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Chapter 1

CIVIL DIPLOMACY: ACTORS, TOOLS, AND SPHERES OF INFLUENCE

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1. Introduction

It can be stated that the traditional discipline of international relations is based on a state- and bureaucrat-centric paradigm for developing diplomacy. According to the traditional approach, diplomacy is a communication process carried out by independent states with strictly defined sovereign borders through appointed official bureaucratic representatives, usually taking place behind closed doors. However, the last quarter of the 20th century, and especially the post-cold war period, initiated a radical change in this structure with globalization and rapid developments in communication technologies. Today, diplomacy is no longer a privilege monopolized solely by official bureaucrats but has transformed into a multi-layered interaction field involving societies and civil actors.

Currently, official inter-state channels (*Track I*) are insufficient for solving complex global problems or experiencing political deadlocks/disputes. At this point, processes carried out by non-state actors, termed *Civil Diplomacy*, stand out as a facilitating complementary element in international relations. Individuals organized through non-governmental organizations (NGOs), academic institutions, artists, and digital networks form an interaction network that transcends borders, thereby creating an increasingly influential civil initiative. This study aims to move beyond the state-centric official diplomacy understanding and analyze the conceptual boundaries, key actors, and implementation tools of civil diplomacy.

2. Conceptual Framework: Civil Diplomacy

In its most general definition, civil diplomacy refers to activities carried out by civil society organizations, individuals, or other non-profit organizations for dialogue, cooperation, or conflict resolution in international relations, independent of the state's official organs. Although this concept is frequently confused in the literature with *Public Diplomacy,* which refers to the state's communication directed at the publics of target countries, it is a distinct concept in terms of actors and methods. In public diplomacy, the main actor is still the state; in civil diplomacy, the initiative belongs to the civil sphere itself (Melissen 2005).

To understand the theoretical infrastructure of civil diplomacy, it is useful to look at the concept of *Soft Power* introduced to the international relations literature by Joseph Nye. Nye (2004) defines power not only as military and economic coercion (*hard power*) but also as the ability to *get others to want what you want (soft power).* In this respect, civil diplomacy aims to create one of the most important production areas of soft power by making a country's culture, values, and policies the center of attraction.

Joseph S. Nye's concept of soft power emphasizes a country's capacity to influence other actors through its attractive and persuasive features. In this context, civil diplomacy aims to gain the trust of the other side, ensure cooperation in line with common interests, and target voluntary compliance rather than obedience/dependency, primarily through cultural values, ideals, media, education, and citizens, instead of military or coercive tools. Civil diplomacy prepares the infrastructure for peaceful solutions and sustainable interactions by creating an atmosphere of trust based on long-term relationships established with the societies on the other side and mutual interdependence.

From Nye's perspective, civil diplomacy produces constructive persuasive power through information flow, programs, cultural exchange, educational exchange, and citizen-to-citizen communication beyond official state channels. This approach aims to influence norms, expectations, and behaviors through attractive values and positive foreign policy outcomes, rather than applying pressure on the opposing government. However, the effect of soft power tools varies from context to context; civil diplomacy interacts with the internal dynamics, media environment, and digital communication flows of the other side and requires a consistent and long-term effort to build trust (Nye, 2004).

Another fundamental pillar is the concept of *Track II Diplomacy,* developed by Montville (1991). According to Montville, when Track I diplomacy carried out by official state officials freezes due to political constraints and protocols, informal dialogue processes (*Track II*) carried out by civil actors come into play. These processes attempt to break down psychological barriers (prejudice, stubbornness, pride, procedure, lack of empathy/sympathy, ego, arrogance, rude attitude) between parties and build an environment of trust (sincerity, mutual interest, human-focused, justice-based) that prepares the ground for official negotiations to take place.

Track II Diplomacy is an informal dialogue methodology aimed at establishing trust, communication, and contact between non-state actors (academics, NGOs, think tanks, former state officials, and business representatives) and the opposing side, beyond official state diplomacy. This approach allows for trust-building, reduction of misunderstandings, and development of solutions based on common interests by providing more flexible and rapid communication channels in situations where official mechanisms remain limited and slow during crises or policymaking processes. Track II generally works with confidence-building measures and long-term relationship-building strategies. Discussions requiring confidentiality and secure communication aim to reduce differences between parties and strengthen the ground of mutual interdependence.

Within Montville's framework, Track II Diplomacy argues that non-political actors have the potential to influence policy production based on documents, analyses, and dialogues. This approach also plays an important role in the context of civil diplomacy, conflict resolution, and preventive diplomacy, because talks conducted outside official dialogues create a basis for building trust between parties and developing new norms and practices in line with common interests.

Castells (2008), on the other hand, approaches the subject through network society theory, drawing attention to the rise of Global Civil Society. According to him, thanks to digital communication networks, civil diplomacy has gone beyond hierarchical state structures to form a horizontal and interactive public sphere. In this context, civil diplomacy should be considered not only a foreign policy tool but also a mechanism contributing to the democratization of global governance.

Manuel Castells has penned three fundamental works on Network Society. In his first book (*The Rise of the Network Society*), Castells (2000) analyzes network-based organizations, which are among the fundamental dynamics of the global economy and social structure. The author argues that with the rapid spread of information and communication technologies, the central axis of production, communication, and power relations has become a network. He explains transformations such as the trivialization of geographical borders, the shift of organizations from centralized structures to distributed and flexible network models, and information becoming the most critical factor of production. According to the author, networks (one of the most strategic tools of civil diplomacy) determine how power and authority are produced, distributed, and reshaped, creating new dynamics in the social, economic, and political spheres.

In the *Network Society*, Castells emphasizes that both opportunities and new inequalities arise because of the capacity and flexibility of networks. While global networks tightly interconnect production processes for civil diplomacy, they can also enable the reproduction of power and injustices through the digital divide and differences in information access. Furthermore, he states that change accelerates with the organization of civil society, movements, and social actors within networks in the cultural and political spheres. In this scope, it can be claimed that power and interactions are distributed over networks in a Network Society. Civil diplomacy establishes a permanent communication and interaction network, strengthening connections between different actors, such as state institutions, universities, NGOs, the business world, and the media. In this context, civil diplomacy ensures that unofficial networks come together around international communication, trust, and common interests. Castells notes that the digital divide and global

inequalities also affect diplomacy. Civil diplomacy can aim to reduce this gap through inclusive digital access, skills development, and capacity-building programs. Thus, a fairer and more inclusive dialogue ground is formed in the international arena (Castells 2000).

In summary, civil diplomacy establishes a communication and interaction network structured by non-state actors and citizens around trust and mutual interests, going beyond official diplomacy itself. Within the framework of Nye's soft power concept, it can be said that this approach produces attraction through cultural values, education, media, and value-oriented interactions, attempting to voluntarily guide the behaviors of the other side. When combined with Montville's Track II perspective, these networks establish rapid and flexible dialogues through secret or secure channels to build trust, providing a basis for permanent relationships and common interests for normalization in pre- and post-conflict processes. Castells' network society vision shows that civil diplomacy reshapes power and authority production processes through the horizontal and multi-actor nature of digital communication networks, aiming to create an inclusive world public opinion through global participation and the reduction of the digital divide. The interaction of this civil diplomacy, woven around power, information, and trust, makes it possible for state actors' official channels to act jointly with civil society and private sector actors to achieve common goals. From Castells' network society perspective, this process requires reliability and accountability mechanisms as it multiplies interaction over digital networks; thus, the influence of civil society can act as a tool to support the democratization of global governance.

As can be seen, civil diplomacy can be defined as a strategic communication and action area that balances the state's *hard power,* breaks down prejudices between societies, and humanizes international relations. The table below summarizes the key theorists shaping the concept of civil diplomacy and the academic perspective in Türkiye, serving as a reference for the relevant literature:

Table 1: Theoretical Approaches to Civil Diplomacy and Related Concepts

Author / Theorist	Core Concept Focus	Perspective and Definition of Civil Diplomacy	Key Work
Joseph S. Nye	Soft Power	Diplomacy is defined as attraction and persuasion rather than coercion. Culture and values are the primary sources.	*Soft Power* (2004)
Joseph Montville	Track II Diplomacy	Defines informal interactions carried out by civil actors when official diplomacy is deadlocked.	*Track Two Diplomacy* (1991)
Manuel Castells	Network Society	Views civil diplomacy as a tool for participation and governance via multi-actor and digital networks beyond interstate communication.	*The Rise of the Network Society* (2000)
Jan Melissen	New Public Diplomacy	defines diplomacy as a mutual dialogue established by the state and civil society with foreign publics.	*The New Public Diplomacy* (2005)
Mary Kaldor	Global Civil Society	Civil diplomacy is viewed as a bottom-up norm-building process beyond states.	*Global Civil Society* (2003)
İbrahim Kalın (TR)	Soft Power / Historical Depth	Views civil diplomacy in Türkiye as a reflection of historical accumulation in the field via modern tools.	Soft Power in Turkey (2011)
Muharrem Ekşi (TR)	Public vs. Civil Diplomacy	Distinguishes civil diplomacy as voluntary foreign policy participation that develops without state direction.	*Kamu Diplomasisi* (2016)

Source: Author's creation

As seen in the summary information in Table 1, while Western literature (Nye, Montville, Castells) generally addresses civil diplomacy in terms of conflict resolution and security, Turkish literature (Kalın, Ekşi) interprets the concept more through historical mission, humanitarian aid, and soft power capacity. It can be said that academics in Türkiye tend to interpret civil diplomacy not as conflicting with the state's official policies but as a civilization perspective that complements it.

3. Key Actors and Tools of Civil Diplomacy

The operational success of civil diplomacy relies on a flexible and diverse ecosystem of actors capable of acting independently of a state's hierarchical structure.

3.1. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and Transnational Advocacy

Transnational Advocacy Networks formed by NGOs are among the most effective civil diplomacy tools. Indeed, Keck and Sikkink (1998), in their work *Activists Beyond Borders*, developed the concept of Transnational Advocacy Networks and stated that when local NGOs are blocked vis-à-vis their own

states, they can use their international networks to create an external pressure or support mechanism (boomerang effect).

As a fundamental tool of civil diplomacy, NGOs diversify political discourse as non-state actors, build trust, and establish long-term interactions with the opposing side. Within Nye's soft power framework, NGOs use cultural values, ideals, and information flow to create a persuasive effect by supporting or challenging states' official propositions. In this context, NGOs act as a bridge capable of implanting foreign policy goals in the social and civil spheres by influencing the internal dynamics of the other side. Thus, civil diplomacy provides a ground for building trust beyond official diplomacy and for developing norms based on common interests (Nye, 2004).

Conversely, NGOs keep dialogue channels open through information sharing, humanitarian aid, educational exchange, and cultural exchange programs during moments of crisis and policy-making processes. These processes allow for discussions requiring confidentiality and secure communication and provide psychological and social preparation for official negotiations to take place. Furthermore, thanks to the inclusive participation of civil society, trust between parties reaches broader social bases, creating a foundation for peaceful solutions and preventive diplomacy (Castells, 2000; Melissen, 2005). The influence of NGOs on civil diplomacy varies according to their expertise. That is, their power of influence in this field can be limited by their institutional capacities, funding sources, and policy area influence. States' security and sovereignty concerns can restrict the movement and, in some cases, weaken information flow. Therefore, for effective civil diplomacy, the capacities of NGOs and the mechanisms of trust, transparency, and accountability between states need to be strengthened, which requires a long-term and pluralistic dialogue (Kaldor, 2003; Kalın, 2011).

3.2. Education, Culture, and Science Diplomacy

Nicholas Cull (2008) emphasizes that education and cultural exchanges create a network of relationships spanning generations. Through exchange programs such as Erasmus+ or Fulbright, an individual educated in a foreign country internalizes that country's language and culture, assuming the role of a voluntary *cultural ambassador* upon returning to their own country. Educational Exchange Programs: Initiatives such as Erasmus+, Fulbright, and the Mevlana Exchange Program are the most concrete examples of civil diplomacy conducted through students and academics. This situation is the transformed state of the power of attraction mentioned by Nye into human resources.

International film festivals, biennials, concerts, and the Olympics are areas where political tensions are suspended. As in the example of *ping-pong*

diplomacy, sometimes a sports competition can be the occasion for opening diplomatic doors that have remained closed for years.

Educational diplomacy supports mutual learning processes by focusing on the development of the other side and building long-term trust. Stable relationships are established through joint education programs, student exchanges, and academic collaborations, which encourage the sharing of values, knowledge, and skills through soft power. Thus, by creating grounds for common interests and mutual interdependence between parties, it contributes to indirect influence in policy-making and faster establishment of trust in times of crisis (Nye, 2004; Melissen, 2005).

Cultural diplomacy enriches international interactions by increasing a country's attractiveness through cultural products, art, media, and people-to-people communication. Cultural events and exchanges reduce tensions between states and strengthen mutual respect by forming a basis of trust based on common values and identities. This approach establishes emotional and symbolic bonds beyond official diplomacy, relying on voluntary compliance and normative pressures rather than extraordinary political pressures (Castells, 2000; Melissen, 2005).

Science diplomacy aims to provide solutions to global problems through research collaborations, joint projects, and technology sharing. Scientific partnerships build trust, facilitate information flow, and strengthen mutual interdependence among parties. Such activities support inter-state communication through third-party actors (academics, research institutions, and the private sector) and contribute to long-term stability and the universalization of common interests (Kaldor, 2003; Castells, 2000).

3.3. Digital Networks and Citizen Diplomacy

Seib (2012) states that diplomacy no longer takes place behind closed doors but instantaneously on social media platforms (Real-Time Diplomacy). Hashtag campaigns initiated by individuals (#HashtagActivism) can mobilize global public opinion and force states to review their foreign policy. However, this area should also be evaluated as the most fragile tool of civil diplomacy, as it carries the risk of disinformation (Seib, 2012).

Digital networks make citizen diplomacy a more horizontal, inclusive, and rapid communication tool than before. Individuals and civil actors interact directly with state actors through social media, blogs, open data platforms, and the digital public sphere, build trust, and develop norms in line with common interests. In this context, citizen diplomacy appears to be a mechanism for strengthening global public diplomacy through community-

based participation and information sharing beyond official diplomacy (Castells, 2000; Melissen, 2005).

Civil diplomacy conducted over digital networks is closely tied to the need for accountability and transparency. Multi-actor networks facilitate the joint communication of state, civil society, and private sector actors, offering the opportunity for rapid information flow and coordination in times of crisis. However, it also brings challenges, such as the digital divide, disinformation, and security risks; therefore, mechanisms for security, ethical rules, and inclusive access need to be strengthened to establish reliable information flow (Castells, 2000; Nye, 2004).

Digital applications of citizen diplomacy enrich international interactions through digital-based cultural exchange programs, online town halls, open-source projects, and citizen-to-citizen mobility. However, the balance between state authority and citizen initiatives is a critical test: if there are concerns regarding state security, information security, and national independence, the impact of citizen diplomacy may remain limited. Nevertheless, digital networks can contribute to long-term global governance through common values and interests (Melissen, 2005; Castells, 2000).

