms, such a codification would definitely need certain concepts to be focused on, mainly the promotion of a culture of living together, which would encompass accepting differences as richness rather than threats, inclusiveness and social cohesion, along with the issues of identity building.

Thus, as to methodology this paper focuses on social constructivism given its emphasis on such socio-psychological factors without rejecting the realist parameters ruling the foreign polices of states. In that regard, to build on good practices, the paper examines the issue in comparison with the above mentioned regulations as appropriate, with a view to asserting that the codification of kin-state protection, possibly in a multilateral instrument, would better serve the inter-state relations and good neighbourliness in the Balkans which might in return contribute to the efforts for peace, security, stability and prosperity in the region and beyond.

Keywords

Kin-States, Minority Rights, Responsibility to Protect, Multilateral Instrument, Social Constructivism, Identity Building, Balkans

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Ambassador Dr. Hasan Ulusoy, currently member of Foreign Policy Advisory Board at the Turkish MFA, is a career diplomat since 1991. In his career he has inter alia served as ambassador in Niger, Bulgaria and Belgium. His proffessional assignments include the post of co-rapporteur of the UN Secretary General on the reform of UNRWA in 2017. He has his BA in public administration from Istanbul University, Faculty of Political Sciences; his MSc from the London School of Economics (LSE) and his PhD from METU. He teaches at universities and is also the author of peer reviewed articles, book chapters and a book, as well as academic presentations at international and national symposia. His areas of interest and expertise include social constructivism in IR and foreign policy analysis, security studies, human rights and humanitarian affairs.

WAR AND CAPTIVITY ROMANIAN POWS IN OTTOMAN POW CAMPS AND OTTOMAN (TURKISH) POWS IN ROMANIAN POW CAMPS DURING WWI

Radu Tudorancea

Abstract

The paper examines a particular topic of the First World War, namely the issue of captivity, focusing on the issue of the Romanian prisoners of war held in captivity by the authorities of the Ottoman Empire, and also, examining the situation of the Ottoman POWs, held in Romanian prisoner camps, during the same period of the Great War. The research is mainly based on archival sources, as well as on various studies, papers, and also memoirs or war journals (some of them re-edited in the context of the Centennial of the WWI) of the former combatants that had survived WWI captivity; the research sheds new light on an omitted issue of the Romanian involvement into WWI, by examining, on a comparison approach, the situation of the Romanian prisoners held in Ottoman prisoner of war camps, and the situation of Ottoman (Turkish) prisoners of war held in various Romanian POW camps.

The comparison will be based on several dimensions and factors, starting from the international legislation (at that time) on the rights and duties regarding the POWs status, as perceived, interpreted and applied by the authorities of the two belligerents, and continuing with the context of falling into captivity; the treatment associated with the per se captivity, across the prisoner of war camps, in both countries; the official initiatives and efforts conducted by the two state actors, in order to improve the status of the POWs, including the issue of the appropriate military payment for the officers, according to their rank; the involvement of international humanitarian and relief organizations such as the International Red Cross (and the International Prisoners of War Agency); the process of repatriation of the former prisoners of war.

The rather poor and harsh conditions existing in the POWs camps, particularly at the beginning of the captivity, which were experienced by both sides, have somehow improved, to some extent, as the time passed, mainly due to the bilateral negotiations (with the help of third party, such as the Royal Legation of Spain in Constantinople), but also due to the involvement of International relief entities, which helped the POWs by offering support (especially regarding their correspondence) and providing food supplies, in order to ameliorate their medical (health) condition.

Keywords

First World War, Captivity, Romanian Prisoners of War, Ottoman Empire, International Law, Treatment

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TÜRKİYE AND STRENGTHENING POSITION IN ORGANIZATION OF ISLAMIC COOPERATION: TOWARD A JUST WORLD ORDER?

Yasser Salimi Namin

Abstract

The world order that emerged in 1945 after the Second World War manifested in the United Nations and its most crucial organ, the Security Council, with permanent members having veto power, is considered unjust by many. Since then, several regional organizations have advocated a just world order by fostering cooperation, resolving conflicts, and addressing everyday challenges. The Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) is among them, and it aims to promote solidarity, collaboration, and development among Muslim-majority countries and advocates for a just world order based on equality, justice, and mutual respect among nations. In the last two decades, Türkiye has intensified its role, and the number of OIC events and organizations hosted by Türkiye has increased significantly. While Türkiye refrained from joining ICESCO for some decades, finally joined in 2017. It also hosted the 4th Islamic Solidarity Games in Konya in 2022, and Konya was OIC city of Tourism in 2016. OIC close cooperation with the UN and its presence as an observer in its forums give Türkiye the chance to influence the UN through multilateral diplomacy. While Türkiye's presence in OIC was mostly considered for economic benefits in the past, its role has changed recently. Türkiye currently hosts ten of the OIC organs, including two subsidiary organs. It has also hosted several ministerial conferences, including three OIC Member States Conferences on Mediation. While Perspectives on what constitutes a just world order can vary, it's important to note that Türkiye's stance on a just world order is shaped by its unique geopolitical position, historical experiences, and evolving regional and global dynamics.The paper argues that Türkiye seeks to balance the world order by playing a leadership role in OIC, and its intensified presence in OIC aligns with this policy. While other major Muslim countries were also advocating for UN Security Council reform to increase the number of permanent members and give a seat to Islamic countries represented by OIC, Türkiye has been the most vocal in this regard. Turkish President Recep Erdogan repeated his motto "World is bigger than 5" several times, including at the UN General Assembly. This paper assumes that Türkiye sees OIC and its organs as an opportunity to leverage itself as an international player and play a significant role in international disputes like the question of Palestine.

Türkiye seeks to balance the world order manifested in international organizations through empowering the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, which considers itself the second most prominent international organization after the UN. The paper comprehensively analyzes Türkiye's efforts to strengthen its position within the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) as part of its strategy towards achieving a more just world order. The paper concludes that while reforming the United Nations and its organs is necessary, leading countries like Türkiye should focus more on reforming the OIC and its decision-making mechanism, which seems far from being just and transparent.

Keywords

World Order, Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), Just World Order, UN Security Council Reform, Multilateral Diplomacy

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Yasser Salimi Namin is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Warsaw, Interdisciplinary Doctoral School. With an initial Master's degree in International Relations, he expanded his academic horizons by earning a second Master's in Human Rights and Democracy from Saint Joseph University of Beirut. His research revolves around the intersection of Islam and politics, explicitly emphasizing Islam and human rights. His scholarly contributions have been showcased in academic circles and conferences to advance understanding in this field. Beyond academia, he has played pivotal roles in the Islamic Cooperation Youth Forum (affiliated with the Organization of Islamic Cooperation). He served as a Board Member from 2004 to 2014 and Vice President from 2014 to 2016. His scholarship was recognized when he was selected as an American Political Science Association MENA Fellow in 2014.

Panel 2.3 (Kılıçlık Hall)
Human Mobility Meets the Rise of Populism

Discursive Power of Scholarly Produced Knowledge about Syrian Refugeedom and Subaltern Potential of Turkish Scholarship

Assoc. Dr. Sandra Cvikic, *Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar - HR*

Are Turkish Citizens Concerned with Refugee Issues in Elections? Evidence from a Public Opinion Survey

Dr. Kohei Imai, IDE-JETRO - *JP*

The Populism–Foreign Policy Nexus in Contemporary Türkiye

Dr. Tamás Dudlák, ELTE Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest - *HU*

A White Paper Proposal for Ingos Towards Refugees in Türkiye

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hakan Dulkadiroğlu,
Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University - TR

DISCURSIVE POWER OF SCHOLARLY PRODUCED KNOWLEDGE ABOUT SYRIAN REFUGEEDOM AND SUBALTERN POTENTIAL OF TURKISH SCHOLARSHIP[1]

Sandra Cvikić

Abstract

Socially engineered and constructed meanings, notions, ideas, and values related to Syrian refugeedom are nowadays produced and reappropriated by numerous experts and scholars almost without any regard as to its detrimental effects on both, refugees' lives, and host societies. While well intended, their efforts to treat refugees as global citizens with human rights however fall short in providing functional solutions for Syrians protracted lives worldwide. So far, produced knowledge about contemporary refugeedom is determined by epistemological and policy frameworks developed to better understand and to care for refugees. However, utilized knowledge about conceptual and empirical space of refugeedom as a new mode of being, nowadays largely fulfills bureaucratic and technocratic needs of the Western liberal democracies trying to control and discipline humans on the move inside their normative taxonomies of legal categorizations.

Premised on the critical qualitative sociological inquiry into Turkish scholarly/expert knowledge production about Syrian refugeedom on the Balkan Route since the 2015/2016 European migration crisis/refugee crisis, this paper aims to present the case for methodological innovation in research design and study of contemporary migration issues inside sociology of migration. Conducted a balanced study about knowledge production and global refugeedom aspired to bridge the epistemological, methodological, and empirical divergences between critical sociology/sociology of knowledge and migration studies. Applied interdisciplinary qualitative analysis (constructivist grounded theory methodology coupled with Foucauldian discourse analysis) had enabled one to determine how and what kind of scholarly/expert knowledge was produced by Turkish scholars/experts, and to what extent their

1 This paper is based on six-month sociological research financed by the TÜBITAK Grant in the Academic Year 2021/2022 through 2221 – Fellowship Program for Visiting Scientists and Scientists On Sabbatical Leave (2021/6). The host institution in Turkiye was Özyeğin University in Istanbul. Some of the research findings were presented during 2022 and 2023 in international conferences in Japan, Morocco, Germany, and Croatia.

research findings converge with those of their international counterparts. This paper will therefore in conclusion unravel the unknown and unanticipated findings about the discursive power of scholarly produced knowledge about Syrian refugeedom and the subaltern potential of Turkish scholarship to engage with new methodological outcomes (Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse) that are open-ended and deeply engaged with the moral.

Keywords

Syrian Refugeedom, Knowledge Production, Critical Sociology, Methodological Innovation, Discursive Power

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Sandra Cvikić, holds a BA Degree from the University of Western Ontario, London, Canada; an MA Degree from the University of Sussex, Brighton, UK; and a PhD from the University of Zagreb, Faculty of Croatian Studies. She is employed by the Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar, Regional Centre Vukovar, Croatia. From March 2024, she will teach Sociology of Migration Course at the University of J. J. Strossmayer, Faculty of Social Sciences in Osijek, Croatia. Next to the UK Chevening Scholarship (Academic Year 2001/2002 – 2002/2003), she was in Academic Year 2021/2022 a recipient of TÜBITAK Scholarship. Her field of academic interest relates to qualitative methodology (constructivist grounded theory methodology; critical discourse analysis/Foucauldian discourse analysis; sociology of knowledge approach to discourse), sociology of war, violence, and trauma, as well as communism/socialism, transitional justice, and cultural memory. More recently she is engaged with the sociology of migration - illegal migrations and refugeedom. Audio-visual PowerPoint presentation equipment.

ARE TURKISH CITIZENS CONCERNED WITH REFUGEE ISSUES IN ELECTIONS? EVIDENCE FROM A PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY

Kohei Imai

Abstract

Issues related to the Syrian refugee crisis have been a central topic in European countries since 2015. A reaction to the Syrian refugees may be in the background of the expanding support for far-right wing parties in several European countries. Türkiye, which borders on Syria, has hosted the largest number of Syrian refugees of any country since 2011. In Türkiye, general elections have been held five times and local elections have been held three twice since 2011. However, as a result, the problem of the Syrian refugees seems to be raised only as a minor topic in each successive election (Kalaycıoğlu 2021). Interestingly, far-right parties, including the Nationalist Movement Party (Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi, MHP), have lost support since Syrian refugees flowed to Türkiye. This is the different from the corresponding phenomenon in European countries. Is the Turkish voters uninterested in the Syrian refugees as a political issue? This is the main question of my article. Analyzing data from an original public opinion survey conducted in August 2021, this paper examines the relationships between the voting attitudes of Turkish citizens and anti-refugee feeling in elections. There have been very few studies of issues related to Syrian refugees in the context of Turkish elections. Erdoğan (2020) focused on the relationships between supporters of political parties and Syrian refugee issue. Yet his study does not deal with relationships between Syrian refugee issue and other voting factors. Kalkan and Ozen (2018) examined the impact of refugees on the 2017 referendum in Türkiye. Other works argue that Turkish citizens put economics first in voting during the 2000s and 2010s (Cem, Kirmanoğlu, and Şenatalar 2009; Çarkoğlu 2012; Gidengil and Karakoç 2016; Aytaç 2020). Other studies also insisted on the importance of security voting in the October 2015 and/or 2018 election (Çarkoğlu and Yıldırım 2018; Çarkoğlu and Aytaç 2019). In addition, long-term ideological/cultural divides in Turkish society continue to affect the voting behavior of Turkish elections.

This article contributes an examination of the relationships between the Syrian refugee issue and economic voting, security voting, and ideological voting in Türkiye by using a public opinion survey. My main argument is the Syrian refugee issue could influence economic voting, security voting, and ideological voting.

Keywords

Syrian Refugee Crisis, Far-Right Parties, Turkish Elections, Public Opinion Survey, Voting Attitudes, Economic Voting

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THE POPULISM–FOREIGN POLICY NEXUS IN CONTEMPORARY TÜRKİYE

Tamás Dudlák

Abstract

The study of populism has recently become a popular area for political science research. Although populism can be defined as a political practice, a discursive strategy, or an ideology in mainstream research, its analysis is primarily associated with domestic politics. Research rarely examines how populist features are involved in the political and discursive practices of various Middle Eastern actors, including contemporary Türkiye. This paper defines what makes the Turkish government's foreign policy populist. I assume that populist foreign policy practice projects the definition of domestic 'in-group' and 'out-group' onto the international arena and thus adopts a confrontational approach to foreign affairs. The emphasis on identity politics leads to a constantly rebellious and anti-establishment attitude, the basic tenets of which can be extracted from two narrative propositions: 'everyone is against us' and 'everyone is bad' (except us). Populist foreign policy may be associated with several ideologies (e.g., conservatism, nationalism, imperialism, revisionism, Islamism); thus, it is necessary to distinguish these from the 'original' populist features of foreign policy. I presume that the 'added value' of populism beyond these ideologies can be found in the style and discourse of their politics. By examining these propositions, the research builds a new framework of the foreign policy and populism nexus, which has been analysed through the foreign policy discourse and practice of the Turkish governments over the past decade. The analysis is based primarily on a qualitative analysis of English and Turkish literature and a narrative analysis of Turkish sources containing the government's representatives' most important announcements and foreign policy speeches. I argue that two factors have contributed to the rise of populism in Muslim contexts, specifically in Türkiye. On the one hand, the last few years have become increasingly unpredictable, mainly since the turmoil in the Middle East and the Turkish internal political crisis (war with the PKK, coup attempt, economic downturn, and the introduction of the presidential system). This allowed populist policies to emerge and generated the rally-around-the-flag effect. On the other hand, the rise of successful economic and political systems outside the West (especially in East Asia) legitimised alternative ways of political and economic development, thereby creating a dichotomy between local identities and Western values.

Keywords

Populism, Foreign Policy, Türkiye, Identity Politics, Middle East

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Tamás Dudlák is a Doctor of International Relations based in Budapest, Hungary and affiliated with the Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest as a researcher in the Contemporary Arab World Center. He previously received degrees in History, Arabic, and Turkish and studied geopolitics. His main research interest lies in the Middle East; more specifically, he deals with Türkiye and its role in the Middle East in various fields: migration and refugees, domestic and foreign policy, energy policy and Turkish–Kurdish relations. His dissertation analysed the paradigm shifts in Turkish foreign policy towards the Kurdistan Region of Iraq between 1991 and 2017. Tamás Dudlák intensively published the above-mentioned Middle Eastern issues in Hungarian and some articles in English. Lately, he also conducts research on contemporary Turkish and Hungarian politics from a comparative perspective.

A WHITE PAPER PROPOSAL FOR INGOs TOWARDS REFUGEES IN TÜRKİYE

Hakan Dulkadiroğlu

Abstract

The refugee issue, which has been a massive agenda for the world public opinion since the beginning of the 21st century, is a global problem that many of the countries and global actors are making intense efforts to find a solution together with many stakeholders. A significant part of international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs), which have an important place among global actors, have directed their resources and funds to the field of refugees as a hot topic of global agenda. On the other hand, the increasing number of refugees and the desire of more countries hosting refugees have created a more competitive situation to reach into the limited resources and funds of the INGOs. INGOs, on the other hand, aim to use their limited resources and funds in an efficient and effective manner for the refugees. INGOs have increased their support and activities for refugees in Türkiye, especially after Syrian refugees have started to come to Türkiye since 2011. However, both the prejudices, suspicions and negative perspectives of the Turkish public opinion towards these organizations, and also bureaucratic difficulties, have limited the support and activities of the INGOs for refugees in Türkiye. Türkiye is currently hosting the largest refugee population in the World. But, it is extremely difficult to compensate the cost of hosting such a huge population for Türkiye with its own limited resources and funds. One of the ways to alleviate the socioeconomic burden of this large population over Türkiye is to increase the collaboration and cooperation with the INGOs. Türkiye is very eager to make collaborative steps with the global actors to share the burden of refugees on its shoulders. The 12th Development Plan of Türkiye, covering the period between 2024 and 2028, is a proof of Türkiye's willingness on collaboration and cooperation with the INGOs about the refugee issues. Türkiye needs to design appropriate public policy tools in order to make the further collaboration opportunities possible and benefit more from the support of INGOs for the refugees. One of these public policy tools is white papers which are addressing a certain issue and offer a convincing solution or solutions to the certain problem. There are several examples of white papers mainly prepared by the administration of many developed country and international organizations. However, there is a weak public administration culture in Türkiye to handle an issue with the white papers so the number of the white papers is very limited in the Turkish public administration.

The study aims to draw attention of the Turkish public policy makers on what a white paper is and why it is one of the appropriate public policy solutions for public issues and also show how a white paper could be used as a framework and guide to increase the collaboration and cooperation opportunities with the INGOs and help Türkiye draw more resources and funds for the refugees. Methodologically, the study will bring well-designed and/or refugee related white paper examples of the countries and International Organizations to see and also show which contents it should cover for INGOs towards refugees in Türkiye.

Keywords

Refugees, INGOs, Socioeconomic Burden, Public Administration, White Papers

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Panel 3.1 (Doctorate Hall)
Soft Power Politics

Cultural Heritage Management and NGO's Event Management Practices: The Case of ÇEKÜL Foundation

Erdal Bilici, *Sakarya University - TR*

International Scholarships as Development Assistance: The Role of Türkiye as an Educational Aid Donor

Selver Buldanlıoğu Şahin, *Bilkent University - TR*

Dual Pressures Through Inflow and Outflow: An Overview of Turkey's Migration Governance Framework

Dr. Deena Saleh Şahin, *Piri Reis University - TR*

CULTURAL HERITAGE MANAGEMENT AND NGO'S EVENT MANAGEMENT PRACTICES: THE CASE OF ÇEKÜL FOUNDATION

Simge Ünlü
Lütfiye Yaşar
Erdal Bilici

Abstract

Intangible cultural heritage encompasses a broad spectrum of elements, including tools, materials, representations, practices, skills, expressions, and associated instruments that individuals, groups, and communities regard as essential components of their cultural legacy. This rich tapestry includes social rituals, festivals, oral traditions, crafts, performing arts, and a profound understanding of the universe. The transmission and preservation of these intangible cultural heritage elements from one generation to the next are crucial. This heritage plays a pivotal role in sustainable development, offering a profound sense of identity and continuity for groups, individuals, and communities in their interactions with their surroundings, the natural world, and their history. Examples of such elements span a diverse range, encompassing epics, folk tales, legends, idioms, the Karagöz puppet theater, traditional culinary practices, fairy tales, folk calendars, anecdotes, birth rituals, media influence, folk theater, wedding celebrations, Nowruz festivities, protective evil eye beads, folk meteorology, folk architecture, coppersmithing, weaving, and more. These findings demonstrate that ÇEKÜL foundation adopts a strategic approach for the sustainable preservation and introduction of cultural heritage to society. This study examines the event management strategies of ÇEKÜL foundation in the realm of cultural heritage management. To achieve this objective, the thematic analysis method was employed in the Maxqda program to examine the corporate website of the ÇEKÜL. The results of thematic analysis reveal that the foundation develops customized educational programs for students, teachers, and institutions, and prepares publications on various topics. The findings indicate that ÇEKÜL approaches the conservation and administration of cultural heritage. from a broad perspective. Word frequency analysis highlights key terms such as "education," "preservation," and "cultural." Additionally, important terms include "guide," "information,"

Keywords

ÇEKÜL, Cultural Heritage Management, NGO,
Event Management, Public Relations

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Dr. Ünlü commenced her professional journey as an Associate Professor in the Department of Public Relations and Advertising at Sakarya University School of Communications in 2019. Since 2020, she has been serving diligently as the Deputy Chairperson of the same department. Dr. Ünlü is a recognized author in her field, with contributions including esteemed works such as "Social Strategy and Social Innovation from the Perspective of Public Relations," "Societal Entrepreneurship from the Perspective of Public Relations," "Green Event Management Planning and Approaches," and "Personal Public Relations." Her academic pursuits predominantly encompass areas such as public relations, execution and design of public relations campaigns, and event management.

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PhD candidate Lütfiye Yaşar attained a significant academic achievement in 2021, having completed her Master's degree in Public Relations and Advertising at the respected Sakarya University. Currently, Ms. Yaşar is diligently pursuing her doctoral studies in the same discipline at Sakarya University. Her academic focus primarily encompasses the domains of online public relations, event management, online event management, and strategic leadership management within the field of public relations.

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In the year of 2021, a distinguished milestone was reached upon the completion of a master's degree in Public Relations and Advertising at Sakarya University. Currently, the Faculty of Public Relations and Advertising at this esteemed institution continues to offer an in-depth doctoral program. This rigorous curriculum delves into an array of core competencies including public relations, practical applications of public relations, public diplomacy, political communication, as well as strategic leadership management.