In summary, NGOs represent organized power, educational institutions represent intellectual depth, and digital networks represent speed and prevalence, forming a multidimensional toolkit for civil diplomacy. The table below summarizes the strategic tools used by these actors and the frequently used methods:

Table 2: Strategic Actors and Tools Used in Civil Diplomacy

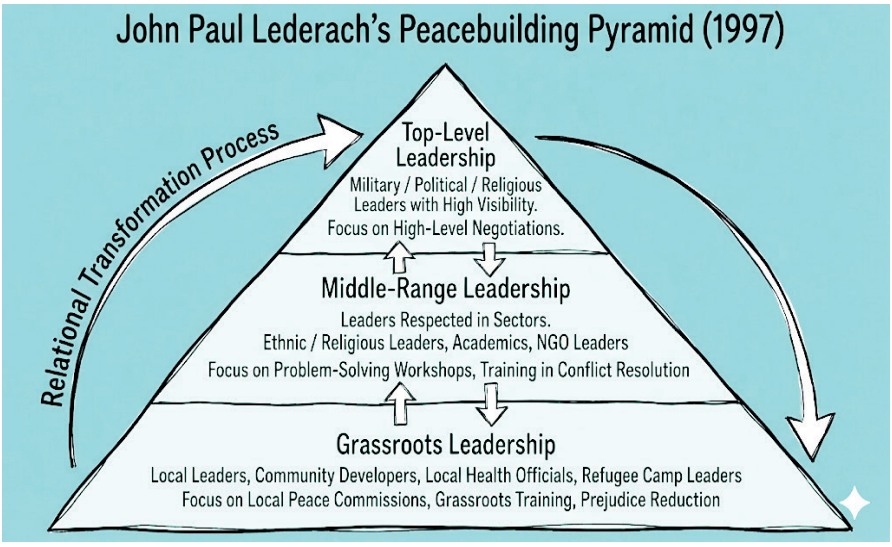
Category	Actors	Tools and Methods	Reference
Transnational Advocacy	International NGOs (Amnesty, etc.)	Boomerang Effect: Carrying local problems to global networks, Naming and Shaming.	Keck & Sikkink (1998)
Cultural Diplomacy	Artists, Universities	Production of Attraction: Student exchange programs, festivals, and academic publications.	Cull (2008)
Digital Diplomacy	Individuals, Bloggers	Real-Time Interaction: Social media campaigns and digital activism.	Seib (2012)
Humanitarian Diplomacy (Türkiye)	Aid Organizations (Red Crescent, IHH)	Winning Hearts and Minds: Disaster relief, health screenings, and water well projects.	Keyman & Sazak (2015)
Commercial Diplomacy	Business World (TÜSİAD, MÜSİAD)	Economic Interdependence: Trade delegations, fairs, and investments.	Kirişci (2009)

Source: Created by the author.

According to Table 2, while Western-centric literature focuses on rights advocacy and digital activism, in Türkiye, the locomotive of civil diplomacy is Humanitarian Aid and Trade. Turkish civil society actors generally act as stakeholders expanding the state's soft power capacity in the field rather than as a pressure group conflicting with the state.

4. Areas of Application and Mechanisms of Operation

Civil diplomacy actors step in when the international system is deadlocked and produce alternative solutions. According to John Paul Lederach's (1997) Peacebuilding Pyramid model, civil diplomacy comes into play at the middle and grassroots levels of society. According to Lederach, peace cannot be achieved solely through agreements signed by top-level leaders (Type 1). Civil diplomacy intervenes at the middle (Type 2: Academics and NGO leaders) and grassroots (Type 3: Local community leaders) levels of the pyramid.



With Herbert Kelman's (2005) interactive problem-solving method, civil representatives of conflicting parties come together in informal workshops to break down prejudices and prepare the ground for official negotiations. Civil diplomacy is most intensively applied in the resolution of ethnic or political conflicts. While official interstate negotiations are generally conducted with a *win-lose* logic or rigid protocols, civil initiatives adopt a *win-win* and humanitarian approach.

Mary Kaldor (2003) argues that civil actors change global norms, stating that the Campaign to Ban Landmines succeeded through the pressure of a civil coalition. The mechanism operating here is the *Naming and Shaming* strategy. Accordingly, civil actors report human rights violations, causing states to lose prestige before international public opinion and forcing them

to change their policies. Kaldor argues that civil actors not only distribute aid but also change global norms (rules). While states jealously guard their sovereignty rights, she argues that civil diplomacy highlights the concept of *human security* (Kaldor 2003).

In borderless problems such as the climate crisis, civil diplomacy transforms scientific data into social demand, creating pressure on states. In such cases, civil diplomacy assumes a warning and auditing role. Measures delayed by states due to economic concerns are kept on the agenda by global youth movements, as in the example of Greta Thunberg, or transnational organizations such as Greenpeace. Civil diplomacy in this field can transform scientific data into social demand and create pressure on states at international summits (such as COP meetings).

In summary, functioning as a facilitator in conflict resolution, a norm setter in human rights, and a pressure group in environmental issues, civil diplomacy acts as the conscience and memory of international relations.

5. Limits of Civil Diplomacy and Criticisms

The most fundamental criticism of civil diplomacy is the problem of legitimacy. It is debatable on whose behalf unelected civil actors speak. Furthermore, so-called NGOs established or directed by the state (GONGOs) undermine the independence of the civil sphere (Naim 2007). Uncoordinated civil initiatives can sometimes disrupt sensitive diplomatic processes, creating double-headedness and incoherence. While state diplomats represent elected governments, the question of who NGOs or civil activists represent is controversial. Critics such as Kenneth Anderson argue that some international NGOs act like unelected global bureaucrats and impose their own (or their funders') agendas, detached from the real demands of the local people.

The greatest power of civil diplomacy is its ability to build *trust* that states cannot obtain through hard power tools. Nye (2004) states that military victories are not permanent, and true sustainability comes from winning the consent of societies (*winning their hearts and minds*). Because civil actors are seen as independent of political agendas, they can establish sincere dialogue without creating a perception of propaganda in the target audience. This situation functions as a safety valve that prevents communication from being completely severed, especially during crisis periods when interstate relations are tense.

Another critical issue is the Government-Organized Non-Governmental Organizations (GONGO) phenomenon. These structures damage the independence claim of civil diplomacy and can hollow out the concept by transforming the civil sphere into a covert foreign policy tool of the state

(Naim, 2007). Additionally, well-intentioned but uncoordinated initiatives by civil actors can disrupt sensitive diplomatic processes. Civil outbursts that do not overlap with state strategy can create incoherence, making it difficult for the country to deliver a consistent message in the international arena.

6. Conclusion

The 21st-century system has evolved into a hybrid structure in which power is spread across more complex networks. Civil Diplomacy is not just a backup force filling the areas where states are insufficient but a primary element of global interaction.

Civil diplomacy, grounded in soft power theory and Track II diplomacy practices, creates transformative effects across a wide spectrum, from conflict resolution to environmental problems and education to human rights. However, this effect depends on civil actors' ability to protect their independent identities and establish a healthy relationship of complementarity with state mechanisms.

Successful foreign policy strategies will be models that can synchronize the state's hard power with civil society's soft power, as in Joseph Nye's conceptualization of Smart Power. For countries with strategic depth, such as Türkiye, increasing the diplomatic capacity of the civil sphere (civil society, academia, art, and the business world) is not just a matter of prestige but a national necessity.

The international relations system of the 21st century has evolved from a hierarchical structure in which states are the sole playmakers to a multi-actor and network-based structure. As examined in this study, civil diplomacy is not an alternative to traditional diplomacy but a vital complement that fills the human and social gaps where it falls short.

In conclusion, in a world where conflicts are becoming increasingly complex and borders are losing their meaning, peace cannot be merely a piece of paper signed at a diplomat's table. Peace is a process woven stitch by stitch at the grassroots of societies by students, artists, volunteers, and digital activists. For countries like Türkiye, which possess both geopolitical and cultural depth, increasing civil diplomacy capacity is not just a foreign policy choice but a strategic necessity.

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Chapter 2

FROM TERRITORIAL BORDERS TO DATA BORDERS: HOW BORDER CONTROL BECAME AN INFORMATION INFRASTRUCTURE

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Introduction

Contemporary border governance is increasingly best conceptualized not as a fixed territorial line but as an information practice: a distributed assemblage of databases, identifiers, interoperability layers, and algorithmically mediated decision processes. In this sense, "border technologies" do more than assist routine checks at border points; they reconfigure the legal and political meaning of mobility by translating passage, status, and suspicion into data relations relations that are recorded, compared, and circulated across institutional contexts.

Critical border studies have long emphasized that borders operate as productive sites in which political categories (traveller/migrant; regular/irregular; safe/risky) are actively constituted through administrative and technological forms of sorting. In the EU context, the consolidation of large-scale information systems (spanning visas, asylum, policing, and external border management) has enabled what can be termed data borders: operational regimes in which access to territory is increasingly mediated by access to datasets. Broeders' account of "new digital borders" remains foundational in this respect, precisely because it frames databases not as neutral repositories but as instruments of internal control that extend enforcement capacity beyond frontier points into societal institutions and administrative infrastructures (Broeders, 2007).

This transformation is also biopolitical. Amoore's formulation of "biometric borders" is instructive insofar as it captures how biometric identification extends the governance of mobility into everyday domains, multiplying "border crossings" into continuous assessments that stabilize categories of legitimacy and risk (Amoore, 2006: 337). From this perspective, the border becomes a mobile evaluative dispositive, it accompanies the subject through identifiers, templates, and logs often well beyond the moment when physical crossing has ended.

Ajana similarly argues that biometric systems should be understood as technical expressions of political logics (security, distrust, suspicion), rather than as merely instrumental devices for accuracy or convenience (Ajana, 2013). These logics carry direct legal consequences. Once border governance is implemented as a data regime, the rule-of-law question no longer concerns only who may enter, but also: (i) what data may be captured; (ii) on what legal basis; (iii) for how long it may be retained; (iv) who may access it; (v) how individuals can contest decisions; and (vi) what remedies exist when harm occurs. At this point, "border technologies" and "rule of law" intersect in three structural tensions.

First, border governance increasingly relies on automation and interoperability, which may dilute the transparency of decision chains. A refusal at a gate, a "hit" in a system, or an instruction to refer a person to secondary screening may result from cross-system matching rather than from a single, identifiable administrative act. Accountability therefore depends on whether legal frameworks impose obligations of traceability, logging, auditability and, critically, whether these obligations can be operationalized and enforced in practice.

Second, the centrality of biometrics raises distinct concerns regarding proportionality and purpose limitation. Biometrics are not analogous to passwords: they are durable identifiers, difficult to replace, and uniquely harmful when compromised. The European Court of Human Rights has repeatedly treated the retention and use of biometric or closely related identifiers as significant interferences with private life under Article 8 ECHR (European Court of Human Rights, 2008; European Court of Human Rights, 2020). While these cases do not address borders directly, they clarify that the architecture of storage and retention may itself be rights-impacting.

Third, securitization framing can press legal systems toward exception-like logics. In EU policy debates, terrorism, irregular migration, and cross-border crime have functioned as "high salience" problem frames that facilitate the expansion of data infrastructures. In Türkiye's scholarship on EU smart borders, the post-2015 security environment is explicitly linked to a renewed emphasis on external border securitization and technology-driven management (Halisoğlu, 2025: 56).

The remainder of this chapter treats EU "smart borders" as a concrete case through which to analyze rule-of-law requirements (legality, proportionality, non-discrimination, due process, oversight, and effective remedy) and then turns to lessons relevant for Türkiye's legal-constitutional environment and data protection practice.

The EU Smart Borders Stack: EES, ETIAS, Interoperability, and the Turn to AI

The EU Entry/Exit System (EES) establishes a common framework for recording the entries, exits, and refusals of entry of third-country nationals admitted for short stays, replacing traditional passport stamping with a structured regime of alphanumeric and biometric data processing (Regulation (EU) 2017/2226, Arts. 1–2).

Operationally, EES functions as more than a technical border-control instrument; it constitutes a governance baseline for the entire Schengen short-stay regime. It reshapes what border authorities "know" (or are positioned to believe they know) at the moment of decision-making. Travel histories are

rendered machine-readable, stay calculations are automated, and the category of the "overstayer" emerges as a derived variable generated through system logic rather than through individualized administrative assessment. The rule-of-law implications of this shift are immediate and substantial: where legal status is increasingly inferred from system-generated data, guarantees concerning system accuracy, timely updating, contestability, and effective error correction become core legal safeguards rather than ancillary technical concerns.

The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights has emphasized that the implementation of EES must remain compliant with fundamental rights at the operational level, drawing attention to dignified information practices, privacy-respecting data processing, sensitivity toward vulnerable persons, and the avoidance of automatic presumptions particularly in the treatment of individuals classified as "overstayers" (FRA, 2025: 5). This emphasis captures a subtle yet critical risk: "smart borders" may gradually displace human discretion with system defaults and automated inferences. FRA's guidance seeks to counterbalance this tendency by reaffirming human-rights-oriented practice as a necessary condition for the lawful operation of technologically mediated border regimes.

ETIAS as pre-travel screening and the governance of permission

The European Travel Information and Authorisation System (ETIAS) introduces a pre-travel authorisation requirement for visa-exempt third-country nationals. While the formal legal standard remains one of "authorisation," the practical effect is a substantive reconfiguration of permission to travel: mobility becomes conditional upon pre-screening and automated checks conducted across multiple information systems prior to arrival at the external border (Regulation (EU) 2018/1240, Arts. 1–3).

From a rule-of-law perspective, ETIAS raises three interrelated concerns.

- First, opacity of decision-making emerges as a central challenge. Where refusals, alerts, or referrals are generated through database matches, watchlists, or algorithmically supported risk indicators, the individual's capacity to understand the grounds of the decision (and to contest it effectively) becomes a critical legal issue. Absent intelligible reasons and accessible explanations, procedural guarantees risk being reduced to formalities rather than functioning safeguards.

- Second, ETIAS amplifies the risk of error propagation. Insofar as the system relies on upstream data drawn from interconnected databases, inaccuracies or outdated records may be operationalized

and given legal effect before an individual even reaches a physical border. In this sense, pre-travel screening relocates the moment of exclusion temporally and spatially, while simultaneously narrowing opportunities for timely correction.

- Third, ETIAS exemplifies the risk of function creep inherent in authorization systems. Once established, such systems tend to expand in scope and purpose, particularly when they are framed as comprehensive responses to multiple high-salience policy concerns, including migration management, crime prevention, and counter-terrorism. Over time, this expansion can strain purpose-limitation principles and recalibrate the balance between mobility rights and security-oriented data governance.