INTERNATIONAL SCHOLARSHIPS AS DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE: THE ROLE OF TÜRKİYE AS AN EDUCATIONAL AID DONOR

Hacer Atabaş
Selver B. Şahin

Abstract

With this research, we aim to explore the role of Türkiye as an educational aid donor, particularly through its Türkiye Scholarships program, in contributing to the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 4 of ensuring inclusive and equitable quality education for all by 2030. Target 4.b of SDG 4 calls for expanded scholarships for developing countries to enhance technical and vocational skills among their citizens. Türkiye, along with China, responded to this call by substantially increasing its scholarship offerings, allocating USD 218 million in official development assistance in 2018 and providing 17,000 scholarships the following year. In recent years, there has been a significant rise in educational aid globally, with scholarships playing a crucial role in promoting access to quality education for students from low-income countries. Governments, international organizations, and philanthropic foundations have increasingly recognized the importance of investing in human capital development through scholarships, which has helped make international higher education more accessible and attractive to a wider range of individuals worldwide. According to data from organizations such as UNESCO and the OECD, the number of international students surpassed five million globally in recent years, with the trend showing continued growth. This research employs the concept of "positive social change" as an analytical framework to assess the impact of Türkiye Scholarships on recipient countries, to address this global trend of international higher education promoted through scholarship programs. Positive social change refers to shifts that reduce injustice and enhance well-being across intellectual, economic, social, cultural, and environmental dimensions. The evaluation methodology is based on OECD evaluation criteria, focusing on effectiveness and impact.

The study utilizes a mixed-methods approach involving policy document analysis, interviews with bureaucrats, and surveys with both scholarship recipients and non-recipients. By evaluating the program's outcomes against its development objectives, the paper seeks to determine the extent to which Türkiye Scholarships has contributed to positive social change in recipient countries.

Keywords

Türkiye Scholarships, Sustainable Development Goal 4 (SDG 4), Educational Aid, Positive Social Change, Impact Evaluation

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Hacer Atabaş is a researcher at the Africa Foundation and a PhD candidate in International Relations at Bilkent University. Her doctoral research is focused on the implementation of the Türkiye Scholarships Programme as a development assistance mechanism. She holds a master's degree from Boğaziçi University's Ataturk Institute for Modern Turkish History, and an undergraduate degree with a double major in Political Economy and Social Philosophy, and International Relations from Bilgi University.

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She is a faculty member in the International Relations department at Bilkent University, specializing in development challenges and international assistance aimed at institutional reform. She has conducted field studies in Timor-Leste, Kosovo, Indonesia, and North Macedonia, both independently and collaboratively. As a recipient of TÜBİTAK's special grants scheme for returning researchers to Türkiye, she joined Bilkent University's IR Department in September 2013 after spending almost ten years studying, working, and living in New Zealand and Australia.

DUAL PRESSURES THROUGH INFLOW AND OUTFLOW: AN OVERVIEW OF TURKEY'S MIGRATION GOVERNANCE FRAMEWORK

Deena Saleh Şahin

Abstract

Immigration has become one of the most important problems in Türkiye. As the numbers of migrants, both regular and irregular increase, problems appearing in Türkiye may include social conflict, crimes, and ghettoization. Motivated by such concerns, this study aims to shed the light on migration governance system in Türkiye, discuss the migration policy that Türkiye adopted, and provide some future recommendations. We aim to explore Türkiye's unique position as both a significant destination and origin country for migrants. This study provides an overview of migration governance, the integration mechanisms and the policy instruments countries deploy to manage migration flows. the migration system. Drawing on different sources, such as academic literature, official reports, and official statistics, the study analyzes Türkiye's migration governance structures, integration mechanisms, and legal framework. We adopt an explorative approach that helps improve our understanding of Türkiye's migration governance, and the complexities it has faced. Given the high number of immigrants and refugees in Türkiye, the country has adopted a humanitarian approach, offering temporary protection and basic services. However, integration challenges and domestic pressures necessitate a more strategic framework for managing irregular migration. Moving to the country's outflow of highly skilled immigrants, skilled labor emigration stems from limited labor rights and lower quality of life compared to the EU. This "brain drain" poses economic challenges for Türkiye, which the country has to face. Türkiye has to improve its migration governance, through improvements in its institutional structure to increase community engagement and migrant participation in society. Türkiye has to adopt a multifaceted approach, merging dispersed migration departments could enhance coordination and policy coherence.

The country can improve the integration of immigrants and refugees through targeted programs that would foster the social and economic inclusion of migrants. Also, the country should adopt a more selective approach towards irregular migration, coupled with continued humanitarianism for refugees, which could optimize resource allocation and manage social tensions. Moving to the brain drain phenomenon, the country must address the root causes of skilled worker emigration, such as limited labor rights and quality of life.

Keywords

Migration Governance, Migrants, Refugees, International Organization for Migration (Iom), Europe, Türkiye

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Dr. Deena Saleh is an independent researcher, specializing in political economy and sociocultural development of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region. She graduated with a Ph.D. in Economics from Istanbul University, Class of 2023. Throughout her academic journey, Dr. Saleh has demonstrated a passion for economic research, mainly within the MENA sociocultural and political context. Her dissertation focused on how personal attitudes and religiosity shape different forms of social capital in the Middle East, through shedding light on the role of social capital in the economic and social development of nations. Dr. Saleh has been working as a visiting lecturer in the department of economics, for undergraduate students, and she aimed to foster their interest in economics.

Panel 3.2 (Blue Hall)
Cyber Behaviour and the Challenge of AI

Türkiye's Responsible Cyber Behaviour – A Critical Evaluation

Ph. D. Cand. Fahad Nabeel,
Pakistan National Defence University - PK

**Responsible AI:
Transforming Climate Action in International Relations**

Ph. D. Cand. Fatih Hüseyin Börekçi, *Maltepe University - TR*

**The Imperative of Artificial Intelligence in Diplomatic Endeavors:
Navigating India-Pakistan Relations Amidst Historical Tensions
and Nuclear Realities**

Ph. D. Cand. Muhammad Tabish Abdul Qayyum,
University of Lahore - PK

**Geopolitical Impacts of Cyberspace
on International Relations: An Indepth Analysis**

Prof. Dr. Nezir Akyeşilmen, *Selçuk University - TR*

TÜRKİYE'S RESPONSIBLE CYBER BEHAVIOUR – A CRITICAL EVALUATION

Fahad Nabeel
Umair Pervez Khan

Abstract

In 2022, the United Kingdom introduced the concept of 'Responsible Cyber Behaviour' (RCB) in its national cyber strategy. However, it is not clearly how to define 'Responsible Cyber Behaviour' (RCB). The lack of global understanding about RCB further compounds the situation. Therefore, it becomes important to analyze how different countries perceive 'responsibility' at national level and what dimensions should be included as part of RCB. Therefore, we plan to analyze Türkiye's RCB across three dimensions i.e. international, domestic, and operational. For the planned paper, we will rely on the RCB framework prepared jointly by British think tank 'Royal United Services Institute' and Australian think tank 'Australian Strategic Policy Institute'. The planned paper will be primarily divided into two sections. The first section will examine the internal dimensions i.e. national and operational. In this section, we will examine institutional and accountability mechanisms, use and acquisition of technologies, and cyber operations. The second section will examine stance on international law applicability, participation in cyber norms building, international cooperation, and the inclusion of cyber in foreign policy. The paper will be qualitative in nature and will adopt exploratory research design. We will do desk-based research to consult both primary and secondary sources. Semi-structured interviews will be also be conducted for this planned paper. The paper will identify domains where Türkiye has demonstrated RCB and where it needs to improve.

Keywords

Responsible Cyber Behaviour (Rcb), International Cyber Norms, Domestic Institutional Mechanisms, Operational Cyber Capabilities, Türkiye's Stance On Cyber Issues

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RESPONSIBLE AI: TRANSFORMING CLIMATE ACTION IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Fatih Hüseyin Börekçi
Şadi Evren Şeker

Abstract

As AI technologies advance, their application in data analysis, predictive modeling, and strategic decision-making becomes increasingly integral to developing innovative solutions to combat the environmental challenges of our time. This narrative explores the pivotal role of responsible AI in the mitigation of the climate crisis, emphasizing the critical need for ethical, equitable, and effective AI implementations within the sphere of international relations. Central to this discourse is the concept of responsible AI or AI ethics, which advocates for the infusion of ethical principles and humanistic values throughout the lifecycle of AI technologies—from their inception and development to their deployment and operational use. The ethos of responsible AI is particularly salient in the context of climate change, where it underpins the operational integrity of AI applications, ensuring they are governed by ethical standards that emphasize data security, privacy, fairness, and environmental stewardship. In the realm of Ethical and Fair Decision-Making, AI systems are engineered to eschew discriminatory practices and biases, fostering an ethos of fairness and inclusivity. This entails the design of algorithms that are attuned to the needs and rights of diverse human populations as well as the broader ecological milieu, thereby facilitating decisions that are equitable and just. Responsible AI champions the principle of Inclusion of Diverse Perspectives, advocating for the active participation of varied societal segments and expert groups in the AI development process. This inclusivity enriches the decision-making landscape, engendering a more comprehensive and participatory approach to climate action. For AI to exert a substantive and positive impact on the climate crisis, it is imperative that policymakers, developers, and other stakeholders collectively embrace and actualize the principles of responsible AI. The study underscores the transformative potential of artificial intelligence (AI) in addressing the global climate crisis through a strategic examination of national legislation, international environmental treaties, and the analytical prowess of AI in processing climate data. It highlights the imperative of embedding ethical and responsible AI practices within the framework of existing and forthcoming climate-related legal instruments. This compact methodology focuses on dissecting how national laws and international agreements are increasingly integrating AI to bolster climate action, ensuring these innovations for a unified global response to the climate challenge. The ethical framework proffered by responsible AI furnishes a robust foundation for climate-related policymaking, alleviating the cognitive and ethical load on decision-makers. This framework encourages the formulation of policies that are not merely technologically innovative but also socially conscientious and ecologically

responsible. In sum, the integration of AI into climate crisis resolution, guided by the principles of responsibility, ethics, and inclusivity, heralds a promising avenue for fostering global environmental sustainability and enhancing international cooperation in the face of one of the most daunting challenges of our time.

Keywords

Responsible AI, AI Ethics, Climate Crisis Management,
International Environment Treaties, AI in Climate Action, Sustainability and AI

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Fatih Hüseyin Börekçi graduated from Marmara University, Faculty of Communication. He completed his Executive MBA at Koç University in 2008, worked in technology companies for many years and currently PhD Candidate in the Department of Philosophy at Maltepe University. His thesis subject is "transformation of being, knowledge and value in Object-Oriented Ontology". He established Türkiye Ethics in Artificial Intelligence Center with Prof. Şadi Evren Şeker in 2023 and has been working with partners to better design AI in responsible and ethical way. In addition to his academic career, he has made programs on art and philosophy on Medyascope TV and has produced documentary photo stories for Atlas Magazine.

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THE IMPERATIVE OF ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE IN DIPLOMATIC ENDEAVORS: NAVIGATING INDIA-PAKISTAN RELATIONS AMIDST HISTORICAL TENSIONS AND NUCLEAR REALITIES

Muhammad Tabish

Abstract

This research paper examines the critical necessity of integrating Artificial Intelligence (AI) into diplomatic initiatives between India and Pakistan, given the persistent historical tensions and the nuclear arsenals possessed by both nations. Against a backdrop of longstanding animosities and the ever-present specter of nuclear conflict, this study investigates how AI technologies can serve as indispensable tools for conflict resolution, communication facilitation, and crisis management in the India-Pakistan context. Historically, diplomatic relations between India and Pakistan have been fraught with challenges, often leading to heightened tensions and military standoffs. With both nations possessing nuclear capabilities, the stakes are higher than ever, necessitating innovative approaches to mitigate risks and promote stability in the region. AI offers unique capabilities to enhance diplomatic efforts by providing real-time data analysis, predictive modeling, and automated decision-making processes. By harnessing AI algorithms, diplomats and policymakers can gain deeper insights into the underlying causes of conflict, identify opportunities for de-escalation, and foster channels of communication to prevent misunderstandings and miscalculations that could lead to nuclear confrontation. Furthermore, AI technologies can play a crucial role in crisis management by enabling rapid response systems, scenario simulations, and risk assessment tools. By leveraging AI-driven solutions, policymakers can effectively navigate crises and prevent escalations that could have catastrophic consequences for regional and global security. This paper explores the urgent need for incorporating AI into diplomatic strategies between India and Pakistan, highlighting the potential benefits and challenges associated with this endeavor. By examining case studies and drawing on insights from experts in the field, this research aims to provide actionable recommendations for policymakers and stakeholders to harness the power of AI in promoting peace, stability, and nuclear risk reduction in the India-Pakistan context.

Keywords

Artificial Intelligence (AI), Diplomatic Initiatives, India-Pakistan Relations, Nuclear Tensions, Conflict Resolution

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GEOPOLITICAL IMPACTS OF CYBERSPACE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: AN INDEPTH ANALYSIS

Nezir Akyeşilmen

Abstract

The In digitalization age, the intersection of cyberspace and international relations has become a focal point of scholarly inquiry. This research aims to comprehensively analyse the geopolitical impacts of cyberspace on international relations, recognizing the critical importance of understanding the evolving dynamics in the digital realm. The increasing integration of information technologies into global affairs raises pertinent questions about the nature of state interactions, security paradigms, and the potential for cyber capabilities to reshape power dynamics. The primary objective of this research is to explore the multifaceted dimensions of digitalization on international relations, focusing on both state and non-state actors. The research adopts a mixed-methods approach, integrating qualitative analysis of state policies and strategic documents with quantitative assessments of cyber conflicts and their geopolitical impacts. Through case studies and trend analyses, the study aims to unveil patterns, challenges, and opportunities stemming from the utilization of digitalization in international relations. The methodology involves a systematic review of literature, and a comprehensive analysis of cyber conflicts to discern strategic motivations and consequences, ultimately offering a nuanced understanding of how digitalization shapes geopolitical landscapes and influences global behavior. Anticipated outcomes include insights into the strategic motivations behind state-sponsored cyber activities, the identification of emerging cyber conflicts, and an evaluation of the effectiveness of existing international norms and regulations. This research holds significance in informing policymakers, scholars, and practitioners about the evolving nature of global politics in the digital age, emphasizing the imperative for adaptive strategies to address the challenges posed by the growing influence of cyberspace on international relations.

Keywords

Cyberspace, Geopolitical Impacts, Digitalization,
International Relations, Cyber Conflicts

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Panel 3.3 (Kılıçlık Hall)
Great and Middle Powers and World Orders

Complexity, Opacity, and the Making of China's Grand Strategy

Assist. Prof. Dr. Kadir Temiz, *National Intelligence Academy - TR*

Greek-Turkish Relations: In Search for Honest Peace

Asst. Prof. Dr. George Koukoudakis, *Hellenic Army Academy - GR*

Turbulent Great Power Reflexes of the United States After 2001 and the International Order

Asst. Prof. Dr. Murat Demirel,
Nevşehir Hacı Bektaş Veli University - TR

"Türkiye in the Age of Deglobalization: In the Way of World-Building within Worlds?"

Prof. Dr. Mehmet Akif Okur, *Yıldız Technical University - TR*

COMPLEXITY, OPACITY, AND THE MAKING OF CHINA'S GRAND STRATEGY

Kadir Temiz

Abstract

China's intention to build a new global strategy focusing on national interests first has ignited a new discussion among IR scholars about how to define China's evolving global strategies in the last decade. Since the beginning of the opening reform, the discursive level of this global strategy prevails over concrete political and economic proposals offered by Chinese governments such as global economic crises, conflicts, and wars. However, how to respond to this political and economic crisis was one of the great dilemmas of China's global strategy. From Taoguang Yanghui to Confucian idealist approaches such as harmony and dreams, the power of this discursive level of China's global strategy gained more attention than other approaches. As it would be broadly discussed in this paper, four global initiatives - Belt and Road Initiative, Global Development Initiative, Global Security Initiative and Global Civilization Initiative- promulgated by Chinese government to re-adjust and transform the previous attempts to build a grand strategy. This paper offers a critical reading of the four Chinese attempts to redefine evolving global strategy by comparing and classifying them in the case of two recent international crises, namely Russia's invasion of Ukraine and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict after October 7, 2023. The comparative methodology and the context analysis of four official Chinese documents would provide a great deal of comparison between China's attempts to build a grand strategy and the recent war zones. These two cases indicate that although China seems to have a full-fledged discursive definition of the crisis, it lacks concrete tools and strategies to impact the current situations in the field. The paper defines this as the complexity and opacity of China's global strategy having continuity rather than rupture or revision. By comparing two recent cases with Xi Jinping's effort to readjust China's global strategy, the paper claims that although China still does not have a clear-cut global strategy that is compatible with other great powers involved in these two cases, Russia and the United States, China's intention to build a global strategy has been going on to be more concrete and influential in two cases.

Keywords

China, Comparative Analysis, Global Strategy, Complexity, International Crises

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GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS: IN SEARCH FOR HONEST PEACE

Georgios Koukoudakis

Abstract

The quality of bilateral relations between Greece and Türkiye is of great importance not only for both countries but also for the wider area of south-east Mediterranean and regional organizations like NATO and the EU. It is true that Greek Turkish-Relations over the last 100 years are going through phases that involve conflict, co-operation and rapprochement. It is also true however that none of this phases, especially this of rapprochement, has been stable and lasting. It seems that repetition of this sequence is the rule and not the exception. Meaning that another conflict is expected sooner or later. As a result this fact raises serious concerns not only among political and military leaders on both sides of the Aegean but also among civil societies in both countries. Consequently, a permanent security dilemma seems to underlie contemporary Turkish-Greek relations. What it seems to be missing over a century of contemporary Turkish-Greek relations is a stable variable capable of enabling both actors to co-exist within an "Honest Peace" context. The proposed paper by studying recent normative and empirical discourses argues that the burden of history and a series of socio-psychological variables that concern both countries should be re-evaluated in order to build a "peace-community" between them. Within this context the main phases of Greek-Turkish relations are presented, their characteristics are analyzed and their current status is evaluated. The lack of trust as a result of the burden of history is depicted as the most serious variable that does not make an "Honest Greek-Turkish Peace" possible. This fact prevents both Aegean neighbors to face together the multilevel challenges of a transformed world and deprives their people of the benefits of large scale cooperation.

Keywords

Greek-Turkish Relations,Conflict and Cooperation, Security Dilemma, Stability and Lasting Peace, Socio-Psychological Variables, Trust-Building Measures

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TURBULENT GREAT POWER REFLEXES OF THE UNITED STATES AFTER 2001 AND THE INTERNATIONAL ORDER

Murat Demirel

Abstract

Trajectory of the international order lays heavily on the systemic balance of power, which is assumed to be constructed mostly by the great powers. This general balance seeks to give a central direction to the interactions among actors for the foremost goal of the international order, which is to preserve its existence along with 'peace' and 'security'. In this sense, great powers, in line with their interests seem to have the capacity to shape the international order to a great extent. In other words, behaviours of the states with great power status, with special rights and duties, or 'responsibility', assumed to be recognized by other actors, play a significant part in determining the pathways for the international order. With this linkage between behaviours of the great powers and the international order, this paper aims to analyse the policies of the United States towards fundamental international crises between 2001 and 2024, with the lenses of a 'great power' reflexology. In its historical evolution, the 'remaining' great power in the post-Cold War era – U.S. has consolidated its great power status with a transformative liberal rhetoric in the 1990s. After this period, September 11 attacks in 2001 gave a new impetus for the international order, of which the foundational parameters were designed by the reflexes of this great power under the title of "Global War on Terror". However, with the assumed special rights and duties, activism of the U.S. in the international system has been accompanied by turbulent great power politics which has caused deep vulnerabilities for the international order. In order to enlighten this process, this study concentrates on the crisis of Afganistan (2001), Iraq (2003), Syria (2011), Ukraine (2022) and Gaza (2023). Rather than finding a cause and effect relationship between the great power reflexes and the international order, within its limitations this study concentrates on these reflexes and aims to make a general evaluation about the great power politics of the U.S. after 2001. In the conclusion part, this study argues about major points of reluctancy and/or deviations in the great power reflexes of the U.S. policies and their possible linkage with the international order.

Keywords

International Order, Great Powers, United States, Global War on Terror, International Crises

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Dr. Murat Demirel is an assistant professor of International Relations at Nevşehir Hacı Bektaş Veli University (Nevşehir / Türkiye). He received his master's degree in 2009 from the Social Sciences Institute of Dokuz Eylül University with the thesis entitled as "Connections Between Separatist Political Parties and Separatist Terrorist Groups: An Overview". Dr. Demirel had his doctoral degree from the Department of International Relations - Middle East Technical University with his dissertation - "The English School Theory: Turco-German Relations" in 2017. Dr. Demirel's areas of interests include English School theory, security and terrorism studies, and Turkish foreign policy. He has published articles and book chapters on the related issues.

TÜRKİYE IN THE AGE OF DEGLOBALIZATION: IN THE WAY OF WORLD-BUILDING WITHIN WORLDS?

Mehmet Akif Okur

Abstract

Deglobalization, characterized by the decline in some cases and reorientation in others of global economic, political, and cultural integration, is giving rise to distinct "Worlds." The organization of these "Worlds" is driven by a complex interplay of factors, including shared or perceived identities, cultural affinities, geopolitical interests, security concerns, and economic motivations. A "World," in this context, denotes a trans-state system built upon shared beliefs, norms, relationships, and systems of governance, often orchestrated by a leading power seeking to synthesize its interests with those of other formally independent states or territories. Worlds can be organized in multiple ways, differing in their degrees of centralization and autonomy for constituents. As this process of deglobalization gathers momentum, how will it shape Türkiye's position within the evolving international system? Türkiye occupies a unique space, simultaneously maintaining strong ties with Western institutions like NATO while cultivating relationships with Eastern powers. Moreover, Türkiye's expanded military presence —evidenced by its active military partnerships in Syria, Iraq, Somalia, Qatar, Libya, Northern Cyprus, Kosovo, and its decisive support in the Second Karabakh War—demonstrates an increase in security-oriented initiatives that extend beyond its immediate borders. Similarly, Türkiye's leadership of the Organization of Turkic States and its acceptance of authority in Somalia's territorial waters reflect an ability and will for greater influence across multiple regions, even in distant zones of its former World, dismantled mainly during the 19th and early 20th centuries. This paper analyzes the implications of deglobalization for Türkiye. In a world increasingly divided into distinct "Worlds," how can Türkiye navigate the complexities of its existing commitments, historical bonds, and emerging ambitions? The analysis will examine Türkiye's potential to balance its established role within Western structures with its proactive initiatives across various geographies, cultivating good relations with Eastern powers as well. It will explore how Türkiye might leverage its unique position to bridge divides, foster regional stability, and carve out a central role within a reorganized international landscape.