Interoperability: the "meta-infrastructure" problem

The 2019 interoperability Regulations establish shared services and common identity-matching mechanisms designed to interlink EU information systems operating across the domains of border control, visas, asylum, and policing (Regulations (EU) 2019/817 and 2019/818). Interoperability is frequently justified as a form of technical rationalization, promising efficiency gains, the elimination of duplicate records, and enhanced detection of identity fraud. Yet it is more accurately understood as a constitutional moment in data governance, insofar as it alters the foundational default of information management from system separation toward systematic linkage.

This shift toward linkage carries significant rule-of-law consequences:

- First, interoperability places sustained pressure on the principle of purpose limitation. Even where individual systems retain formally defined purposes, the introduction of shared identity resolution services and expanded access patterns facilitates cross-purpose use, blurring the boundaries that purpose limitation is intended to preserve.

- Second, interoperability contributes to the diffusion of accountability. As an increasing number of authorities rely on a common "shared identity" layer, the attribution of responsibility for errors, misidentifications, or unlawful access becomes more complex. Determining which institution bears legal and administrative responsibility in cases of harm is correspondingly more difficult, particularly in multi-agency operational environments.

- Third, interoperability heightens the risk of discriminatory impacts. Identity matching processes and the generation of "multiple

> identity" flags may disproportionately affect individuals with complex or fragmented documentation histories, including refugees and displaced persons. This elevated risk underscores the necessity of robust procedural safeguards, meaningful human review, and mechanisms capable of identifying and correcting systemic bias.

In this context, scholarship on EU border data infrastructures offers a critical corrective by shifting analytical attention away from narratives of innovation toward questions of maintenance, governance, and legitimacy. Glouftsios demonstrates that large-scale information systems do not operate autonomously; rather, they depend on continuous maintenance labour and sustained institutional coordination, processes that actively shape how such systems function in practice (Glouftsios, 2021). Trauttmansdorff further argues that EU agencies, including eu-LISA, play a central role in constructing sociotechnical imaginaries of "digital transformation" that frame infrastructure expansion as an inevitable form of modernization, thereby normalizing the growth and entrenchment of interoperable data regimes (Trauttmansdorff, 2023).

The AI turn: risk scoring, automation, and legal constraints

Although the legal frameworks governing EES and ETIAS are not identical to those established by the EU Artificial Intelligence Act, the broader regulatory environment remains highly relevant. The AI Act introduces harmonised rules for the development and use of AI systems and adopts a risk-based regulatory approach that differentiates obligations according to potential impacts (Regulation (EU) 2024/1689). Its rule-of-law significance lies in the fact that AI governance frameworks (where applicable) reassert classical legal requirements, including documentation, traceability, human oversight, and avenues for redress, within a domain otherwise prone to "black box efficiency" narratives.

At the same time, border control systems may generate AI-like effects even in the absence of explicit "AI" classification. Automated decision-support tools, risk indicators, pattern detection mechanisms, and predictive logics can shape outcomes in ways functionally comparable to AI-driven processes. It is in this context that the European Data Protection Supervisor warned, during the smart borders debate, that the envisaged systems would operate on a very large scale, entail extensive processing of personal (particularly biometric) data, and prove potentially intrusive, thereby necessitating robust safeguards and a stringent assessment of necessity and proportionality (EDPS, 2016: 3).

Finally, questions of timing and implementation are legally consequential. "Smart borders" should not be understood solely as legislative constructs;

they are also rollout projects characterized by operational disruptions, training asymmetries, and transitional error profiles. The EU's decision to move toward a staged implementation of EES reflects an explicit recognition that system deployment itself constitutes a rights-relevant moment, during which heightened risks of error and rights interference may arise (European Parliament, 2025).

Rule-of-Law Fault Lines: Legality, Proportionality, Due Process, and Fundamental Rights

The rule of law requires that public power be exercised on the basis of law, under conditions of clarity, foreseeability, and effective constraint. In the context of border technologies, a recurring challenge arises from the fact that "the system" itself increasingly functions as a source of practical normativity. Design choices—such as data fields, default settings, thresholds, and matching rules—may operate as quasi-legal determinations, shaping outcomes in ways comparable to formal administrative decisions. Where legal texts fail to impose sufficiently precise constraints on these choices, discretionary authority tends to migrate from legislatures and courts toward procurement processes, system configuration practices, and technical governance bodies.

For this reason, legality cannot be reduced to the mere existence of a regulatory instrument. Rather, it encompasses a set of substantive requirements. These include the intelligibility of rules to affected persons; effective constraints on administrative discretion, including forms of technical discretion embedded in system design; adequate documentation of decision-making rules and processes; and meaningful oversight exercised by independent supervisory bodies.

In the jurisprudence of the European Court of Human Rights, legality is closely associated with safeguards against arbitrariness in regimes of data retention and identification. The Court's reasoning in cases concerning biometric-related retention highlights that the very architecture of data storage and reuse may constitute an interference with fundamental rights, thereby triggering a requirement of strict legal justification (European Court of Human Rights, 2008).

Necessity and proportionality for biometrics: lessons from Turkish data protection practice

Türkiye's data protection practice under the Law on the Protection of Personal Data (KVKK) offers a particularly explicit and operational articulation of proportionality in the context of biometric data processing, making it analytically valuable as a bridge to border governance. The KVKK Biometric Data Guide is structured around an *ilke kararı* logic, requiring

biometric processing to comply with both general data protection principles and the conditions applicable to special categories of personal data. Crucially, it explicitly mandates that biometric processing must not infringe upon the essence of fundamental rights and must satisfy the requirement of proportionality (KVKK, 2021: 9-11).

Notably, the Guide operationalizes proportionality through a set of sub-tests that closely mirror constitutional proportionality reasoning: suitability, necessity, and proportionality *stricto sensu*. Within this framework, data controllers are required to demonstrate why less intrusive alternatives are insufficient to achieve the stated purpose (KVKK, 2021: 10-11). This analytical structure is directly transferable to the assessment of border technologies. In particular, it invites systematic inquiry into whether: (i) an EES or ETIAS function that relies on biometrics could be replaced or complemented by less intrusive alternatives, such as document-based checks, manual verification, or the limited use of biometrics confined to high-risk cases; (ii) the selected biometric modality is strictly necessary for the specific purpose pursued; and (iii) data retention periods and access rights are minimized to the least intrusive configuration compatible with that purpose.

Turkish legal scholarship reinforces this approach by emphasizing that even when biometric methods are deployed for public-interest objectives, their legal justification must remain proportionate and attentive to fundamental rights. Akgül's analysis of biometric techniques and the reasoning of the Council of State (*Danıştay*) highlights the centrality of proportionality and the need for a clear legal basis capable of preventing excessive intrusion, particularly in situations where the same regulatory objective could be achieved through less privacy-invasive means (Akgül, 2015: 211-213). This doctrinal perspective is especially relevant in border contexts, where technological measures are frequently justified through abstract invocations of "security necessity"; proportionality analysis compels such claims to be articulated in concrete, verifiable terms.

Erdinç's work provides a further analytical bridge by demonstrating how both purpose limitation and proportionality may be undermined when data collected for security purposes are shared beyond their authorized channels (precisely the form of secondary) use risk that interoperability architectures tend to intensify (Erdinç, 2020: 12). Within the EU context, this raises a critical legal question: whether interoperability and cross-agency access structures effectively institutionalize secondary-use risks, even in cases where formal purpose-limitation clauses remain nominally intact.

Due process and effective remedy in automated or semi-automated decisions

As border control increasingly relies on cross-system matching and interoperable data infrastructures, the legal order must place heightened emphasis on ensuring contestability. In this context, contestability functions as a core due process guarantee, aimed at preventing automated or semi-automated determinations from becoming effectively unquestionable. At a minimum, meaningful contestability requires:

1-Timely notification of adverse decisions, including refusals of entry, cancellations of authorization, or referrals to enhanced scrutiny,

2-The provision of intelligible reasons, extending beyond formulaic references to a mere "system hit",

3-Access to relevant personal data and decision-related logs, subject to legitimate and proportionate security limitations,

4-The availability of an accessible appeal procedure that incorporates genuine human review,

5-Effective mechanisms for the correction and rectification of inaccurate or incomplete data.

The operational guidance issued by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights implicitly recognizes the risk that frontline border checks may become excessively automated. In particular, it underscores the importance of respectful and dignified communication, as well as the careful handling of determinations concerning individuals classified as "overstayers" (FRA, 2025: 5). From a rule-of-law perspective, this guidance serves as a warning against dynamics of "automatic presumption," whereby a system-generated status is treated as conclusive rather than provisional.

Where the designation of "overstayer" emerges primarily as a system-derived label, administrative law must ensure that individuals retain the ability to challenge not only the outcome but also the underlying computation on which that outcome is based. Absent such guarantees, automated classifications risk displacing procedural safeguards with technical finality, thereby eroding the practical effectiveness of due process and the right to an effective remedy.

Non-discrimination and the politics of risk indicators

Border technologies do not operate uniformly across all subjects. Rather, they apply to legally constructed categories defined by nationality, visa status, prior mobility histories, and relations to watchlists or alert systems. Such

differentiation is not inherently unlawful; border regimes are discriminatory by design in the limited sense that they necessarily classify and categorize. The rule-of-law concern arises, however, when differential treatment produces discriminatory effects that are unjustified, opaque, or amplified through technical systems.

Risk-scoring mechanisms and watchlist architectures can reproduce and entrench bias through multiple pathways:

1- First, data bias may arise where certain populations are more frequently recorded, checked, or flagged, generating feedback loops in which heightened scrutiny becomes self-reinforcing.

2- Second, proxy bias may occur when variables such as nationality, travel routes, or mobility patterns function as indirect proxies for protected characteristics, including ethnicity or religion.

3- Third, system bias can be introduced through matching thresholds, identity-resolution rules, or data-quality assumptions that disproportionately generate errors for specific populations, particularly those affected by transliteration inconsistencies or fragmented documentation histories.

4- Fourth, institutional bias may be intensified through interoperability, as the expansion of data sharing enlarges the audience and downstream consequences of any initial bias embedded within a single system.

It is in this context that biopolitical critiques retain particular relevance. Scholars have shown that biometric identification and large-scale data infrastructures can normalize suspicion as a background condition for specific populations, embedding differential treatment into the routine operation of governance rather than confining it to exceptional measures (Ajana, 2013; Amoore, 2006: 337). The appropriate legal response, however, is not to reject technological instruments as such, but to insist that their deployment be constrained by rights-embedded design principles, enforceable legal standards, and effective remedies capable of identifying, correcting, and redressing discriminatory outcomes.

Regulatory Design and Accountability Pathways: Institutional Oversight, Auditability, and Lessons for Türkiye

Rule-of-law compliance in the deployment of border technologies is fundamentally shaped by institutional design. Within the European Union, oversight is exercised through multiple, partially overlapping channels, including national data protection authorities, the European Data

Protection Supervisor (EDPS) in relation to EU institutions, fundamental rights monitoring mechanisms, judicial review, and internal accountability structures. The intervention of the EDPS in the smart borders legislative package is particularly significant, as it conceptualizes privacy risk not as an isolated or incidental concern, but as a systemic issue. From this perspective, the EDPS emphasizes the need for robust safeguards precisely because scale, interoperability, and intrusiveness magnify the potential harms associated with large-scale border data infrastructures (EDPS, 2016: 3).

At the same time, multi-layered oversight arrangements generate a structural paradox. While the involvement of numerous supervisory bodies may appear to strengthen accountability, it can also diffuse responsibility across institutional boundaries. In such environments, determining who is accountable for errors, unlawful access, or discriminatory outcomes becomes increasingly complex. This is why auditability and comprehensive logging requirements are not merely technical features but foundational rule-of-law safeguards. Absent reliable and accessible logs documenting data access, matching processes, decision outcomes, and subsequent data modifications, oversight bodies are effectively deprived of the tools necessary to detect misuse, identify systemic errors, and assess patterns of discrimination.

Operational ethics and the "street-level" rule of law

The guidance issued by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights for border guards is of particular significance because it explicitly acknowledges that the protection of fundamental rights is not located solely "in the regulation," but is also enacted through frontline practice. Developed through empirical research and consultation with practitioners, the guidance focuses on four key operational domains: the provision of information, data processing practices, attention to specific needs, and the treatment of individuals identified as "overstayers" (FRA, 2025: 5).

From a governance perspective, this recognition carries important implications. Training, staffing, and operational procedures should be understood as components of legal infrastructure rather than as merely administrative or managerial concerns. A technologically advanced border system that is not supported by adequately resourced, rights-based frontline practice risks producing routinized rights frictions. Such outcomes need not result from intentional misconduct; they may instead emerge from structural conditions, including time pressure, workflow constraints, and the design of technical interfaces that shape how discretion is exercised in everyday decision-making.

Türkiye: Constitutional proportionality, KVKK principles, and border governance implications

Türkiye's data protection regime and administrative jurisprudence provide a set of concrete and operational tools for scrutinizing biometric border technologies through a rule-of-law lens. Rather than offering abstract principles alone, this framework combines normative baselines, doctrinal reinforcement, and practice-oriented sensitivity that together enable a structured assessment of legality, necessity, and proportionality in technologically mediated border governance.

At the normative level, the KVKK Biometric Data Guide explicitly anchors biometric processing to the protection of the "essence" of fundamental rights and to the proportionality test. It places a clear burden on data controllers to justify the necessity of biometric measures and to demonstrate that less intrusive alternatives are inadequate for achieving the stated objective (KVKK, 2021: 9-11). This approach establishes proportionality not as a rhetorical requirement but as an operational standard capable of constraining technological choice.

Doctrinal reinforcement is provided by Akgül's analysis of the Council of State's (*Danıştay*) approach to biometric methods. This line of reasoning underscores that legality and proportionality assessments may effectively limit the adoption of biometric technologies even where compelling public interests (such as security or administrative efficiency) are invoked (Akgül, 2015: 211–213). In this respect, proportionality functions as a substantive check on expansive security rationales rather than as a deferential balancing exercise.

From a practice-oriented perspective, Erdinç demonstrates how both purpose limitation and proportionality can erode when data collected for security purposes are subsequently shared beyond authorized channels. This risk becomes particularly acute in institutional environments characterized by system integration and the routinization of data reuse dynamics that closely resemble those generated by interoperability architectures in border governance (Erdinç, 2020: 12).

Translating these insights into the border context yields a set of governance-oriented recommendations.

1- Purpose specification must be coupled with interoperability constraints. Interoperability should not operate as a blanket justification for cross-domain access; rather, access should remain role-limited, purpose-bound, and subject to effective audit mechanisms.

2- Biometric deployment should be conditioned on a demonstrable proof of necessity. For each biometric modality and specific use case, controllers should document why less intrusive alternatives fail to achieve the relevant objective, drawing on the KVKK's proportionality logic as a practicable model.

3- Contestability pathways must be institutionally embedded. Individuals should have accessible and effective mechanisms to challenge data records, identity matches, and adverse mobility outcomes, particularly where such outcomes are derived from computed or automated status determinations.

4- Robust error governance frameworks are required. Border systems should incorporate formal procedures for addressing misidentification, missing exit records, incorrect stay calculations, and false "hits," supported by rapid correction workflows and clearly defined accountability metrics.