Key considerations will focus on Türkiye's complex set of relations, its pursuit of enhanced security both regionally and domestically, and the geoeconomic dimensions of its expanding influence. The paper aims to shed light on whether Türkiye's multifaceted engagements are signs of a "worlding" process in play, and how they could ultimately contribute to its strategic autonomy, security, and influence in a deglobalized world.

Keywords

Deglobalization, World-Building, Turkish Foreign Policy,
Emerging International Order

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Panel 4.1 (Doctorate Hall)
Hybrid Warfare and Non-State Actors in World Politics

The Challenges of Hybrid Warfare for Türkiye in Light of the South American Experience

Prof. Dr. Fátima Carolina Funes, *Salvador University - AR*

Negative Global Flows and Organized Crime as a Litmus Test for Türkiye's Globalization Endeavor

Asst. Prof. Dr. Ayşen Baylak Güngör,
İstanbul Ticaret University - TR

How Failure of Major Powers' Deterrence Against Non-State Actors in the Post Truth Era is Transforming Warfare (A Case Study of Afghanistan, Palestine-Israel Conflict and Russia Ukraine War)

Brig. Gen. Waqar Hasan Khan,
Station Head of Suno News / Pakistan Army - PK

"Transformation of Eurasia: Türkiye and Rise of the Organization of Turkic States (OTS)"

Dr. Vasif Huseynov, *ADA University & Khazar University - AZ*

THE CHALLENGES OF HYBRID WARFARE FOR TÜRKİYE IN LIGHT OF THE SOUTH AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

Fátima Funes
Mariano Danculovic

Abstract

Over the course of history, in the study of war as an armed conflict, some factors remain unchanged and others change depending on space and time. However, the permanent nature of armed conflicts has always been characterized because it consists of a contest of wills in which certain key factors interact such as: (a) violence, hatred and enmity; (b) the game of chance, friction and uncertainty of the actions of opponents, and (c) its purpose, as a policy instrument. But in them there is also a variable character, of a social and cultural nature, that changes and evolves over time. This variable component is developed and expressed through the operating environment, which is different at each moment (Barrios and Refoyo Acedo, 2020). At first glance, the concept of "hybrid warfare" seems slippery. In Delaware, according to one of its main theorists, Frank G. Hoffman, these types of conflicts "incorporate a range of different forms of warfare, including conventional, tactical and irregular formations, terrorist acts that include coercion and indiscriminate violence and criminal disorder." To understand this approach, it is essential to take into consideration two trends that are affecting the shape of conflicts from different angles war: "convergence" and "combination." First of all, it understands how the differences between certain categories strategic -State/non-State, regular/irregular, terrorism/crime organized, etc. - tend to blur until they give rise to threats of a mixed and new nature. From the FARC (Colombia) and Sendero Luminoso (Perú) that use force tactics special and develop information operations such as color revolution. In South America, hybrid warfare has progressively been emerging with great influence on security and defense issues, since conventional warfare is very costly to achieve the proposed objective, using unconventional means such as fake news, cyberattacks and espionage. Which generates confusion in the population and generates paralysis in decision making. In any case, a South American strategic scenario defined by the predominance of non-state armed actors with criminal profiles, such as organized crime, terrorism and militias; in which the common denominator is the tendency of violence to remain at low or moderate levels and the inclination of cartels and guerrillas to resort to tools such as corruption or popular protests make the concept of hybrid war legitimately evident, which has some relevance to the region. One of the cases of the FARC or ELN being the association with criminal gangs, there is the case of irregular acts on the Colombian-Venezuelan border, since components of the hybrid war begin to appear.

Furthermore, the case of Sendero Luminoso in Peru, in these logics in the alliance with criminal gangs or the Paraguayan Liberation Army has opened lines of cooperation with Brazilian drug traffickers. These organizations have had a long history of eroding the legitimacy of democratic institutions and promoting popular protests as a method of hindering security operations. Since it leads criminals and terrorists to use social networks and other media for their own benefit. On the other hand, the fundamentalist militias of the so-called "Islamic State" that comprise suicide terrorism, chemical weapons and motorized infantry assaults in their offensives, the concept of "hybrid" has emerged as a way of understanding the evolution of war confrontations towards more ambiguous aspects. The attempted Coup d'état on July 15 at the hands of the "Fetullahist" terrorist organization FETO is a clear example of Hybrid Warfare. The goal of this article is to investigate the issues involved in shaping hybrid warfare through a regional comparative lens. The main purpose is to discuss how the interactions of different actors stress and threaten the stability of Nation States and the stability of both regions. Having as a premise that both the South American region and Turkiye have a foreign policy independent of the hegemon United States and are emerging as emerging powers within the orbit of the countries of the Global South.

Keywords

Hybrid Warfare, Türkiye/Venezuela, International Order,
Strategic Conflict, Multipolarism

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NEGATIVE GLOBAL FLOWS AND ORGANIZED CRIME AS A LITMUS TEST FOR TÜRKİYE'S GLOBALIZATION ENDEAVOR

Ayşen Baylak Güngör

Abstract

The KOF Globalisation Index measuring countries' social, political, and economic globalization levels, lists Türkiye as the 54th nation among 196 countries with a point of 70, whereas Switzerland comes first with 91 points. The same index assigns the USA as 25th, Russia as the 55th, and China as the 79th. Based on the KOF Swiss Economic Institute's globalization criteria one can claim that Türkiye is among the substantially globalized countries in the world. The overall crime index put Türkiye among safe countries above global average. Besides, the trend of crime rates provided by World Bank shows decline throughout the last two decades except a few separate years. However, recent measurements reveal that Türkiye is in trouble with its position on the Global Organized Crime Index, which ranks 14th among 193 countries and the worst among the European countries. In this chapter, I discuss the relationship between globalization and security issues via the case of Türkiye through reference to both generic analytical frameworks and specific regional contexts. The relationship between globalization and security is a controversial area. The supra-territoriality imposed by globalization implies a challenge for the sovereignty of the state. Negative flows such as the circulation of illegal products, money, and individuals, as well as streams of conflicts, war, and terror usually accompany positive flows of globalization. Both integrative impacts of globalization (e.g. being a global hub in the global traffic of goods and people) and disintegrative impacts of it (e.g. geographical proximity with war and conflict zones, economic dislocation, and humanitarian crisis) might bring shortcomings in the state's dealing with security issues leaving the country vulnerable to multiple challenges. The geopolitical position of the country and the intensity of the global operations and interactions might simultaneously make the struggle with global crime organizations severe. Some external factors might ease being exposed to an overflow of illegal immigrants or extreme human trafficking despite the country is successful at struggle with crime at the local context. This study is an effort to explain how some internal and external factors impact the state's sovereignty over security issues via the case of Türkiye and questions the role of globalization in this process.

Keywords

Globalization, Security Issues, Organized Crime, Sovereignty, Supra-Territoriality

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HOW FAILURE OF MAJOR POWERS' DETERRENCE AGAINST NON-STATE ACTORS IN THE POST TRUTH ERA IS TRANSFORMING WARFARE (A CASE STUDY OF AFGHANISTAN, PALESTINE-ISRAEL CONFLICT AND RUSSIA UKRAINE WAR)

Waqar Hasan Khan

Abstract

Past five years have witnessed a paradigm shift in warfare, where Non-State Actors (NSAs) have challenged the leading powers. Non-State Actors have displayed an ability to leverage limited military power and geostrategic positioning to seriously challenge Western military power in a way that is unprecedented in modern history. Russia and Ukraine have used Private Military Companies like Wagner Group and Georgian Legion. Why militaries are relying on Private Military Companies, is it rebirth of the "condottiere" and how it will change the form of warfare? The paper analyses the rise of Non-State Actors in three case studies of Afghanistan, Palestine-Israel conflict and Russia Ukraine War through empirical evidence. In the first part, the paper intends to differentiate between behavior of a rational state and the Non-State actors like Hezbollah, Hamas, Taliban and Houthis, who are not fringe elements but control part of a state or run the state altogether. The second part deals with impact of Non-State Actors on Clausewitz's trinity of Time, Space and Relative Strength (TSR) as well as the notion of Centre of Gravity. The 3rd part deals with how NSAs have challenged conventional and nuclear deterrence. The paper will be built as qualitative research by pitching NSA strategy against existing theories of Deterrence, Nuclear Strategy and Coercive Credibility proffered by André Beaufre, Peter Parret and Thomas Schelling etc to determine the contours of new form of warfare. In part four, an effort will be made to determine the NSAs use of social media to offer an alternative narrative against western dominated media in the Post Truth environment and how the information warfare is affecting leadership and decision making.

Study becomes imperative due to two reasons, deterrence normally works against rational states; when Non-State Actors start holding states and use unconventional strategy to dent conventional and nuclear deterrence of larger powers, how does academia learn from it. And the stereotyping of Taliban and Axis of Resistance as negative entities tends to deny any meaningful debate on Strategy and Tactics applies by these groups against a Super Power, this creates a major gap in study of modern warfare which needs to be bridged through a structured discourse.

Keywords

Non State Actors,Deterrence, Post Truth, Nuclear Strategy, Axis of Resistance

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TRANSFORMATION OF EURASIA: TÜRKİYE AND RISE OF THE ORGANIZATION OF TURKIC STATES (OTS)

Vasif Huseynov

Abstract

The vast expanse once known as the Soviet space, or Eurasia, spans from the borders of Tajikistan to Belarus and Moldova. The dominance that Russia held over this region began to erode with the dissolution of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s. Moscow, unwilling to accept the loss of its former empire, has actively sought to regain or at least maintain influence in the territories it once controlled. The conflicts with Georgia and Ukraine, escalating tensions with Moldova and Armenia, and ambivalent relations with Central Asian countries and Azerbaijan all reflect the repercussions of Russia's decline and the evolving landscape of Eurasia. Amidst this backdrop, the Organization of Turkic States (OTS) emerges as a sinificant alternative for Azerbaijan and the Turkic states of Central Asia. It provides them with essential tools to harness their collective potential and collaboratively safeguard their national interests. The successful de-occupation of the Karabakh region of Azerbaijan in 2020, with Türkiye playing a pivotal role, serves as a poignant example of the strategic importance of this regional collaboration. This paper aims to analyze the evolving dynamics in the South Caucasus and Central Asia, marked by the diminishing influence of Russia and the counterbalancing potential offered by the Organization of Turkic States (OTS). It contends that Türkiye's central role within this organization serves as the linchpin uniting member states and supporting their endeavors to enhance independence and protect national interests. The focus of this analysis is particularly on the security and military dimensions of collaboration among member states, exploring the potential for deeper integration in these aspects. In order to develop well-informed answers to the questions raised in this analysis, it is planned to conduct interviews with the officials of the OTS as well as representatives of the member states.