5- Finally, independent review and transparency must be strengthened. Oversight bodies require access to meaningful technical documentation (including matching rules, decision thresholds, and update logs) in order to assess legality, proportionality, and the risk of discriminatory effects.

A concluding synthesis: the rule of law at the border is now a data-governance project

Border technologies sharpen a foundational insight: the rule of law is not sustained solely through statutes and institutional arrangements, but through the concrete ways in which power is exercised via technical systems. In datafied border regimes, systems themselves perform governance functions by classifying individuals, matching identities, retaining records, and generating decision cues that structure administrative action. Where such systems increasingly mediate access to territory and legal status, the credibility of the rule of law depends on the extent to which legal frameworks effectively discipline their design, deployment, and use.

In this context, maintaining the rule of law requires that border data infrastructures satisfy a set of cumulative conditions. They must remain legible, such that affected individuals can understand the grounds of adverse decisions; constrained, in the sense that purpose limitation operates as an enforceable boundary rather than a rhetorical commitment; proportionate, ensuring that biometric identification and data retention practices are strictly necessary for clearly specified objectives; contestable, so that errors, misidentifications, and adverse inferences can be challenged and corrected; auditable, through

comprehensive logging that renders access and decision-making processes reviewable; and accountable, such that institutional responsibility remains identifiable even within highly interoperable governance architectures.

The EU smart borders framework illustrates both the promise and the peril of contemporary border governance. On the one hand, it holds out the prospect of more consistent enforcement and administratively efficient processing. On the other hand, it risks transforming mobility into a continuous data trial, in which the evidentiary burden subtly shifts toward the individual to rebut system-generated outputs. In this respect, Türkiye's KVKK practice (particularly its explicit and operationalized proportionality logic for biometric processing) provides a valuable doctrinal lens for resisting this shift. It demonstrates how technological modernization can be subjected to constitutional constraints, ensuring that advances in border management remain subordinate to fundamental rights, legality, and the availability of effective remedies.

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Chapter 3

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE OTHER: XENOPHOBIA AND ISLAMOPHOBIA

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1. INTRODUCTION

The other has been one of the fundamental elements of social identity construction throughout history and has paved the way for the exclusion and discrimination of certain groups. Targeting various groups in different periods and contexts, this process has created sharp distinctions between individuals and communities as "us" and "them". Marginalized groups have generally been marginalized and subjected to political, economic and social exclusion. In this context, xenophobia and Islamophobia are considered as two important and interrelated forms of marginalization.

Xenophobia is essentially an exclusion mechanism shaped on the axis of economic, cultural and political concerns. Especially during periods of intensified migration movements, the perception that the economic and social rights of local people are under threat is strengthened and this situation causes foreigners to be seen as a potential risk factor. Historically, anti-immigrant policies and discourses have reinforced social prejudices by institutionalizing xenophobia. Islamophobia, on the other hand, is a form of religion-based marginalization and has turned into an increasingly prominent discrimination practice in the modern world (Stolz, 2005: 548). Especially global security crises such as the 11 September attacks and the 2005 London bombings have reinforced the perception of Islam and Muslim identity as a threat. Islamophobic attitudes have become widespread, supported by the approaches of politics and the media (Ramadhan et al., 2025: 2). In this context, Muslim individuals and communities in the Western world have been subjected to discrimination in a broad framework ranging from immigration policies to security practices.

Throughout history, societies, civilizations, and cultures have consistently defined and conceptualized themselves in relation to the "other." The notion of "not being like the other" -for instance, not being barbaric, warlike, or uncivilized as the other- has become a central ideological mechanism through which communities have imagined themselves as more legitimate, superior, and civilized. This process has played a pivotal role not only in interpersonal relations but also in the construction of collective identities and state ideologies.

In Ancient Greece, Persians and Medes were characterized as "wild" and "barbaric," while the Persians and Medes perceived the Greeks as a civilization lacking understanding of art and science, in need of development and advancement. This mutual othering was fuelled not only by military or political competition but also by claims of cultural superiority. Accordingly, the distinction between "self" and "other" functioned as a legitimizing framework and a comparative measure in inter-civilizational interactions (Kalın, 2016).

Throughout world history, the "self" versus "other" dichotomy has operated as a structural cultural and social mechanism in relations between societies and states. Statesmen, politicians, and ruling elites have strategically employed this distinction not only for identity construction but also to generate political legitimacy and mobilize society. By portraying the "other" as dangerous, barbaric, or hostile, they have reinforced narratives of national unity domestically and justified conflicts in foreign policy. Thus, defining the self in opposition to the other has not only been a cultural reflex but has also transformed into a form of political capital that sustains and legitimizes authority.

The concepts of belonging and identity are among the determining factors in shaping social structures. However, this belonging is often constructed based on the distinction between "us" and "them" and feeds processes of marginalization. Throughout history, discrimination against different cultural, ethnic and religious groups has been reinforced by social fears and political discourses, paving the way for the exclusion of certain groups. Globalization, the spread of armed conflicts and the climate created by economic inequalities have significantly increased migration movements between states in the 21st century. With the reshaping of socio-economic, cultural and political dynamics in the receiving countries, social polarization has deepened. Throughout human history, societies, states, and empires have constructed their identities on the concept of the "Other," portraying the Other as belonging to an inferior class, as barbaric, while presenting themselves as civilized and advanced in contrast. Based on this perception and conceptualization, they have shaped their own identities and imagined themselves as the exact opposite of, and fundamentally different from, the Other. However, with globalization and modernization, societies have grown somewhat closer to one another and have begun to develop more positive perceptions of each other. Nevertheless, as a result of economic crises, civil wars, and acts of terrorism, millions of migrants and refugees have been displaced from their homes and homelands, migrating primarily to the United States and Europe. Consequently, those who had historically been conceptualized as the "Other" and "barbarian" have now entered a new stage in which they are subjected to discrimination on the basis of their religion and ethnicity. In today's global context, the dominant discourse of exclusion and othering no longer primarily targets the "Other" and the "barbarian" in general terms, but rather focuses on those who are Muslim, Asian, or Eastern.

In a significant part of Western society, immigrants and Muslims are increasingly targeted and xenophobia (especially Islamophobia) has become widespread. Particularly when analyzing the West, it is noteworthy that Islamophobia is used and popularized by dominant groups aiming to construct, expand, and stabilize their sphere of power by designating a (real or

fabricated) scapegoat (Bayraklı & Güngörmez, 2014: 127). It is observed that Islam in the West has increasingly been transformed into an instrumental tool through which politicians can conceptualize an "Other," formulate policies, and, by doing so, mobilize a constituency and sustain their political agendas. In the context of far-right nationalist parties and their political strategies, public sentiment has been tested and shaped through hostility toward Islam and Muslims, while efforts have simultaneously been made to construct a theoretical framework to legitimize this perspective.

The term Islamophobia (or Islamophobie) first appeared in print in France in the early twentieth century (Ramadhan et al., 2025: 2). Although its conceptual roots may be traced to this period, the term in its contemporary usage has more recent origins. It was initially popularized in the 1970s and subsequently gained traction among European anti-racist movements during the 1980s and 1990s. The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, constituted a critical juncture in the diffusion and widespread adoption of the term, particularly within European and American public and scholarly discourse. It emerged from an increasing need to address the status of Muslim migrants in Northern countries, and the perceived divide between the Western and Islamic worlds (Rana, 2017: 148). The discourse of Islamophobia, or opposition to Islam, can be traced back to the emergence of Islam in the seventh century. According to both the Old and New Testaments, Islam was perceived as a heretical sect of Christianity, with its prophet Muhammad viewed as the Anti-Christ, and its holy book, the Qur'an, regarded as a compilation of fabricated and concocted texts. However, the concept of Islamophobia, or the fear of Islam, is a much more recent development (Doğan, 2021).

However, despite the recent rise in the popularity of hostility toward Islam and Muslims, this attitude is not a new phenomenon; rather, it has a deep-rooted historical background. If, however, we approach the issue through the lens of a "clash of civilizations", our focus would shift to the longstanding history of confrontation between Christianity and Islam spanning roughly 1,400 years. In this context, anti-Muslim attitudes would appear as a deeply rooted phenomenon, far older than the relatively recent term "Islamophobia," which refers to the fear of Islam as a religion. Such a perspective would uncover profound historical tensions and expose underlying divisions and sources of conflict (Taras, 2024: 3). At the same time, the current rise in Islamophobia and xenophobia is not solely rooted in historical background, it is also closely linked to current phenomena such as terrorism and migration. It can be stated that Islamophobic discourses are mainly fueled by terrorist attacks and the recent influx of refugees. With the rise of parties with far-right orientations, it is observed that the dose of anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim discourse has gradually increased. Hate speech appears in the ugliest forms where

ethnic, religious and racial minorities are physically attacked and killed. Far-right parties and populist politicians use this situation as an opportunity to create a perception of threat between immigrants and the local population and harshen their discourse accordingly. The support gained by right-wing politicians in European countries is also seen as an increase in acts of violence against refugees and migrants (Nwabuzo & Schaeder, 2017).

This study aims to analyze the relationship between these two forms of discrimination by addressing the concepts of xenophobia and Islamophobia. The historical origins, socio-economic causes and social effects of xenophobia will be analyzed, and it will be revealed how Islamophobia has gained legitimacy in the Western world, especially after 9/11. In this context, the article aims to reveal how xenophobia and Islamophobia reinforce each other and how they are rooted in modern societies. At the end of the study, it is concluded that the terrorist acts committed on 9/11, and its aftermath have been largely conducted through Muslim groups.

2. XENOPHOBIA: OTHERIZATION SHAPED BY SOCIAL FEARS

The term *xenophobia*, which is of Greek origin, is a combination of the words *phobia*, which means "fear", and *xenos*, which means both "foreigner" and "guest" (Özmete et al., 2018: 193). There is no single internationally recognized definition of xenophobia (UNCHR, 2020). Although xenophobia often stems from fear, it is not only a phenomenon based on fear; hate speech and prejudices also play a significant role in the formation of this phenomenon. According to Nel (2005: 241), xenophobia should be classified as a hate crime. He defines the concept as a form of behavior involving acts of violence against oneself, one's property or the group to which one belongs because of the group to which one belongs, or to which one feels one belongs. The word "guest" in the concept is important in terms of understanding the perception towards individuals with different cultural, ethnic, national and racial identities. Since guests are generally used to referring to people who come as guests for a temporary period, foreign individuals are often not recognized as permanent by society.

Xenophobia, which possesses a profound historical background, can be defined as a multidimensional socio-psychological phenomenon rooted in "fear and distrust toward foreigners" as well as the tendency to "other" them and harbor hostility against them. The origins of this phenomenon lie in the historical tendency of human communities to categorize themselves in terms of "us" and "the other." Historical processes show that the construction of legitimacy is often carried out through the deliberate fabrication of a dangerous "other" (İşler & Savaş, 2018: 768-769). In Ancient Greek society, peoples outside their own cultural sphere -particularly the Persians and the

Medes- were referred to as "barbarians," a term that not only denoted cultural difference but also carried derogatory and exclusionary connotations. Similarly, in Medieval Europe, various nations and communities were often imagined as "barbaric" or "enemy," an image that played a significant role in legitimizing political, religious, and cultural conflicts (Salter, 1999).

Although xenophobia has become a highly visible and widely debated phenomenon in the 21st century, this development is far from new. On the contrary, xenophobia has been reproduced throughout history in various social, cultural, and political contexts, sustained by the collective memory of history, society, and culture. Today, globalization, mass migration movements, economic inequalities, and identity politics stand out as the primary dynamics shaping the contemporary manifestations of this historically rooted phenomenon.

Xenophobia is not only limited to physical violence but also includes psychological violence. In this context, exclusion of individuals through "othering" causes xenophobia to take root. In addition, this approach may also pose a problem for marginalization. This is because it radicalizes those outside their own identity by accepting them as a threat (Human Rights and Equality Institution of Turkey, 2023: 18). Marginalization is reinforced by stereotypes and belief systems formed over time, leading to the isolation of individuals from social life. The basis of xenophobia is that the individual is seen as a foreigner to the society in which he/she lives and accordingly excluded. Therefore, it is quite possible to be exposed to xenophobia in social life and to feel this situation constantly. For example, evaluating an individual only according to his/her country of birth and limiting his/her abilities and achievements within this framework can be considered as a form of xenophobia that can be handled in the context of psychological violence, but not physical violence.

In recent years, xenophobia has increased on a global scale. This trend can be directly associated with the acceleration of international migration movements and global terrorist incidents. Nell (2009: 34) argues that there are three main reasons for xenophobia. The first is related to the duration of exposure of the natives of the host country to the "foreign" population. Second, it is related to cultural factors that harbor the identity and nationalist sentiments of the host society. The third is economic concerns related to the sharing of limited economic resources (employment, social assistance, etc.). Anti-immigrant attitudes affect social life, cultural structures and economic balances at both national and global levels (Özmete et al., 2018). In this framework, *Competition Theory* and *Social Identity Theory* provide an important framework for understanding the economic and social dimensions of xenophobia. While Competition Theory is associated with xenophobia in

the context of economic competition caused by sharing available resources with immigrants (Bobo and Hutchins, 1996: 953); Social Identity Theory contributes to the formation process of xenophobia by subjecting individuals to social and cultural classifications in line with their group belonging (Tajfel, 1982: 2). How the migration process is perceived in the host society and the complex consequences of this process further deepen xenophobia by creating a sharp distinction between natives and immigrants (Crush and Ramachandran, 2010: 53).

The triggering of xenophobia for economic reasons emerged with the impact of the Economic Crisis in 2008 (Öner, 2014: 165). However, terrorism-related reinforcement of prejudices against immigrants (especially those with Muslim identity) has become quite widespread. The 9/11 attacks on the USA caused Islam to be remembered together with terrorist elements. After 9/11, it is observed that prejudices against Muslim immigrants have increased in the USA and the Western world. The fear against Muslim immigrant groups is also recognized as "Islamophobia" (Canatan, 2007: 26). The War on Terror launched by the United States has increased the society's violent approach towards Muslims and people with Muslim appearance (Aziz et al., 2022: 146). With the outbreak of the Arab Spring, it is seen that the population remaining in conflict zones and worried about their safety of life migrated to safe regions. The terrorist acts carried out in European capitals by some radical terrorist groups that stand out with their Islamic identity have led to an increase in psychological and physical violence against migrants (Bekar, 2018: 112). Furthermore, it is evident that European understanding of the Islamic "other" originated from a drive to support colonial rule and, more broadly, from the post-Enlightenment state's ambition to classify, survey, and exert control (Burke, 1998: 14).

The rise of right-wing populist parties and ultra-nationalist discourses in Europe has caused xenophobia to gain strength in the political arena. One of the common characteristics of far-right parties operating in European Union member states is that they place nationalism at the center of their political discourse. These parties are increasingly trying to legitimize xenophobia through the discourse of "European identity" and spreading the discourses that foreigners threaten the cultural homogeneity of Europe and will assimilate European values (Öner, 2014: 165-166). Such discourses appear as one of the main elements that feed xenophobia. Simultaneously, far-right extremism threatens social unity through its polarizing rhetoric, endorsement of anti-democratic and violent tactics, and even through physical assaults and terrorist acts. This environment inflicts considerable damage on marginalized, discriminated, and underrepresented communities that are targeted by the far-right, such as Muslims (Vidgen, Yasseri & Margetts, 2022: 1). As a matter

of fact, xenophobia has not only been limited to prejudices at the individual level but has been adopted as a state policy in many countries throughout history and has turned into acts of physical violence as well as psychological violence in the name of national interests. In Afghanistan, Iraq and some Muslim-majority countries, it has been deliberately constructed to legitimize some war series (Aziz et al., 2022: 146).

3. ISLAMOPHOBIA: A GROWING OTHERIZATION BASED ON RELIGION

The term Islamophobia is a combination of the Arabic word "Islam" from the root "seleme" (submission) and the Greek word "phobos" (fear) (Kedikli and Akça, 2017: 68-69). The earliest Islamophobic discourse -in the sense of opposition to Islam- dates to the birth of Islam in 7th century. According to the Old and New Testaments, Islam was perceived as a heretical sect of Christianity; Muhammet (peace be upon him) was portrayed as the Anti-Christ, and its holy book, the Qur'an, was regarded as a fabricated and compiled text (Doğan, 2021: 304). On the other hand, in the broadest sense, Islamophobia can be defined as fear, prejudice, discrimination and hatred against Islam and Muslims (Özipek, 2014: 89). In this context, Islamophobia, which has political motives behind it, not only presents Islam as a threat to be feared, but also otherizes and demonizes it (İşler, 2021: 181). This process produces a systematic form of discrimination and exclusion shaped by prejudices against Muslims and against Islam and values associated with Islam. Islamophobia deepens the processes of exclusion and marginalization that especially immigrant Muslims are exposed to in the societies they live in and feeds a different dimension of xenophobia. As a matter of fact, Islamophobia, like xenophobia, is rooted in stereotypes and prejudices formed over time. The term "Islamophobia in its original, normative sense, reflecting Europeans' negative judgments, is just over a hundred years old. Edward Said (1985) likened Islamophobia to a form of pathology, similar to anti-Semitism. His indirect approach to "stigmatizing" Islamophobia involved taking advantage of the rhetorical force and accusatory power of Western commentators, who had long used these tools to criticize the perceived wickedness and moral corruption of the religion (Taras, 2024: 3).

Terrorism and violence on a global scale have a significant impact on the rise of Islamophobia (Aziz et al., 2022: 145). The aftermath of 9/11 has obscured the boundaries between national and international politics in relation to Islam. The alignment of European and American political rhetoric is significant, particularly due to the automatic link made between the war on terrorism, domestic security policies, and immigration laws, often with a consistent emphasis on individuals of Muslim descent (Cesari, 2010: 82). In this period, an understanding of hostility towards Islam and Muslims reached its peak. Following the events, Islam and Muslims were virtually conceived

as concepts equivalent to terrorism, and a distorted image of Muslims was portrayed. With the hate-filled and exclusionary rhetoric of politicians, supported by the media, Muslims -especially in Europe and America- were practically branded as terrorists and faced serious problems in both social and public life.

In this context, the attacks on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon in the USA have been a critical turning point in the acceleration of Islamophobia. These attacks on the USA have increased mistrust towards Islam and Muslims not only in the American society but also in Europe, and further reinforced xenophobia (Kedikli & Akça, 2017). As of this date, security concerns have become one of the main issues on the global agenda, leading the US to reshape its security strategies.

The representation of Islam in the media and politics has also been effective in the rise of Islamophobia. Since 9/11, the portrayal of the Muslim community and their religion in a negative light has been unyielding in certain media outlets and across nearly all political parties. Many politicians, media figures, and writers have been highly focused in their efforts to vilify Islam as a religion and Muslims as a community (Awan, 2010: 525). Following the 9/11 attacks, the tendency to associate Islam with violence has strengthened in the Western world, leading to the institutionalization of negative perceptions towards Muslims. However, not only the 9/11 attacks but also other terrorist acts that followed this event were effective in the spread of Islamophobia. Especially the bomb attacks in Madrid in 2004 and London in July 2005 are among the factors that increased anti-Muslim sentiment. These attacks, which were claimed by Al-Qaeda, further strengthened the discourse of "Islamic terrorism" and paved the way for Islam to be perceived as an ideology of violence (Kedikli & Akça, 2017: 76). Kirman (2010: 23) states that even though Islamophobic discourses and actions have increased with the 9/11 attack, Islam has created fear in the Western world for many centuries. In the post-9/11 era, Islamophobia has evolved into a globalized buzzword, frequently used in both media narratives and public discourse. As a result, a vast array of publications has contributed to the spread of clichés, stereotypes, and cultural myths surrounding the supposedly deviant Muslim "other," often involving the racialization and vilification of Muslim identities. This renewed wave of Islamophobia has triggered hate crimes targeting Muslims, as well as Arabs, Afghans, and South Asians throughout North America and Europe (Acim, 2019: 28).

One of the most prominent events in the spread of Islamophobia to wider masses and its transformation from fear to hatred and hatred has been the terrorist acts carried out by ISIS (Ayhan & Çiftçi, 2018). The visibility of ISIS in international public opinion has increased especially with the Syrian Civil

War (2011), and the organization's brutal acts have become a priority issue among global security threats. In 2014, ISIS captured Raqqa and declared it as the "capital of the caliphate", which led to a deepening of Islamophobic reactions in the Western world. Despite the fact that ISIS directly associated itself with Islam, the fact that some European and US citizen fighters joined the organization increased distrust towards Muslim communities in the West (Holman, 2015: 616) and fuelled xenophobia. Indeed, the major terrorist attack in Paris in 2015, which was claimed by ISIS, paved the way for the rise of anti-immigrant discourses and security-based policies in Europe.

During this period, Western media, in reporting terrorist incidents, frequently placed Islam alongside terrorism, thereby reinforcing a negative perception. The language used in headlines and visuals created a framework that identified Muslim identity with violence and radicalism. Furthermore, the tightening of security policies led to Muslim individuals being routinely subjected to discriminatory treatment, especially in airports, border crossings, and public spaces. In the West, Islam began to be imagined, in the literal sense, as something to be feared (Vidino, 2017). The 2016 Brussels and Nice attacks, followed by the terrorist incidents in London and Manchester in 2017, further deepened the perception of a "Muslim threat" in Western public opinion. This perception not only related to the actions of radical organizations but also intensified reactions towards the religious symbols and cultural practices of Muslims in daily life. Religious symbols such as the headscarf, beards, or mosque construction became central to debates on security and social cohesion in the West, and in many countries, legal restrictions were introduced. In the West, fear and hatred emerged even towards certain Islamic symbols.

In this period, Islamophobia was not limited to individual prejudices but was also reflected in state policies. The media's frequent pairing of the concepts of terrorism and Islam caused the concept of terrorism to be automatically associated with Islam in people's minds (Ramadhan et al., 2025: 12-13). The tightening of immigration laws, the restriction of refugee admissions, and the increased police surveillance in areas with dense Muslim populations turned into a form of structural discrimination. Thus, under the pretext of terrorist incidents, the discourse of distrust built upon Muslim identity deepened at both societal and institutional levels.

Another important factor leading to the strengthening of Islamophobia is demographic and socio-political dynamics. The high rate of population growth in Muslim countries, the fact that many Muslim countries are considered inferior to Western democracies in terms of human rights and freedoms, and the prevalence of authoritarian regimes are considered as factors that reinforce prejudices against Muslims in Western societies. In this context, Islamophobia has not only remained at the individual or social level but has

also become a factor affecting the shaping of political and economic policies in Western countries. The perception that Muslim immigrants threaten the cultural and social structure of the native population, which has become widespread in European and US societies in the face of immigration waves, feeds Islamophobic and xenophobic tendencies (Yılmaz & Geylani, 2022). At the same time, numerous reports have drawn attention to the marginalized status of Muslim minorities, pointing to a growing number of Islamophobic incidents and raising concerns about social exclusion and radicalization. These developments have sparked a broader discussion within the EU on the need to reassess strategies for social cohesion, intercommunity relations, and integration. Muslim immigrants across Europe continue to experience prejudice and intolerance rooted in their religious and cultural identities (Senocak, 2022: 6).

Table 1 *Relationship Between Xenophobia and Islamophobia*

Aspect	Xenophobia	Islamophobia	Overlap
Definition	Anxiety or animosity toward outsiders or individuals from distinct cultural backgrounds.	Fear, prejudice, or discrimination against Islam and Muslims.	Both involve fear, suspicion, and exclusion of "the other."
Main Cause	Cultural, economic, and nationalistic concerns (e.g., job competition, national identity).	Religious and ideological concerns (e.g., fear of extremism, stereotypes about Islam).	Perceived cultural incompatibility and8 societal anxieties.
Target Groups	Immigrants, refugees, ethnic minorities.	Muslims, Islamic communities, people perceived as Muslim.	Muslim immigrants and refugees are often targeted by both.
Historical Context	Intensifies during economic crises, wars, and migration waves.	Increased after 9/11, terrorist attacks, and global conflicts.	Often used politically to justify exclusionary policies.
Manifestations	Nationalist movements, anti-immigration policies, racial profiling.	Hate crimes, mosque attacks, headscarf bans, discrimination in jobs.	Political rhetoric, media framing, discriminatory laws.
Impact on Society	Social division, marginalization of ethnic groups, rise of nationalism.	Religious intolerance, restrictions on Muslim practices, marginalization of Muslim communities.	Reinforces social polarization and strengthens far-right movements.

Source: *The table was created by the authors primarily based on studies conducted by Senocak (2022), Rana (2007), and Taras (2024).*

As can be seen in the table, xenophobia and Islamophobia are deeply interconnected forms of discrimination based on fear of and rejection of the "other". While xenophobia is defined as hostility towards foreigners in general, Islamophobia specifically targets Muslims and portrays them as a cultural and ideological threat. Despite their different characteristics, these two prejudices often overlap, especially in societies where Muslim migrants and refugees are perceived as incompatible with the dominant group, both religiously and

culturally. Negative attitudes toward immigrants are widespread in many nations struggling to integrate culturally diverse communities. However, in European countries, this often escalates into what is more precisely called "Islamophobia," since immigration brings a significant number of Muslims into Europe. As a result, the anti-immigrant discourse of far-right parties has increasingly taken on a distinctly anti-Muslim character (Cesari, 2009:4). In today's racial landscape, Islam and Muslims have come to embody a complex and contradictory identity, frequently invoked in discussions of war, conquest, terror, fear, and the so-called new crusades. The racial portrayal of the Muslim spans a wide geographical spectrum, often encompassing populations from the Middle East, Africa, and South Asia (Rana, 2007: 159).

Historically, xenophobia has been fueled by economic concerns and fear of cultural displacement of the native population. Islamophobia has increased in response to geopolitical events such as the 11 September attacks and ongoing global conflicts. It has also strengthened attitudes that associate Islam with extremism. Both forms of discrimination are manifested through exclusionary policies, racial and religious profiling and public hostility towards marginalized groups.

4. CONCLUSION

Islamophobia and xenophobia have become one of the most important social problems of contemporary societies as two phenomena intertwined with globalization, migration movements and international security policies, feeding each other. While economic competition, cultural differences and national identity concerns have fueled xenophobia in the historical process, the 11 September attacks and the increasing security concerns afterwards have paved the way for the institutionalization of Islamophobia. Especially in the Western world, the rise of anti-immigrant policies, media representations and right-wing populist discourses have led to the deepening of these two forms of discrimination at the social and political level. Islamophobia and xenophobia are both present in the political response to Islam and Muslims, with each reinforcing the other, regardless of the legal, national, or social standing of the individuals involved. In other words, xenophobia has not vanished; rather, it is exacerbated by the religious and cultural integration of Muslims, further solidifying the view of Islam as foreign (Cesari, 2021: 896). In this context, Islamophobia and xenophobia, while rooted in deep historical foundations, emerge in the contemporary era as complex socio-political phenomena that are not confined to individual prejudices and attitudes but are continuously reproduced through structural and institutional mechanisms. From educational curricula to media discourses, from immigration and citizenship legislation to security policies, traces of these two forms of discrimination can be observed across a wide spectrum. The media, in particular, functions

as a critical instrument in shaping public perception; through deliberate or subliminal messaging, it fosters anxiety, fear, and even hostility toward the "foreigner" or the "Muslim." This process not only reinforces existing prejudices at the individual level but also contributes to the deepening of polarization at the societal level.

On the political plane, Islamophobia and xenophobia have become functional tools for political actors seeking to consolidate electoral support in domestic politics, as well as for states aiming to construct "the other" as part of identity politics in the realm of international relations. By positioning the "other" as an enemy or an object of fear, ruling powers seek to strengthen the foundations of their own legitimacy -an approach that has been instrumental in redefining the societal perception of security-. Right-wing populist movements have merged Islamophobia and xenophobia at both the discursive and policy levels, legitimizing anti-immigrant agendas and further exacerbating social division and polarization.

Therefore, the relationship between Islamophobia and xenophobia should be examined not only within the framework of social perception, prejudice, and cultural conflict, but also from the perspectives of global politics, economic inequalities, security paradigms, and international law. The mutually reinforcing nature of these two phenomena transforms them from mere sociological issues into structural political problems that directly affect the functioning of democratic systems, the safeguarding of human rights norms, and the preservation of social cohesion.

The overlap between Islamophobia and xenophobia has led to the positioning of Muslim migrants as the "other" in both religious and cultural terms. Discriminatory policies against Muslim communities in receiving countries limit their presence in the public sphere and reinforce social exclusion. The process of marginalization not only affects individual and social relations, but also directly shapes states' security policies, citizenship practices and integration policies.

In this context, it is of great importance to adopt inclusive policies in combating Islamophobia and xenophobia and to critically examine the structures and ideologies that encourage discriminatory discourses. Strengthening multicultural dialogue mechanisms to reduce social polarization, disseminating prejudice-reducing content in education systems and developing policies that facilitate the integration of immigrants into social life are among the basic strategies that can be effective in this struggle. Otherwise, security-oriented and exclusionary approaches will inevitably damage social cohesion in the long run and deepen social and political instability at the global level.

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Chapter 4

STAKEHOLDER RELATIONS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF GOOD GOVERNANCE PRINCIPLES: AN ANALYSIS OF THE ISTANBUL METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY STRATEGIC PLAN[1]

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1. INTRODUCTION

The rapid urbanization, technological transformation, and increasingly complex societal needs of the 21st century have necessitated a fundamental paradigm shift in the traditional understanding of public administration. The transition from the classical bureaucratic model to New Public Administration and subsequently to governance-oriented approaches has redefined the roles of local governments. In this process, local governments have gone beyond being merely service providers; they have become key actors in urban welfare, sustainability, and democratic participation. Strategic management stands out as one of the most critical tools in this dynamic environment, enabling local governments to direct limited resources to priority areas, develop a future vision, and respond effectively to societal demands. In Turkey, strategic planning, which has become a legal requirement with the Public Financial Management and Control Law No. 5018, serves as a fundamental institutional compass, allowing municipalities to measure their performance within a framework of accountability and transparency.