Keywords

Russian Influence, Organization of Turkic States (Ots), Regional Collaboration, Security Dynamics, Türkiye's Role

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Panel 4.2 (Blue Hall)
Gendered Inequalities, Hierarchical Orders in World Politics

Theorizing Social Reproduction through China's Internally Colonized Uyghur Community: Reconciling Exploitation and Oppression

Asst. Prof. Dr. Crystal Whetstone, *Bilkent University - TR*

Making Sense of Global Continuities and Transformations Through Postcolonial Feminist IR

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mine Nur Küçük, *Yeditepe University - TR*

Co-Construction of Orders at the National and the International Levels: Spatiotemporal Aspects of State Violence

Ph.D. Cand. Burcu Türkoğlu, *Bilkent University - TR*

How Does the Concept of 'Human Security' Travel? The Politics of Theorising Human Security Beyond the Core

Dr. Neslihan Dikmen Alsancak, *Bilkent University - TR*

THEORIZING SOCIAL REPRODUCTION THROUGH CHINA'S INTERNALLY COLONIZED UYGHUR COMMUNITY: RECONCILING EXPLOITATION AND OPPRESSION

Crystal Whetstone

Abstract

We explore social reproduction theory (SRT) as a method to illuminate the gendered division of labor from a concrete location, women Uyghurs in China. SRT explores the (so-called) non-productive labor under capitalism that sustains life. Scholars of feminist international political economy (FIPE) follow SRT to understand connections among the household, local, national and international economies and between productive and reproductive work. We examine one aspect of social reproduction, unpaid household care and domestic work, to ask: How can women Uyghurs' social reproduction expand FIPE theorizing on the connections and contradictions of exploitation and oppression under global capitalism? We view China's Uyghur community as an exemplar of internal colonialism (colonization that takes place within the state) propagated by China's Communist Party through supposed economic development and the manipulation of national security measures, part of what Darren Byler terms "terror capitalism." Using SRT to understand China's Uyghurs unpaid household labor constructs new ways of understanding the integrated aspects of exploitation and oppression and its contradictory space in global capitalism. We contribute to a broader debate that feminist IPE should pay closer attention to, that of the (in)compatibility of exploitation and oppression. This matters theoretically to FIPE and holds implications for addressing intertwining violences globally.

Keywords

Social Reproduction Theory (SRT), Women Uyghurs, Unpaid Household Care, Internal Colonialism, Global Capitalism

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MAKING SENSE OF GLOBAL CONTINUITIES AND TRANSFORMATIONS THROUGH POSTCOLONIAL FEMINIST IR

Mine Nur Küçük

Abstract

Since the early 2000s, postcolonial feminist approaches have made significant inroads into the discipline of International Relations (IR). This paper is interested in revealing how this body of scholarship can enhance our understanding of the continuities and transformations in world politics and, relatedly, how the discipline of IR should respond to them. The paper argues that one of the ways through which these dynamics can be made sense of is to examine hierarchies and exclusions in world politics and how subordinated actors challenge them. As such, by centralizing racial, gendered, and class-based relations of domination and their contestation in their analysis, postcolonial feminist IR can offer significant insights into understanding the continuities and changes in world politics. Based on this argument, the paper first looks at how postcolonial feminist IR problematizes both mainstream and critical IR approaches and discusses the novel insights provided by this body of scholarship on the discipline. Then, the paper unpacks the postcolonial feminist IR's contributions to two significant subfields of IR, namely, security studies and international political economy. The paper concludes by discussing the implications of postcolonial feminist analysis both for the IR discipline as well as for world politics.

Keywords

Postcolonialism, Feminism, Postcolonial Feminism, Intersectionality, Hierarchies

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Biographical statement: Mine Nur Küçük completed her doctoral studies at Bilkent University in the Department of International Relations in 2018. Currently, she works as an assistant professor in the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Yeditepe University. Her research interests include critical International Relations theories, critical security studies, and the intersection of popular culture with world politics. Her recent work has appeared in European Security, Turkish Studies, and Uluslararası İlişkiler (International Relations).

CO-CONSTRUCTION OF ORDERS AT THE NATIONAL AND THE INTERNATIONAL LEVELS: SPATIOTEMPORAL ASPECTS OF STATE VIOLENCE

Burcu Türkoğlu

Abstract

The legitimacy of the sovereign state actions, as it is conceptualised by liberal constitutionalism, finds its grounds in democratically formed political power that is subjected to national law inside. The reflection of this thought in IR is the thesis of liberal international order. As such, the state is also deemed to be bound by international law in its relations with other sovereign states, comprising an international order valuing liberal principles of state rule and actions. The defenders of liberal constitutionalism and liberal constitutional order consider democracy and violence incompatible. According to this line of thought, democratic institutions and decision-making lead to state actions being legitimised based on the rights and liberties regime (recognised inside and through international agreements) and the principle of equality (among citizens inside and among states and people (universality of human rights) outside). However, violence is integral to many democracies. From the west or non-west, states have broken the rules of the national and international security order and violated the rights and liberties regime inside and outside. As such, many state practices within and outside the national territory have defied the conventional attributions of sovereignty and the conventional democratic theory. Let alone democracy excluding violence and sovereign state practices, the state practices' legitimacy has been ultimately based on violence. In navigating the complex interplay between state practices and (national and international) norms, this paper will look at the power-law nexus in the national and international orders. It will centre this nexus by looking into the notions of sovereignty, political power, legal order, and democratic legitimacy. It will argue that domestic and international security politics co-constitute each other. The mutual relationship between democratic notions and violence accompanies this co-constitution.

Through the justification on the grounds of political ‘necessities’, referring to democracy and liberal order, violence can become something that is processed and laid the basis for through the state institutions (e.g. the executive, the parliament) that are supposedly formed as a part of democratic requirements. In effect, violence becomes justified as the logical extension of emergency or war prerequisites to save the nation/state. When the subject framed as a threat is the same for the state’s internal and external actions, national and international aspects of sovereignty merge into the notion of violence, legitimised on the same grounds at both national and international levels.

Keywords

Liberal Constitutionalism, International Relations, Liberal International Order, Violence, Legal Order, Democratic Legitimacy

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HOW DOES THE CONCEPT OF ‘HUMAN SECURITY’ TRAVEL? THE POLITICS OF THEORISING HUMAN SECURITY BEYOND THE CORE

Neslihan Dikmen Alsancak

Abstract

This study aims to examine how human security as an analytical concept has travelled beyond Western Europe and North America. In other parts of the world, such as Asia, there is a strong presence of ‘human security’ analysis. This essay questions how the notion and theoretical construct of human security as utilized in academic studies affect politically. While earlier research has focused on the normative aspects of theorizing human security, this paper investigates the political consequences of international understandings on theorizing human security. The study is based on Edward Said’s concept of traveling theory. It examines studies published between 2017 and 2023 by Turkish scholars on human security, with the majority focusing on the refugee issue. Google Scholar and Türkiye’s national academic databases (ULAKBIM and Dergipark) are used to collect data, and detailed content analysis of articles are conducted. This content analysis reveals the international understandings that are highlighted when distinguishing between various security players at the international and regional levels. The study’s findings demonstrated that scholars distinguished between political responsibility and accountability when defining human security actors. In fact, while regional human security players are viewed as having political responsibility and accountability to the international community, they lack accountability to the region’s people. It indicates that the idea of human security is mostly employed by scholars with a top-down security perspective that does not view the region’s inhabitants as security subjects. Furthermore, the examined studies frequently refer to a hierarchical vision of the international order in which the authority to speak of ‘human security’ rests primarily with an ‘uncertain’ international community or the EU. As a result, this study contends that the introduction of the notion of human security to Türkiye, owing to international understandings of these studies, frequently excludes the people of the region and their security concerns, so impeding change. The study is significant because it demonstrates how a top-down view of human security remains prominent among scholars outside the core.

Keywords

Human Security, International Understandings, Regional Perspectives, Türkiye, Top-Down Security

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Panel 4.3 (Kılıçlık Hall)
New Challenges to World Politics

Effects of Social Media Use on Universal Culture: Tiktok Language

Mr. Efe Kağan Yurt,
Prof. Dr. Nebiye Konuk Kandemir,
Dokuz Eylül University- TR

Belonging to the Post Industrial City in Times of Globalization. Evidence from Central, Eastern Europe and Türkiye

Prof. Dr. Paweł Starosta, *University of Lodz - PL*

Türkiye and Climate Change; Lessons from Indian Local Governments

Prof. Dr. Balan Pappinissery Puthanveettil,
International Sociology Association - *IN*

"Development of the Turkish Education Model for Immigrants"

Murat Tuncer, *Fırat University - TR*
Ahmet Egemen Akmençe, *Ministry of National Education - TR*

EFFECTS OF SOCIAL MEDIA USE ON UNIVERSAL CULTURE: TIKTOK LANGUAGE

Nebiye Konuk Kandemir
Efe Kağan Yurt

Abstract

In modern world, where the effects of globalization are discussed, mass communication tools have also undergone change and transformation with the development of technology. In this process of transformation from one-way information flow to multi-directional information flow, the internet and social media are undoubtedly some of the most important factors that accelerate the ability of individuals to come together and form a community independent of the borders of the country where they are located on a global level. As a result of the democratization of the flow of information, the decrease in the dependence on certain races, social status, and economic privileges, and the developments in the field of human rights, every user today has a platform to make their voice heard. Inevitably, the generations that grew up with this situation and were born into it will not be integrated into this system. The tags and voices used in the application, which motivate its users not to miss new trends, are the clearest indicators of this situation. TikTok, one of the applications that emerged with globalization and played an active role in the formation of masses that can transcend the borders of nation-states, raises a generation within itself by creating TikTok concepts in English. At this point, although there are different applications offered for use within the framework of changing habits, the TikTok application seems worthy of research with the momentum it has gained in a short time. In this study, the most commonly used tags in the TikTok application (fyp, foryou, foryoupage, viral, tiktok, trending, duet, funny, comedy, trend) and which visual contents are created were examined and content analysis was conducted regarding the language used.

Keywords

Globalization, Social media, Human rights, TikTok, Universal Culture

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She was born in Istanbul. After graduating from Mimar Sinan University, Department of Sociology, she completed her graduate studies at Istanbul Bilgi University. In 2013, she completed her doctorate at Istanbul University with her thesis on "Being an Istanbulite as an Indicator of Urban Identity." She became an associate professor in sociology in 2020. She gave undergraduate and graduate courses in her field at different universities. She has been a faculty member at Dokuz Eylül University, Faculty of Letters, Department of Sociology since 2022. Konuk Kandemir continues her studies in the fields of urban sociology, communication sociology.

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During his bachelor studies at the English language and literature department at Hacettepe University in 2021, Yurt attended an exchange program in Verona, Italy, and successfully completed his bachelor's as a high honor student. After taking part in civil society activities in the field of intercultural dialogue among young people from all over the world within UNESCO, Jugenbothschafter, Izmir Youth Municipality, and FNF, he started his master's studies in Strategic Research at Dokuz Eylül University.