Istanbul, a global megacity with significant geopolitical importance, represents the most comprehensive and complex service network in Türkiye in terms of local government practices. The strategic plans prepared by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (IMM) are not only policy documents that provide solutions to the city's chronic problems, but also demonstrate how governance principles are internalized at the local level. In particular, an examination of the themes and thematic areas of the IMM Strategic Plan reveals that topics such as transportation, urban transformation, social justice, and environmental sustainability are directly linked to institutional governance relationships. The concretization of strategic goals through target cards and their linkage to governance mechanisms reflects the institution's strategic thinking capacity and implementation capability. In this context, an analysis of the IMM's strategic priorities reveals not only a municipality's service map but also a vision for the future resilience and development of a modern city.

The main objective of this article is to analyze the target cards and governance relationships within the IMM Strategic Plan and to reveal the extent to which this plan aligns with the principles of urban development and good governance. Although numerous studies exist in the literature on strategic planning in local governments, the need for an in-depth examination of the structural link established between strategic themes and governance dynamics in the IMM example remains relevant. This study, which utilizes content analysis and document review techniques from qualitative research methods, seeks to answer the questions: *To what extent does the strategic plan encourage participation at the local level? and "How aligned are the*

identified thematic areas with urban priorities? Following the introduction, the following sections will present, respectively, a conceptual framework, an analysis of the institutional structure, and detailed evaluations of the components of the strategic plan, and will offer policy recommendations for improving strategic management capacity in local governments.

2. MANAGEMENT

In the dictionary, the concept of management is defined as the act of managing, handling, and administration (Turkish Language Association Dictionaries, 2025). In the literature, it is observed that the concept of management is defined in various ways. A general definition of management can be framed as activities based on the principle of cooperation carried out by more than one person wishing to achieve a specific purpose (Yalçın, 2010). It is stated that the essence of management is based on human relations as a social entity and, as a concept brought about by the state of living together from the family to society, it ensures continuity in a harmonious and coordinated sense (Aşgın, 2008).

It is argued that in order to speak of management, one must refer to three concepts: the ruled, the ruler, and the common goal. Accordingly, a community must first exist; the concept of management emerges through a political entity holding legitimate power, and it is stated that there must be a common goal that this community strives to reach. The coexistence of this tripod is quite important for the definition of the management concept (Tekeli, 1996). Certainly, many more definitions and descriptions of the concept of management can be made, as the concept is a natural phenomenon of organizational efforts and the advancement of administrative systems that have been ongoing since the early times of humanity.

It is an undeniable truth that it is not quite possible for any system or order to progress healthily without a management mechanism. It is a strong argument to predict that without management, many negative events would occur within societies and in their relations with other societies. Alongside this truth, it is inevitable that concepts will change and transform as time progresses, and the meanings contained within the concepts will differentiate. New management approaches and techniques are being developed to meet the needs of the age (Demirkaya, 2015:16). This is because the change of time essentially means the change of societies. It is known that as societies change, citizens move to redefine their relationship with the concept of management (T.R. Prime Ministry State Planning Organization, 2007).

As a reflection of this change, regarding access to information and documents in the public sphere, the view of citizens has shifted from a favor to

a demand and ultimately has become a legal right of these citizens (T.R. Prime Ministry State Planning Organization, 2007). Essentially, this transformation expresses a transition in the concept of management, and as a result of this transition, it is seen that management is not merely a unilateral concept but one where mutual communication is quite important, giving birth to the concept of governance which develops in integration with modern times.

3. GOVERNANCE

The concept of governance is defined as the common use of administrative, economic, and political authority in official and private organizations. Governance is one of the administrative concepts that has been continuously discussed from the last quarter of the 20th century to the present and is believed to produce effective results, particularly in administrative participation (Ekinci abd Karakoyunlu, 2020; Eryiğit and Sarıca, 2018). The fact that the usage spectrum of the term governance, which has become one of the discussion topics of democratization and modernization in management in terms of social and political theories, extends from business management to economics, politics, and public administration, and expands to local, national, and international administrations, has made it difficult to define the said concept through a single meaning (Güzelsarı, 2003).

It is observed that there are different thoughts regarding the emergence and origin of governance (Varki, 2008). In terms of the transition to Turkish, while it is stated that the word governance is translated as *yönetişim* and was synonymous with government in the past, there have been those who trace it back to the 18th century, stating that the roots of the concept are included in the content of 'enlightenment management based on civil society' (Varki, 2008). It is also among those stated that governance comes from the Greek verb *kubernân*, passed into English as governance, and that this word was used as the Latin *gubernare* meaning to administer, guide, and rule in the Middle Ages, and as governance from the mid-fourteenth century (Barış, 2020:418). Alongside this information, there are also views that the word *yönetim* (management) and consequently *yönetişim* (governance) exist in our language as a root. According to these views; governance is not English in origin but is formed by the combination of the Turkish words *yönetim* (management) and *iletişim* (communication) (Fidan, 2011:6). It is stated that it emerged with the addition of the reciprocity suffix to the word *yönetim* (Okçu, 2011). These discussions should be seen as academic richness. In terms of the scope of our article, it would be appropriate to focus on the use of the word *yönetişim* in the Turkish academic sense and the international usage history of the concept.

The concept of governance was first used in a report prepared by the World Bank in 1989 with the aim of solving Africa's development problem (Cingi,

2021). Essentially, it is observed that after the World Bank defined the existing situation in Africa as a governance crisis in 1989, governance was updated and adopted by other international organizations (Zabcı, 2002). This report was announced and published by the World Bank as Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth (The World Bank, 1989). The relationship of the said report with the article lies in its expressions regarding the creation of a balance between the ruler and the ruled, or in other words, between the service provider and the class served, in terms of the management mechanism (Firidin and Uzun, 2018).

It is observed that the World Bank outlined the principles and practices that would form the content of the governance model with this report (Firidin, 2017). Without going into a clear definition within the report, it is stated that the concept of governance consists of elements such as an active public service, a modern legal system through an independent judiciary, an audit and accountability system effective on the use of public funding, an independent auditor responsible to the legislature, a public administration respectful of the rule of law and human rights, a free press, and a pluralistic institutional structure (Uzel, 2006). Governance is defined in this and similar ways within the literature. Even if the theme of governance is subject to positive or negative criticism within its own background, it has established a place for itself as a concept and has found a place in many researches, academic writings, and various reports in subsequent dates.

From the 1990s onwards, the term governance became more prominent as a concept in Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) reports, the United Nations (UN) Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, the 1994 Cairo Conference on Population and Development, the Copenhagen World Summit for Social Development held in 1995, the UN Second Conference on Human Settlements (HABITAT II) held in Istanbul in 1996, the 2000 New York Millennium Summit, and the 2002 Johannesburg World Summit on Sustainable Development (Rio+10) (T.R. Prime Ministry State Planning Organization, 2007). Specifically, the World Bank, which first pointed to the concept of governance in 1989 (Özgül and Agah, 2004:91), included the definition of governance in the study titled Governance and Development published in 1992. According to this report, good governance (governance and good governance are used synonymously) was used synonymously with sound development management and defined four areas of governance: Accountability, legal framework for development, information, and transparency (The World Bank, 1992). It would be appropriate to examine one of these conferences and summits as an example to scrutinize governance, analyze the impact of the concept in international arenas, and grasp its importance. For this reason, to

show the impact and continuity of the concept of governance, the Habitat-II Conference, which introduced the concept of good governance to our Turkish language (Good Governance Handbook, 2008:3), and its effects are examined below:

Twenty years after the Habitat-1 Conference (1996), the Habitat-II meeting held in Istanbul was attended by 3,000 delegates from 171 countries and 2,500 non-governmental organizations (Arlı, 2010). It appears as one of the important conferences organized at the international level in terms of participation level and decisions taken. One of the most important data to be considered in the twenty years that passed after the Habitat-1 Conference is the transformation of the world population's urbanization rate from 37.9% to 45.1%. It is seen that nearly half of the world's population has entered the urbanization process. For this reason, this summit is also called the City Summit. This degree of increase in the urbanization rate in the world has certainly set sail for new management understandings. This situation showed itself in the Habitat Conference and was reflected in the topics and steps to be taken during the conference.

The Habitat-II Conference is a conference that reasons regarding human settlements and housing problems on a global scale and is organized based on the law, society, institution, economy, and management required for states to struggle with problems (TOKİ, 1999). Within the sessions held at the conference, resorting to solutions for resolving housing needs, coping with poverty, carrying social communication to advanced levels, and sustainability issues were discussed (Yaylı and Gönültaş, 2018). Handling the problems that may arise with increasing urbanization in this way and determining action plans focused on needs will minimize the adaptation time of individuals to city life and make significant contributions to the peace of cities.

Two important documents (Istanbul Declaration and Habitat Agenda) emerged as a result of the Habitat-II Conference, whose main outputs were cities being the engines of global growth, considering urbanization as an opportunity, local governments engaging in activities more strongly, and realizing the importance of participation (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, 2024).

The Istanbul Declaration consists of fifteen articles. In the first of these articles, it was stated that government representatives came together to make human settlements safer, healthier, and more livable with the aim of producing sufficient housing for every individual; and it was underlined that the goals and principles of the Istanbul Declaration are of great importance to the participating countries. It was promised that the participating states would show the necessary effort for the realization of the goals within the Habitat

Agenda (TOKİ, 1999). The main theme of the conference was recorded as adequate shelter for all and sustainable human settlements in an urbanizing world (TOKİ, 1999). When looking at the 15 articles of this declaration in general (TOKİ, 1999), it is observed that articles were created regarding;

- Improving the standards of human settlements,
- Living standards and areas of freedom being for all people,
- Giving importance especially to developing countries regarding increasing the quality of life in human settlements,
- While settlement opportunities are global, states and various localities must know how to produce solutions to problems in accordance with their own realities,
- The strength of the link between rural and urban development; meeting basic needs such as health, shelter, and education for women, children, and youth required for a sustainable life; expanding affordable housing supply from meeting adequate housing needs; and other similar issues.

It is seen that the Istanbul Declaration contains important articles. It should be emphasized that these articles are written down and known by government and civil society wings. Conference participants who signed the said article committed to the realization of these articles. These commitments should be evaluated as an advantage for both countries and citizens. Individuals who are integrated with urban culture in the new living environment and local administrators who will manage individuals paying attention to the articles expressed in this context can be tried as a way out for difficult processes. Because undoubtedly, the issues mentioned in these fifteen articles constitute one of the most important sub-titles of the new management understanding. It is known that the phenomenon of migration from rural to urban areas deeply affects not only people's lifestyles but also the management systems of countries.

The Habitat Agenda - Global Plan of Action, another document of the conference, was recorded within the framework of themes such as adequate shelter for all, sustainable human settlements in an increasingly urbanizing world, capacity building, and international cooperation and coordination (TOKİ, 1999).

Based on these main themes, participants listing the commitments discussed in the agenda in separate articles brought many issues to the agenda through this conference: It is seen that issues such as evaluating all humanity according to the principle of equality, human settlements being quite necessary

for the complete elimination of poverty, sustainable development being an indispensable element for human settlements, mutual understanding being at the forefront for increasing quality of life, the importance of the family unit being quite significant, and people needing to act respectfully towards the rights of others are listed within the document (TOKİ, 1999).

Following this listing, it is seen that various ways are proposed for problems based on the main themes. When all articles are examined, the following general opinions can be mentioned;

- Local administrators and non-governmental organizations must act together regarding the elimination of housing needs and the observance of human rights. Indeed, it is seen that 2,500 non-governmental organizations attended the meeting for this reason.
- In order for individuals not to be in a needy position in an urbanizing world, local administrators and non-governmental organizations must act together to increase the number of accessible individuals, and countries must act in cooperation in the international arena.
- Comments can be made that individuals should be supported in every field, including social, economic, and financial areas, on the path of sustainable urbanization by resolving housing needs, and this support should be done on the basis of cooperation.

The Habitat-II Conference, which was instrumental in introducing governance to the Turkish language, is important for understanding and defining governance and evaluating it on the axis of this historical background. Even when merely the names and contents of the articles and sections are examined, it is seen how governance based on participation emerged through mutual plans, collaborations, and projects instead of the single-handed management understanding dominant in modern times.

The term governance, which has increasingly made a name for itself and gained weight since the 1990s, has tried to underline focusing more on civil society/non-governmental organizations while defining the public sphere. Accordingly; non-governmental organizations will determine the goals in the social sphere and perform the act of realizing these goals. In addition, the state or public administration will use its traditional political authority to increase the freedom capacity required for social goals to be determined and realized by non-governmental organizations (Şaylan, 2000).

Governance is a complex and multidimensional concept that is the subject of multidisciplinary scientific research within different theoretical and methodological frameworks (Korkmaz, 2020). The diversity of definitions and various interpretations in different fields seem to support this argument.

For this reason, there are many types of governance in academic literature. Among the most common governance types in the literature are models such as statist governance, state-centric governance, the Dutch governance school model, good governance, and global governance (Korkmaz, 2020:80).

4. GOOD GOVERNANCE

The concept of good governance was introduced to our language as the equivalent of good governance (English) during the preparatory works of the Habitat-II Conference (Good Governance Handbook, 2008:3). Good governance, which means processes and structures that can guide socio-economic and political relations in a transparent, participatory, and responsible manner, has been defined by various international organizations as follows;

- ***According to the World Bank, Good Governance*:** Good governance is an integral part of sound economic policies. For economic development to occur due to the market and government being functional, it is essential that an efficient and accountable administration and a predictable, transparent policy are followed by the public sector. The World Bank's increasing interest in audit practices is an important part of our efforts regarding promoting fair and sustainable development (The World Bank, 1992).
- ***According to the OECD, Good Governance*:** Governance is the way in which governments, the private sector, and civil society interact to solve societal problems and implement public policies. Effective governance requires open and transparent processes, accountability, and broad participation in decision-making processes. (OECD, 2023).
- ***According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Good Governance*:** It is the exercise of administrative, political, and economic authority at all levels to manage a country's affairs. Good governance comprises mechanisms, processes, and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations, and mediate their differences (Tülüceoğlu, 2016).

The European Union touched upon the issue of good governance practices within the **White Paper** document published in 2001 (Firidin and Uzun, 2018). The European Union's general attitude towards governance can be examined through the work titled *European Governance: A White Paper* published by the European Commission in 2001. There are many suggestions regarding governance in this work (Akkahve, 2004). It is seen that these are gathered under four main headings;

- Participation and openness coming more to the agenda,
- More implementation of policies and regulations,
- Global governance (The Union symbolizing the concept of governance at the global level),
- Communication with institutions becoming the focal point again on the management surface.