BELONGING TO THE POST INDUSTRIAL CITY IN TIMES OF GLOBALIZATION. EVIDENCE FROM CENTRAL, EASTERN EUROPE AND TURKİYE

Paweł Starosta

Abstract

The genesis of belonging is connected, on the one hand, with the relationship of emotional closeness among people, and on the other hand, with various places that respond to individualisation in globalised world. Modern neo-tribes tame spaces on the basis of the principle of elective belonging. Symbols treated as legitimisations of belonging are the instruments of communication with others, although they do not create culturally coherent systems or worlds. These are rather collections of elements - borrowed, temporary and abandoned after the drop of emotional stimulation. In the world of "personalised communities", personal aspirations, dispositions and ambitions of the individual Self become the factors influencing contacts with others. Identification with people and places occurs as a result of acknowledging a shared source of experience and existence. The need of belonging is the need for identification without hiding differences. In our analyses, we assume that people's belonging to a place is associated more often with the same resource of words, rituals, with a specific functional coercion, based on stylistic choices rather than on permanent determinants of social structure. Shared systems of values and beliefs, technical tools of social communication and new institutions play an important function in this process. Post-industrial cities residents are not as much unconnected with each other, as they do not belong with their whole selves according to the principle of identification formerly regarded as a specific group ideal recognized as a whole.

The empirical basis for this presentation are the results of the study conducted throughout the years 2016 on representative samples of residents aged 18-70 of four cities in Central and Eastern Europe , and one in Turkiye dominated at the end of the 20th century by textile industry as the main source of their revenue and development, and undergoing socio-economic crisis at the threshold of the 21st century. The study involved respondents from the following cities: Adapazari (Turkiye), Miszkolc (Hungary), Łódź (Poland), Oradea (Romania) and Panevėžys (Lithuania) Ivanovo(Russia). The results of statistical analyzes showed that the highest level of subjectively felt belonging and identification with the city was declared by residents of Adapazari (Turkiye).

Keywords

City, Belonging to a Place, Community, Globalization, Identity

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He is a member of the editorial board of the oldest Polish Sociological Journal "Sociological Review". He had a research internship to People's University of China (1991) and to Universite du Quebec a Rimouski-Canada (1992). In the years 2007-2011 was elected as Member of Executive Committee of the European Society for Rural Sociology. From 2016 -2023 member of Scientific Board of Research Committee 10th International Sociological Association. From 2002 to 2008 and 2012-2016 Dean of Faculty of Economics and Sociology UL. From 2016-2020 Pro-Rector University of Lodz for Domestic and International Relations.

TURKEY AND CLIMATE CHANGE; LESSONS FROM INDIAN LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

Balan Pappinissery Puthanveettil

Abstract

As there is mounting evidence for human-induced climate change, measures have to be taken to fight this global crisis in a unified manner and learning from best practices existing elsewhere. Climate problem is global but its solution is local. Local governments are in charge of controlling and managing various processes which may affect GHG emissions and climate vulnerability as part of local planning and management processes. Local-governments in India has already initiated many activities to combat climate change menace through the concept of Carbon Neutral. So also Turkeish municipalities play a central role in this regard. Activities may appear to be common but there are a lot to be done to put the things into practice. Adopting policies to mitigate and adapt to climate change and create climate resilience is critical for the sustainable development of an economy. This change from a carbon-intensive economy to low-carbon development is an arduous task that can only be achieved with the participation of governments, civil society, the private sector, and individual citizens sharing of best practices and its implication can bring good results. The Indian experience is well known for people's participation which can be adopted in Türkiye too. The Mediterranean Basin, in which Türkiye is located, is one of the regions with the highest vulnerability to climate change. Türkiye's First National Communication on Climate Change prepared in 2007 specifies the impacts of climate change in Türkiye as; increasing summer temperatures, decreasing winter precipitation in western provinces, loss of surface water, increased frequency of droughts, land degradation, coastal erosion and floods. However, the status of implementation is found far from being affective in terms of climate change adaptation. In this context; lack of capacity and citizen demand, budget constraints, lack of coordination between units/directorates within the municipality, limited cooperation with other local governments, insufficiency of sanctions or support of central government and inadequate legislation are the main barriers towards an effective adaptation in the Turkish context. Indian local governments have developed a well structure methodology for attaining the status of carbon neutrality estimating GHG emission and sequestration. Mapping' is the initial stage for identifying and understanding all processes and activities that result in the emission and sequestration of GHG and collecting data for baseline emission profile generation of the Panchayats. To make the mapping and data collection easier, all activities can be grouped into the following categories Energy, Industrial Production, Agriculture and Forestry, Waste, and Sequestration.

The GHG sources in each sector and data for GHG estimation are to be collected voluntarily. Which is to be consolidated at the panchayat level, this can be based on the 2006 IPCC Guidelines for National Greenhouse Gas Inventories and its refinement in 2019. The elected members, officers, self-help groups and civil society organizations have joined hands together in the campaign against climate change and bringing clean energy by 2030 as determined in the COP 28 UN Conference held at Dubai. The paper includes study on the experience of Meenamamgadi gram Panchayat in India based on primary and secondary data sources.

Keywords

Climate Change, Carbon Neutral, Sustainable Developments Goals, Clean Energy, People's Participation

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DEVELOPMENT OF THE TURKISH EDUCATION MODEL FOR IMMIGRANTS

Murat Tuncer
Ahmet Egemen Akmençe

Abstract

In this study, a Migration Education Model specific to Türkiye will be developed. For this purpose, the pattern of theory building which is one of the qualitative research designs will be used. In this pattern, the systematic analysis of data aims to reach new phenomena. When migration movements on a global scale are compared with migration movements towards Türkiye, significant differences are found in terms of the characteristics of the migrating population. These differences can be summarized in terms of the occupational and language skills, economic status, cultural dynamics, migration purposes, etc., of the migrating population. These differences limit the use of models applied in different countries in our country. Starting from this problem domain, a comprehensive diagnostic study will first be conducted to identify the boundaries and nature of the educational need. This diagnostic study will provide important information on the systematics of migrant integration into the education system's existing levels. A theoretical framework for a step-by-step transition system will be established for identifying groups with educational demand who have significant differences from the existing population and adapting them to the system with moderate degrees. The development of this educational model will propose an alternative structure to existing practices. This model will also enable a clearer presentation of the strengths and limitations of existing practices. Furthermore, theoretical foundations of practices regarding migrant education worldwide will be thoroughly discussed, thereby contributing to the systematic accumulation of knowledge in the literature on the theoretical structure of education models targeting immigrants.

Keywords

Migration Education Model, Qualitative Research,
Educational Needs Assessment, Integration, Theoretical Foundations

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Panel 5.1 (Doctorate Hall)
Business, Finance and Trade in a Changing World

Guideline for Corporate Digital Responsibility (CDR) in Global Environment

Prof. Dr. Emel Esen,
Prof. Dr. Halit Keskin,
Yıldız Technical University - TR

Can Global Value Chain Participation Mitigate Conflict Between Nations?

Prof. Dr. Halit Yanıkkaya,
Assist. Prof. Dr. Pınar Tat,
Gebze Technical University - TR

The Importance of Islamic Finance for the Countries of the Islamic World as the Balance of Economic Power Shifts

Prof. Dr. Mehmet Bulut, *İstanbul Sabahattin Zaim University - TR*
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Cem Korkut,
Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University - TR

Navigating Regional Shifts and Islamic Alliances: Türkiye and Malaysia in the Face of Arab-Israeli Normalization

Ph. D. Cand. Ainul Asyraf Lokman, *Universiti Malaya - MY*
Prof. Dr. Mohd Roslan Mohd Nor, *Universiti Malaya - MY*
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Khalid El-Awaisi,
Social Sciences University of Ankara - TR

GUIDELINE FOR CORPORATE DIGITAL RESPONSIBILITY (CDR) IN GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT

Halit Keskin
Emel Esen

Abstract

The principle of corporate digital responsibility, or CDR, aims to address various ethical problems that companies face while developing digital technologies. As a result, this responsibility includes actions and behaviors that encourage businesses in making ethical, economical, and environmental use of digital technologies and data. This study proposed a guideline for organizations to create a corporate digital responsibility culture. This guide will provide the following benefits to companies: offer a roadmap for resolving unethical issues in the digital environment, build trust among users and relevant stakeholders in the digital environment, enhance the company's financial performance and competitive strength in the long run, improve the customer experience, reduce reputation risk and provide employees with ethical key performance indicators (KPIs). Guidelines should include senior management's commitment to corporate digital responsibility practices, guidelines, process models, and workflows that support corporate digital responsibility, training provided to employees on digital literacy and responsibility, incentive mechanisms for corporate digital responsibility behavior, digital role definitions in teams and business units, auditors responsible for data security, algorithms, technology, and ethics, new technology solutions that support responsibility, transparency and clarity of customer privacy policies, limitations placed on employee access to customer data and collaborations with business partners on digital responsibility. Organizations must consider ethical issues when developing and implementing new technologies in order to practice digital responsibility.

Keywords

Digital Technologies, Corporate Digital Responsibility, Digital Culture, Ethics

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CAN GLOBAL VALUE CHAIN PARTICIPATION MITIGATE CONFLICT BETWEEN NATIONS

Halit Yanıkkaya
Pınar Tat

Abstract

Over the past forty years, the world has seen numerous instances of high tension, protests, conflicts, and wars across various regions. Meanwhile, the world has witnessed the evolvement of highly integrated and interdependent economies through the rapid rise in information, communication, and transportation technologies and the decrease in transportation costs. Even though the world has great trade performance, there are still many potentials such as geographical compactness and different comparative advantages across countries and sectors to decrease conflicts. Within these facts, this study investigates the impacts of GVC participation on conflicts across nations. The first novelty of this study is to observe the impacts of GVC participation on conflicts. In other words, the trade statistics are not conventional, but they track true domestic value-added embedded in exports and true foreign value-added embedded in imports which provides a more accurate way to measure trade values. Secondly, the comprehensive dataset enables us to include 188 countries and to conduct disaggregated analysis via the heterogeneity across sectors. The findings indicate that bilateral GVC participation has a significantly negative impact on the number of conflicts regardless of sector groups. The multilateral GVC participation of manufacturing and service sectors also decreases the number of conflicts across the countries. In other words, greater GVC activities can foster economic interdependence and peace because countries with close economic relations are less likely to wage war on one another due to the associated costs. Moreover, GVC participation may allow countries to access resources that are not available domestically. Therefore, trade can alleviate a potential cause of conflict. Regarding control variables, membership in the GATT, distance, common language, and polity measures are negatively associated with the number of conflicts whereas contiguity, common border, landlocked, and common colony are positively correlated with the number of conflicts. The findings are quite robust to a couple of robustness checks: different dependent variables, different samples, and 5-year (moving) averages. Therefore, we can argue that enlarging and deepening world trade negotiations and policies emphasizing peace might help to decrease tensions.