Good governance is a concept that harbors a set of principles and fundamentals within itself to make governance better (Yıldırım Ö. K., 2018). Governance and good governance features express an ideal type, what ought to be (Ökmen et al., 2004). It is stated that the reason for adding the phrase good to governance is that the term governance has new principles and it is done to attract the attention of the world management conjuncture (Firidin and Uzun, 2018). Indeed, the World Bank mentioned governance as governing, state administration in the report titled *Governance and Development* published in 1992 (Korkmaz, 2020:81-82). The definition of good governance developed for the formulation of good state administration - good governing concepts, and the concept was largely integrated with development policy and specifically the development problem in underdeveloped countries (Korkmaz, 2020:82). The World Bank explained the governance assessment as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development (Korkmaz, 2020:82).

In its broad sense in the literature, the concept of good governance refers to removing the distance between the state and society (Küçükkahyaoğlu, 2019). Because in the governance formulation, it appears as preventing the distance that may occur between the state and society and ensuring a managerial mechanism that observes cooperation. When evaluated in this context, good governance has been put forward as one of the keys to participation, cooperation, development, and leading a quality life. Along with this, the state, whose reason for existence is to serve its citizens, using its administration in a citizen-focused manner, fulfilling international standards while administering the state, and reaching a social structure where institutions are trusted are seen as the main goal of good governance (Şahin M., 2018).

4.1. Good Governance Principles

It can be said that there are three basic universal principles of good governance, and these can be summarized in broad strokes as follows (Kızıltaş, 2005);

- ***Rule of Law***: In other words, the state being administered in accordance with predetermined rules, limitations, and principles.

- ***Participation***: Ensuring citizens' participation in management and administrators responding to citizens' demands.
- ***Justice/Equity***: The good functioning of justice, equality, and competition mechanisms.

It is stated that governance can be spoken of in countries where the three elements listed above exist and have the possibility of application. The existence of various mechanisms becomes necessary for the application and continuous functionality of these three basic elements. The two most important of these mechanisms are the existence of a functioning and developed democracy and an information society capable of using technology actively. Among the others, it is stated that management tools such as the formation of an accountability system, ensuring transparency in management, introducing a performance-based management system, well-defining responsibility and ensuring its good implementation, and pre-determining and implementing ethical rules are necessary (Kızıltaş, 2005). Because with the term good governance; lawful, transparent, compliant with law, accountable, effective, consistent, and predictable management models are targeted (Ateş and Buyruk, 2018:85).

The governance element, which has an important duty in terms of effectiveness and efficiency in the management process, carries many principles with it to create this functionality (Güven and Alan, 2018). Among the priority principles put forward by the World Bank and accepted as governance principles are listed principles such as participation, cooperation, accountability, transparency, responsibility, effectiveness and efficiency, rule of law, equality, and inclusiveness (Güven and Alan, 2018). Again, as stated above, the European Union touched upon the issue of good governance practices within the *White Paper* document published in 2001. According to the White Paper, good governance is based on five principles: Openness, participation, accountability, effectiveness, and (economic and social) coherence (Yıldırım, 2014). The Commission sees each principle as important and superior to one another in order to make a more democratic governance exist (Yıldırım, 2014). However, for these purposes to be included in life and for their practice to be carried out, two important principles, proportionality and subsidiarity, need to be put into practice and operated in harmony with the other five mentioned principles (Tataroğlu, 2019:32). It should be underlined that the concept of governance is evaluated as this important on the basis of principles. Because good governance means good management. Management being good and functional comes into existence in the presence of these principles. Because these principles constitute the pillars of the good governance concept. In summary, it should be underlined that good governance is handled as a new understanding that includes all principles necessary for the formation of a democratic administration, and the principles forming this understanding

can be listed as participation, transparency, accountability, effectiveness, consistency, fairness, and adherence to law (TESEV, 2008:3).

Good governance harbors a set of features and principles within its structure to make management more functional and inclusive. When examined as literature, eight main principles of the good governance concept that are connected to each other, complete each other, and affect each other are mentioned. These can be listed as: openness, responsiveness, accountability, participation, rule of law, consistency, effectiveness, integrity, and equality (Yılmaz, 2019:75). These principles should be examined for good governance to be evaluated better and more healthily. Let us examine the principles that are connected to each other and each have separate importance.

4.1.1. Openness/Transparency

Transparency is the administration being in a state of accountability due to decisions taken in the management process (Öner, 2011). Transparency is the access of citizens to timely, understandable, relevant, qualified, reliable information regarding decisions made by states on economic, political, and social issues, the financial situations of organizations active within the private sector, and the activities of international organizations (Kuzey, 2003). In a basic sense, it can be defined as the process of accessing clear and understandable information whose accuracy has been analyzed in all of the state's economic, social, and political decision-making and implementation stages (Küçükkahyaoğlu, 2019). Transparency takes place as the most significant criterion of citizens' right to access all documents and information regarding by whom, where, how, and at what time decisions are taken in all decision-making processes (Küçükkahyaoğlu, 2019:7). It is the application of all public officials in a way that decisions taken and decision-making processes are open and shareable with other stakeholders (TESEV, 2008:18-19).

When openness is in question in management, three characteristics are usually mentioned (T.R. Prime Ministry State Planning Organization, 2007): Transparency, accessibility, and responsiveness. It is essential for good governance that public decision-making bodies are open in their actions and that the relationship between citizens and persons in the position of decision-making authority is active. Because in the governance system, it is important to adopt a style where stakeholders are informed and mutual interactions exist, as opposed to the traditional public administration style.

Ensuring transparency within public administration will facilitate the flow of global capital movement by creating a general environment of trust at both national and international levels (Yazıcı, 2018). Currently, in states where public administration and political structures are transparent, both national

investors and global capital participants invest more easily, without problems and without a state of unease, and benefit the economic development of states (Yazıcı, 2018). Along with this, public administration being transparent serves as a tool for individuals to increase their trust in their countries (Yazıcı, 2018). As can be seen, the principle of transparency ensures that management mechanisms carry out their actions openly and secure public administration's sense of trust towards its citizens. Alongside this infrastructure evaluation, another dimension whose importance needs to be emphasized is that one of the tools to help the abstract and legal entity status of municipalities concretize in their activities and operations and to secure trust over their citizens passes through observing the principle of transparency. Observing and maintaining the principle of transparency stands out as a quite important concept in the eyes of municipalities, which is the subject of our article. Citizens knowing actions such as activity reports, capital sharing, distribution, and transfer carried out by municipalities (or administrative mechanisms) with different stakeholders is instrumental in raising the state of mutual trust with the administration to upper levels. This situation will help both citizens and local and regional institutions, associations, and organizations reinforce their feelings of trust in the administration and participate in management processes.

4.1.2. Participation

Participation is a principle related to the involvement of various actors in the decision-making process (Yıldırım Ö. K., 2018). Participation is citizens being at the center of local public activities and being included in the public living space through methods defined to be open (Civil Society Development Center, 2019). In the governance model, participation is the involvement of the ruled segment, assumed to be the parties most affected by the problems, as stakeholders in the decision-making process to solve the experienced problems (Işık and Çetenak, 2018). Because within the framework of the governance model, the aim is not for local governments to implement all works themselves, but to make other actors in society applicable within a partnership understanding; as a result of such active participation, the connection of the individual urbanite and the formal and informal organizations within the city structure to the city is ensured. Along with this, the sharing of urban resources around equity criteria becomes predictable, and sustainability can be guaranteed by making cities livable (Göymen, 2000; Demirkaya, 2018). This kind of widespread and active participation understanding provides legal legitimacy to the activities of local governments (Göymen, 2000). Increasing participation ensures more trust is felt towards final decisions and institutions presenting policies (White Paper, 2001:8).

When participation arguments within the good governance system are evaluated spreading from urbanites specifically to the general society, it is

possible to make similar comments. The participation principle is actually decision-making mechanisms evaluating citizens as stakeholders in decision-making processes. Decisions to be taken are thus adopted by the stakeholder citizens, increasing the rate of citizen participation in management.

Within the context of public administration, participation expresses the inclusion of non-state institutions, organizations, or citizens in the decision-making, planning, and implementation process of the management mechanism (Ateş and Buyruk, 2018:85). While other priorities exist in the restructuring process of public administration, the main goal is to bring the state closer to its citizens and obtain the legitimacy of applied policies, which finds possibility with the participation of individuals, non-governmental organizations, and the private sector (Çukurçayır and Sipahi, 2003). Utilizing the principle of participation comes to the agenda to ensure this participation. Essentially, it is possible for the participation principle to encompass many institutions, non-governmental organizations, private sector, and public institutions in the eyes of municipalities as well. At this point, citizens keeping their relations with the municipality at an advanced level and being able to show themselves effectively as a stakeholder of the management wheel is directly proportional to municipalities and the central administration recognizing this opportunity for citizens. Considering that the trust environment established increases in direct proportion to increasing participation, it is understood how important this proposition is. Since the actors and principles of good governance have separate importance within themselves; every actor strengthening their contact with stakeholders using good governance principles will rise to even higher levels with the observance of the participation principle.

4.1.3. Rule of Law

The concept of law expresses the entirety of rules regulating the connections between citizens and the state, where sanctions are appointed dependent on rules set by the state (Yıldırım, 2019). The rule of law is the principle enabling evaluations regarding to what extent legal rules are obeyed and at what level institutions related to law are reliable (Yıldırım, 2018). Essentially, good governance is evaluated as the understanding of the rule of law dominating social life. Along with this, it is stated that society becomes better managed with the growth of belief in the rule of law rather than the superiority of individuals (Boz, Yurdaer and Eraslan, 2019). Because all members of society are equal before the field of law, and all stakeholders are responsible before the legal field. This situation is a great convenience for management mechanisms.

The rule of law has three meanings: First; the rule of law being in the position of regulator of state power; second, the rule of law meaning equality

before laws; and third, the rule of law being in the position of determinant of judicial rules and management methods (Aktan and Çoban, 2022). This principle, which regulates the power of the administration, protects equality, and ensures the positive continuation of stability by providing a way and method with judicial rules, protects the state of citizens' thoughts towards their state being in a positive direction. Every decision and act based on law is binding for both citizens and decision-making mechanisms. This bindingness is a return of the good governance principle for states as much as it is an expression of the feeling of security between them and their citizens. This situation indicates to the citizen that the state mechanism observes a decision system that will be fair around laws in all conditions and necessities. An independent judicial order possessing laws created consistent with the needs of the time, active and beneficially working courts, and regulatory institutions interpreting and applying laws in a fair and transparent manner is the key to ensuring the rule of law (Uzel, 2006:49).

It is quite important for citizens and local and regional administrators, public or legal persons and institutions to act within the boundaries drawn by law. Because the superiority of the legal field is an important criterion determining the freedom areas of persons, institutions, and organizations, as well as functioning as a protector of the legitimate order in social and administrative terms. The body of rules that is mandatory to be obeyed by everyone regardless of hierarchy and position is essentially an essential criterion for chaos not to occur. Because the rule of law essentially expresses that public administration must behave in accordance with the law when performing its duties (Kuzey, 2004:63). The actual implementation of governance is possible with the legal field and legal dominance approaching the entirety of society and institutions equitably. Observing the legal field and maintaining its superiority means observing good governance. Because the ability to apply legal norms soundly and balanced means the ability to apply good governance in practice.

4.1.4. Accountability

Accountability has been used as public officials being liable for their acts (Uzel, 2006). Deficiencies found in accountability systems within the traditional public administration mentality reveal the necessity for the formation of new accountability mechanisms and the use of current systems more actively (Yalçın, 2010). Accountability aims to determine whether those given a specific authority, resource, or duty behave as requested of them (Biricikoğlu and Gülener, 2008). In the traditional sense; the term accountability – responsibility to give account is defined as the punishment of a mistaken assignment or a wrongly done issue (Kesim, 2005). Today,

however; accountability is characterized as mutual contact and relationship between the account-holder and the account-giver, rather than a one-way information sharing and explanation action (Eryılmaz and Biricikoğlu, 2011). Because within the scope of the New Management Understanding; emphasis is largely placed on efficiency and results. It evaluates work methods and processes emphasized by the traditional management understanding as obstacles standing in front of active and beneficial management (Eryılmaz and Biricikoğlu, 2011).

Accountability is the desire to show that government decisions and acts are compatible with clearly defined and agreed-upon goals, and practices are consistent with these goals (Barış, 2020:432). In situations where there is a mutual balance of influence alongside the state, civil society, and markets, the accountability principle strengthens further. Besides this, not only public institutions but also non-governmental organizations and private sectors must be positioned in a more accountable manner towards society and their institutional stakeholders (Uzel, 2006:45). This situation benefits every stakeholder continuing their acts by observing the consciousness of responsibility. The existence of an accountable structure is necessary for everyone, large, small, crowded, or minority. Through this principle, many crimes such as bribery and embezzlement are prevented, and a buffer duty is undertaken against interlocutors within the boundaries drawn by law. For local and regional administrators and municipal institutions, the accountability principle is of regulatory effect in terms of institutions prioritizing law and being responsible before the law. Administrators knowing they can face important sanctions legally and conscientiously must be aware that they need to behave quite sensitively in the face of the greatness of this principle. Because the act of giving account before the law covers an area that needs to be considered quite a lot from every angle. The existence of accountability is essential for acts and activities to be in the interest of the state and the nation. When evaluated on the axis of governance mentality; administrators in the management mechanism acting knowing that every action they apply throughout management must be accounted for is ensured through the accountability principle. It is mentioned that the accountability principle is an effective tool in terms of being able to show the status of whether principles such as transparency, equality, and rule of law are followed (Kuzey, 2004:68).

4.1.5. Responsiveness

The responsiveness principle means citizens are taken as interlocutors by persons at the government level or individuals in public administration and are informed on issues relevant to them. Duty holders who need to be sensitive towards interlocutor citizens – especially if they are politicians or bureaucrats

– must be ready to respond in accordance with the responsiveness principle, sensitive, and capable of grasping citizens' wishes and urgent situations (Acar, 2003). Because this principle draws attention to society being aware that they will be listened to and answered by those in government or public leadership (Eyduran, 2014:48). Administrators being able to respond more to citizens' requests in administration processes means the service quality of the administration going further (Şahin, 2018:99). This situation contributes to citizens' needs being known better and plays a role increasing citizens' desire to participate in management.

The responsiveness principle means politicians and individuals working in the public sector are always ready to answer to the citizen, eager, sensitive, and in a structure able to understand the citizen's wishes and ideas (İzci and Sarıtürk, 2017). According to the responsiveness principle, which is one of the basic components of good governance, public institution employees, private sector members, and civil society volunteers must act in a way that is both accountable and responsive within the circle of their own knowledge and obligation areas or activities where they are stakeholders. For municipalities, local and regional administrators, and responsible parties, it is important to be in a position to answer for their every step that is not within the legal line. Keeping this principle on the agenda will help administrators in the position of giving account to take their decisions more healthily and systematically. Responsiveness should therefore be evaluated as a necessary state that needs to be taken into account, especially in the eyes of society and municipalities, covering all successor and predecessor administrative mechanisms and protecting the citizen's rights. Because considering responsiveness in applied actions will ensure the survival of stability and order. For this reason, it can be stated that administrators abide by the governance understanding to the extent they can answer for the actions they apply. Indeed, liable parties who perform actions being held accountable and being able to answer regarding the results emerging as a consequence of their actions will contribute to increasing the quality in management.