Keywords

Global Value Chains (GVC), Conflict, Trade, Economic Interdependence, Peace

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THE IMPORTANCE OF ISLAMIC FINANCE FOR THE COUNTRIES OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD AS THE BALANCE OF ECONOMIC POWER SHIFTS

Mehmet Bulut
Cem Korkut

Abstract

The global balance of power, historically entrenched within the Atlantic sphere for over two centuries, initially through European dominance and subsequently through the ascendancy of the United States, has experienced a significant realignment towards the US-Pacific axis in the past two decades. This pivotal shift is largely attributed to nations such as China and India, which have effectively leveraged their substantial demographic advantages to bolster their production capacities, thereby securing a considerable stake in this transformation. Such a reorientation in the global economic equilibrium inexorably precipitates profound ramifications on the international political stage. In particular, it engenders a spectrum of novel cooperative prospects, especially for nations in the developmental phase, which emerge and evolve throughout this transitional period. Within this changing landscape, countries of the Islamic world are increasingly making their presence felt, signifying their active participation in this global shift. A notable aspect of this involvement is the burgeoning potential of Islamic finance as a catalyst for economic development and expansion. Islamic finance, distinguished by its emphasis on transactions grounded in the real economy rather than speculative derivative instruments, presents a paradigm that is markedly congruent with the growth trajectories of developing nations. By prioritizing the financing of new projects and investments, Islamic financial mechanisms offer a viable alternative for these countries, enabling them to harness their demographic, productive, and dynamic potentials in a bid to narrow the gap with developed economies. The gradual ascendancy of Islamic finance within the global financial market mirrors the rapid economic advancement of developing countries, highlighting a symbiotic relationship that fosters mutual growth and prosperity. This paper inquiry aims to thoroughly investigate the contributory role of Islamic finance in facilitating the rapid economic catch-up of developing nations with their developed counterparts. By examining the interplay between demographic advantages, production capabilities, and dynamic economic structures with the principles and practices of Islamic finance, this study intends to delineate the mechanisms through which Islamic finance can act as a lever for accelerated development and growth in the developing world.

Keywords

Global power shift, Islamic economics, Islamic finance, Islamic world, Türkiye

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NAVIGATING REGIONAL SHIFTS AND ISLAMIC ALLIANCES: TÜRKİYE AND MALAYSIA IN THE FACE OF ARAB-ISRAELI NORMALIZATION

Ainul Asyraf Bin Lokman
Mohd Roslan Mohd Nor
Khalid El-Awaisi

Abstract

This research article critically examines the approaches of Turkiye and Malaysia to the recent ArabIsraeli normalization process, particularly in the context of the Abraham Accords some Arab states and Israel. Employing an integrated theoretical framework that combines the concepts of Ummah and Regional Security Complex (RSC) theory, the study aims to unravel the complexities of these two Muslim-majority nations' responses to the unfolding regional dynamics. The study employs a multimethod approach, encompassing qualitative analysis of official statements, policy documents, and diplomatic engagements. The research explores the historical context of both countries' positions on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and scrutinizes the shifts and nuances in their responses in light of recent developments. Additionally, the study delves into domestic factors, including public opinion, political dynamics, and the influence of religious and civil society actors, which shape foreign policy decisions. Findings from our research reveal that both Turkiye and Malaysia expressed opposition to the normalization effort, influenced by regional security considerations rooted in Muslim solidarity and support for Palestinian rights, as well as national interests, including domestic politics and economic relations with Arab countries. This research seeks to enhance scholarly understanding of Turkiye and Malaysia's foreign policy behavior and contribute to the broader discourse on Arab-Israeli relations and regional security dynamics, ultimately enriching our comprehension of the diplomatic intricacies within the Muslim world.

Keywords

Abraham Accords, Normalization, Türkiye, Malaysia, Ummah,
Regional Security Complex (Rsc), Foreign Policy

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Panel 5.2 (Blue Hall)
Ordering the World

A New World Order: Continuity or Rupture?

Prof. Dr. M. Akif Kireçci, *Social Sciences University of Ankara - TR*

*"***The Global International Order; The Imperative of Reform?"**

Prof. Dr. Yahiaoui Hadia, *University of Khenchela - USA*

The Transformation of the International System and Türkiye's Roler

Prof. Dr. Burhanettin Duran, *Social Sciences University of Ankara- TR*

The Geoeconomics of Türkiye: A Safe Haven in the Times of New World Disorder

Prof. Dr. Yusuf Dinç, *İstanbul Sabahattin Zaim University - TR*

International Migration National Education

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Servet Kardeş, *Van Yüzüncü Yıl University - TR*

A NEW WORLD ORDER: CONTINUITY OR RUPTURE?

M. Akif Kireçci

Abstract

Rising geopolitical tensions, shifting economic power balances, technological advancements, and changing societal values are reshaping international relationships and the global landscape. The extent to which these transformations constitute a rupture with the past or a continuation of existing trends remains a subject of intense debate among scholars and policymakers. This paper examines the key dimensions of ongoing global transformations and their potential implications for the future world order. It discusses the extent to which the current global transformations represent a fundamental shift away from the post-Cold War order, the primary drivers of these transformations, the responses to these changes, as well as their potential implications for global stability and cooperation. The paper pays particular attention to the unique position of Türkiye within this changing global landscape, investigating the challenges and opportunities facing Türkiye in this new era. It particularly seeks to identify ways for Türkiye to leverage its strengths and resources to navigate these changes and contribute to a more stable and equitable world order.

Keywords

Geopolitical Tensions, Economic Power Balances,
Technological Advancements, Societal Values, Türkiye's Position

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THE GLOBAL INTERNATIONAL ORDER; THE IMPERATIVE OF REFORM?

Yahiaoui Hadia

Abstract

The current international system is critical juncture in its stability due to transformations that have affected its foundational principles, which relied on stability and balance of power within it. This bet has not endured in the face of changes imposed by a tense context marked by significant factors as Innovation and technology, crises such as the COVID-19 pandemic and the Russian-Ukrainian war, along with the recent aggression of the Zionist entity against Gaza. Traditional and emerging actors have emerged, leading to undeniable indicators of a gradual shift towards a new global system that aligns with and differs from the established international reality, as depicted by the traditional framework established by the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, in terms of the nature and strength of its components. New non-state actors have emerged alongside classic nationalist forces, creating an active movement within centers of power and influencing decision-makers, thus altering the established map since the end of the Cold War, building upon the aforementioned, this paper will aims to explore the pressing necessity for reform the current international system and recognize its transition from the unilateral polar decided by the United Nations to a new world characterized by new polarity, whose contours are yet to be fully defined, as powerful entities such as the United States, Russia, and the soft power of China hope for dominance, While considering the risks involved in this process of transformation, specifically the void that will result from the disengagement of major classical powers from their previous interventions, in addition to the above and in order to deeply discuss the subject this paper aims to answer the following question: "The reform of the international order is it an imperative necessity?" Especially with the features of the current international context, the most important of which is the rise of soft powers (China) and the role of non-governmental actors as a determinant factor in drawing borders of a new international order.

Keywords

International System, Stability, Non-State Actors, Reform, Unilateralism

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THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM AND TÜRKİYE'S ROLE

Burhanettin Duran

Abstract

The international system is undergoing a new transformation process caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, the Russia-Ukraine War, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In this transformation process, such phenomena as climate change, global environmental problems, xenophobia, and technological competition are accompanied by the acceleration of great power rivalries, the rise of the South and regional powers, trade wars, the widespread pursuit of nuclear armament, the dysfunction of the UN institutions, the increase in proxy conflicts, and the emergence of new forms of terrorism. The power competition between the US, China, the EU, and Russia is bringing the post-Cold War order to an end and emphasizing the phenomenon of "chaotic multipolarity". The state of chaos in the international system marks a period in which the US has abdicated its responsibility for maintaining global order, while China, as its main rival, lacks the will and capacity to shoulder the burden. Consequently, emerging global-regional risks and threats compel rising powers to become more self-reliant, prompting many regional players to prioritize "strategic autonomy" policies. This underscores the importance of adaptability, fostering new capacities, strong leadership, internal stability, and conducting effective diplomacy. Türkiye under the AK Party, which has been the country's sole ruling power for the last twenty-two years, has demonstrated remarkable adaptability to the new chaotic world. Advocating for the reform of the UN system, Türkiye shows the will to contribute to the establishment of a new global order. Having to navigate through the regional chaos sparked by the Arab uprisings and to grapple with migration and terrorism problems caused by civil wars, Türkiye presents a distinct model of strategic autonomy by effectively leveraging its hard and soft powers. Ankara's policies in Syria, Iraq, Libya, and Karabakh serve as notable examples in this regard. Furthermore, its strategy of maintaining a balance between Washington and Moscow, its efforts toward normalization with certain countries, and its reshaping the existing alliance relations should be viewed as elements of the process of consolidating this strategic autonomy.

Keywords

International System, Great Power Rivalries, Strategic Autonomy,
AK Party, Regional Chaos, UN Reform

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THE GEOECONOMICS OF TÜRKİYE: A SAFE HEAVEN IN THE TIMES OF NEW WORLD DISORDER

Yusuf Dinç

Abstract

As the world undergoes a transformative shift in its order, understanding geoeconomics becomes crucial in deciphering the emerging complexities or addressing the temporary disorder that precedes the new order. Türkiye, with its unique geoeconomic significance, provides a comprehensive lens through which to analyze the intricate dynamics between the East and the West. Türkiye's central position in the crossroads offers a unique opportunity to glean valuable insights into the evolving global economic landscape. This study delves into an in-depth analysis of Türkiye's geoeconomics, offering insights that extend to a global level, and contributing significantly to the broader understanding of new world order dynamics. Marking the first comprehensive exploration of Türkiye's geoeconomics, this study evaluates a wide array of literature sources on a global scale. Leveraging the context of the country's rich historical background and considering current data and information sources, the author aims to derive meaningful outcomes to be a valuable resource. The discussions presented herein hold the potential to critically guide individuals, investors, businesses, and policymakers in navigating the dynamic terrain of international relations, investments, and strategic decision-making.

Keywords

Geoeconomics, New World Order, New World Disorder

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INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION NATIONAL EDUCATION

Servet Kardeş

Abstract

Every year, millions of people leave their homes and look for new living spaces due to international conflicts, human rights violations, wars, hunger, famine and climate changes. This migration process causes neglect, abuse, violations of the right to life and tragic events. This journey creates new situations that immigrants and the society have to face in the social, political, economic and legal fields. In the literature, It is seen that all these emerging differences and problems are also reflected in the field of education. The education system basically reflects the values, lifestyles and cultures of societies. Education is also important for individuals to be happy, to adapt to society, to contribute to social welfare, to increase their academic success and to increase their knowledge and skills. However, considering the losses, traumas and difficulties that migrating individuals to face, it can be stated that education is also important for the well-being of the individual. The school is a door to education, rights, and social support units not only for the children but also for the families. According to some researches, migrant children may be less successful than their peers, even though they receive better education and support from the country they come from. People with immigration status are more likely to live in and attend schools in areas with lower socioeconomic status. Therefore, the quality of the education received also decreases. On the other hand, immigration and citizenship policies can prevent access to quality education. Restrictive immigration policies, conflicts between laws, legal documents required in the host country and language problems can hinder quality education. Therefore, to overcome these problems, education policies should support refugee children's participation in school. This study is designed within the qualitative research perspective with a systematic review of the papers and reports on international migration and national education system. Systematic reviews allows authors to evaluate the previous researchs and reports and contribute to the literature with new and contemporary developments for a more global perspective on the subject. Within this scope, Major studies considering the relationship between international migration and national education in a critical context are considered. The study used document analysis to cover the topic, allowing researcher to evaluate and comments the scientific studies and current materials on related subject. In this manner, The national education system was evaluated in the context of international migration. As a result, in the literature, three policies are crucial for refugees' access

to quality education. Early childhood education, language training support programs for children, and multicultural education practices (curricula, teachers' skills and preparation to teach culturally diverse children, learning and teaching materials) are important components of quality migrant education.

Keywords

Refugee Education, Early Childhood Education, Cultural Adaptation, Social Cohesion, Policy Recommendations

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