4.1.6. Effectiveness (Efficiency)

It is stated that the effectiveness principle constitutes the main element of the governance mentality (Akyel and Köse, 2010). Effectiveness means decisions taken by the management are applied equally and simultaneously to all individuals, and there is a favorable relationship between the results expected to be obtained and both the resources to be used and the effects on segments that will be negatively affected (TESEV, 2008:19). Effectiveness means judgments being taken at the most correct stage, at the most correct time, and meeting needs (Boz, Yurdaer and Eraslan, 2019:506). Effectiveness

is the degree of reaching goals and targets as a result of activities carried out by an institution with the aim of reaching defined purposes and strategic ambitions (Demirkaya, 2023; Gündoğan, 2007). The effectiveness principle is the success shown to reach the result. It is stated that ensuring effective governance will be possible with citizens actively participating in the process of solving society's problems, the performance or output measurement process, and structural reforms to be made in the country (Çukurçayır and Sipahi, 2003:55). Again, in a technical sense, the term effectiveness is defined as the efficient use of public resources through competent public bureaucracy with the aim of fulfilling priority public demands and performing services (Palabıyık, 2004:67).

Since the concept of effectiveness will be realized with a participation idea based on stakeholder logic, it will cause all segments and individuals who will benefit the taking of decisions to be bound to them from both moral and legal angles; the application of this principle is realized by adapting to the decisions given (Ergün, 2006). Indeed, the embodiment of an effective governance understanding can be implemented with the participation of different groups of society in decision-making mechanisms (Ergün, 2006). Decision-making mechanisms observing actions such as effectiveness and efficiency will help citizens provide participation in the administrative process to solve certain societal problems. Because the term effectiveness simultaneously contains actions such as participation, activity, and movement. This means society participating in the management process and being a part of the solution in this process. It is valuable for society members to have such a mission and implement the requirement of such a mission from the smallest administration system to the largest formations. It is important for municipalities, every local and regional official institution and organization, civil society mechanisms, and the private sector to establish effective communication and contact mechanisms with citizens within this system and develop these systems with research and development studies, as it serves the interests of the state and society. It should not be forgotten that the management understanding tried to be followed in an effective line is one of the most important actions ensuring the execution of the governance mechanism.

4.1.7. Integrity and Equity (Fairness)

Integrity and equity are among the fundamental principles of good governance (Öztürk, 2002). Equity means giving equal opportunities to every citizen; attributing obligations and rights at the same level to all actors (Memduhoğlu and Yılmaz, 2021). Governance offering equal opportunities to all citizens, along with loading equal degrees of rights and responsibilities and bringing all individuals together around a common purpose, is a requirement

of the equity principle (Eyduran, 2014:48). The equity principle ensures individuals trust the state by the public sector not engaging in discriminatory practices against any part of society in judgments given and revealing the rules the citizen is bound to clearly and plainly, applying them equally to all citizens (TESEV, 2008:18).

The integrity and equity principle is the state of having equal rights for all segments and communities, from regional and local administrators to all governance actors. This means administrative mechanisms binding to rules and conditions with full adherence and paying attention never to breach laws. An honest administrative mechanism can treat everyone fairly by putting all members of society into a scale. The existence of a contrary situation may cause society to view decision-making mechanisms and ultimately the state or administrative mechanisms as systems difficult to trust. Conversely, citizens being treated equally and honestly by administrative authorities will be instrumental in the citizen being included in management and will ensure management quality rises to advanced levels and the concept of governance is applied in practice. For this reason, every unit from the smallest management system to municipalities, from municipalities to the government, from non-governmental organizations to the private sector must act considering this principle.

4.1.8. Consistency (Coherence)

The consistency principle means policies and actions are compatible with each other and do not conflict. Administrative actions and policies must be consistent and easily understood (White Paper, 2001:8). Ensuring a coherent approach within a complex system requires political ownership and all institutions possessing a strong sense of obligation (T.R. Prime Ministry State Planning Organization, 2007:15-16). Indeed, decisions taken being consistent with each other over time ensures that regulations to be carried out by the state are predictable and create an environment where public opinion can feel safe to bring about forward-looking development investments (TESEV, 2008:18). This situation is ensured thanks to actions and policies mutually having the features of being easily understandable and consistent (Yalçın, 2010:20).

Consistency is a principle that supports increasing the trust felt towards the state by reducing the nation's panic about the future, in addition to having a stable management grasp and helping reduce the nation's states of anxiety regarding the future (Cingi, 2021:26). Consistency, which is one of the elements forming the backbone of governance, can be sustained by leadership holders being in complete harmony in the actions they take, decisions they make, and statements they give, and not leaving a question mark in citizens' minds. Administrators wishing to continue management processes in a modern way

within the governance system, from local and regional administrators to non-governmental organizations and even the private sector, must dwell on this principle just as much as on other principles. Because individuals directing their current lives and continuing their occupations find the opportunity to become easier thanks to administrator individuals complying with unity of discourse and action. Especially states providing services in multiple and different fields is a tool for them to observe the consistency principle more in all their actions. Because the lack of unity in the actions and discourses of state administrators will shake the nation's trust in its state by losing the feeling of trust in society. Due to the definition of the governance concept, this situation should also be evaluated for private organizations and civil society formations. Because acts performed administratively or decisions given concern many political organs or managerial units in terms of their interlocutors and results. For this reason, governance requires the consistency of central or local government institutions and authorities and their working in an active manner (Sobacı, 2007).

5. ANALYSIS OF THE ISTANBUL METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY STRATEGIC PLAN FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF GOOD GOVERNANCE PRINCIPLES

The IMM 2020-2024 Strategic Plan is handled briefly with the presentation of the mission and vision and immediately following, under the title Core Values, with ten sub-titles and explanations of these sub-titles. The said section can be summarized on tables as follows (Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, 2019:87).

- ***Mission:*** *"To provide accessible services for an Istanbul that produces by protecting all values of the city with a new generation municipalism understanding, and lives 24 hours with its cultural and social life."*
- ***Vision****: "A fair, green, and creative city, happy Istanbulites."*

The section handled with the title Future Outlook states as a mission; adopting a city style that is livable uninterruptedly for 24 hours with producing, cultural, and social activities by protecting all values of the city in line with the new generation municipalism understanding. Along with this, a profile of a fair, green, and creative city and happy Istanbulites is expressed as the vision (Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, 2019:86). Planning the mission and vision by observing the future living and comfort area will contribute to the municipality both being ready for probable innovations in the future time and continuing its communication with the citizen positively. While the aim of protecting values in the city ensures displaying a fair approach to citizens; the aim of offering uninterrupted and accessible services to Istanbulite

fellow citizens will help ensure and protect the livable environment in the city. Ensuring this environment means the continuation of management transforming into a better state.

Following the evaluation of the Strategic Plan as mission and vision, the themes and explanations mentioned in the Core Values title are concepts with direct and immediate contact with governance. It is important that the municipality determines equality, accountability, transparency, and participation as theme names within the context of core values. Within the framework of municipal services; observations are made that characteristics are expressed such as: approaching all citizens equally and trying to respond to citizens' demands and needs, striving to be in a transparent attitude in issues regarding citizens by using resources effectively, adopting the obligation of accountability, ensuring services are carried out effectively within the circle of legal and social norms acceptable at the international level, trying to implement modern, solution-focused methods applied on an international scale, striving to leave a livable environment to future generations by preserving green areas, observing merit in all activities, including Istanbulite fellow citizens in decision-making processes, developing an urbanism understanding that can respond rapidly and effectively to changing trends in the global system and transforming social needs (Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, 2019:87). Containing these features allows the Future Outlook section to be interpreted as a section containing important features in terms of governance. Administrative mechanisms building core values upon human focus, justice, transparency, inclusiveness, environmental sensitivity, merit, participation, and similar, and acting in line with the requirements of this, always act more sensitively while realizing their actions and ensure the administrative process is adopted by all elements of society.

The main themes of the Plan are determined as Accessible Istanbul, Environmentally Sensitive, Producing Istanbul, Sharing Istanbul, Living Istanbul, Unique Heritage, Financial Sustainability, and Participatory and Innovative Management (Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, 2019: 90). Thematic areas were created on a table for each theme. The themes and thematic areas can be seen in table form as follows (Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, 2019:90).

5.1. IMM Strategic Plan Themes and Thematic Areas

Determining thematic areas and naming themes is important for maintaining current and future municipal services in a better way. Especially for sustaining management in a better form, keeping the scope of thematic areas wide with important headings by determining themes is a tool to benefit both the citizen's interest and administrative mechanisms serving

their fellow citizens more effectively and efficiently. It is observed that the term governance has direct or indirect connections with the subject theme headings. Specifically, the term good governance falling into the area of the last theme Participatory and Innovative Management is significant. Because including good governance in the thematic area scope brings good governance to the position of one of the pillars of strategic development. This undoubtedly means good governance is taken into consideration on the axis of the said plan. It is clearly seen that other thematic areas are related to many areas from participation to responsiveness, from effectiveness to equality. Themes determined in this section of the plan are essentially important in terms of seeing towards which goals and purposes actions are organized.

- ***Accessible Istanbul***: Urban Planning, Transportation, Modern Infrastructure, Urban Informatics, Emergency Health, Disaster and Emergency, Urban Transformation.
- ***Environmentally Sensitive***: Green Area, Sea, Air, Water Management, Energy and Energy Efficiency, Waste Management.
- ***Producing Istanbul***: Employment, Tourism, Urban Agriculture, Entrepreneurship, Investment Office, Vocational Training.
- ***Sharing Istanbul***: Social Inclusive Services, Social Support Services, Social Aid.
- ***Living Istanbul***: Health, Vector Control, Culture and Art, Sports, Events, International Organizations, Sports Facilities, Animal Rights and Life, Veterinary Services, Inspections, Permits and Licenses, Consumer Rights.
- ***Unique Heritage***: Tangible/Intangible Historical Assets.
- ***Financial Sustainability***: IMM Budget, Savings, New Business Models, Alternative Financing Sources, Effective Management of Assets.
- ***Participatory and Innovative Management***: Good Governance, Occupational Health, Organizational Development, Affiliate Management, Operational Excellence, Stakeholder Focus.

The second heading within the context of the section constitutes Goals and Objectives (Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, 2019:90). This heading is also presented in tables like the upper heading. These tables are created on the axis of code, goal, code, and objective columns.[1] Handling tables by coding with goal and objective columns is for the purpose of developing strategy and obtaining and visualizing various forms of data more easily. Indeed, the created table codes and objectives are used in other parts of the section. For

1 Tables within the section are handled by providing information and explanations about the tables. To access the tables, one can refer to the said section (IMM, 2019:91-93).

example; the 3rd objective (coded H3) of the A1 coded Creating a Resilient City by Developing Qualified and Functional Living Spaces goal of the Accessible Istanbul titled table is determined as Realizing Urban Transformation Services with Disaster Priority and Transparent and Participatory Methods. Openness and participation are clearly emphasized in the determined objective. In tables created as a result of preparing objectives and codes in order in this way; it is seen that features such as effectiveness, accountability and responsiveness, equality, consistency, inclusiveness, accessibility, continuity in digitalization integration, and sustainability are observed. From this angle, it can be said that the goals and objectives of the tables are tools for the better application of governance.

Following the tables created centered on human-focused themes, a new table was created on the axis of the connection of the goal and objective codes determined in the upper heading with the spending units in the municipality. This table was created with the name Relationship of Goal, Objective and Spending Units; and duty sharing regarding Responsible Unit, Unit to Cooperate With between objectives and spending units is presented directly to the reader (Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, 2019:94-95). Creating objectives by establishing contact with spending units within the institution is important. Because the establishment of duty sharing and cooperation between the target and spending units determined to develop strategy will set a barrier to any conflict and confusion situations that may occur in the future time. This state of being a barrier will be instrumental in services not being interrupted and administrative mechanisms not experiencing unrest in the processes of fulfilling their duties. The effort to constantly maintain stability by guaranteeing continuity in governance is possible with serious planning of steps and processes in strategy development. As for the integration of created tables into life; it will be possible by always keeping developed strategies in view and relevant units being ownership-oriented and finishers in every work and action falling into their fields.

After the table created with the name Relationship of Goal, Objective and Spending Units, the title Sustainable Development Tools is handled (Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, 2019:96). In this context, it is stated that United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (IMM, 2019:96). and international sustainability standards are closely followed by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, and works towards compliance and improvement are tried to be put into practice. Along with this, it is mentioned that effort is made for the constitution of a common value by considering stakeholder expectations (Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, 2019:96). In this context, analysis of international city indices, analysis of global risks and opportunities cities may encounter in the near future, and meetings and workshops held with

internal and external stakeholders were executed. In line with the vision of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Mayor, a matrix associating the 2020 – 2024 Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Strategic Plan with the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals was created to be a roadmap for Istanbul's sustainable development (Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, 2019:96). It is mentioned that global trends and reflections in terms of urbanism were analyzed to ensure a better understanding of international conditions and trends outside the institution and to take action by foreseeing determinations regarding threats and opportunities the municipality may encounter. Again, it is voiced that stakeholder ideas were tried to be taken, and stakeholder analysis was carried out on a wide scale with many events to ensure participation at the most advanced level. Themes and goals were created in a way to allow generating value to the maximum extent from among economic, environmental, social, and governance terms encountered by the municipality and its stakeholders (Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, 2019:96). It is separately stated that Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality adopts a sustainable, holistic, and long-term management model and the perspective that "The 2020 – 2024 Strategic Plan has been a plan covering the United Nations Development Goals by reflecting a participatory innovative management approach targeting financial sustainability, prioritizing the protection of the city's heritage, creating fair living conditions, sharing, producing, environmentally sensitive, accessible in the main service areas our municipality serves." (Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, 2019:96). Following this declaration, on a table named Relationship of Goals and United Nations Development Goals; it is shown which United Nations Development Goals the goals determined within the scope of the plan are connected with (IMM, 2019:97).

The third main heading of the Strategy Development Section constitutes Goal Cards. Goal Cards are measured by 224 indicators where 9 Goals, 48 Objectives, and 145 Activity groups take place (Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, 2019:98). In a broader expression; under the goal and objective umbrella determined within the Plan; Objective Risk, Activity and Projects, and Cost Estimation outputs are presented as data. Again, determinations and needs mentioned and handled as output within the Plan are analyzed on these tables. Goal cards are formed from outputs mentioned and handled within the plan and designed in a way to show which responsible unit needs to cooperate with which unit. In the design stage, key performance indicators were observed and units of measure were appointed. Also, objective risks are shown on the created table and presented to public information.

It would be appropriate to evaluate the 48 objectives on a table to reveal which good governance principle they are connected with, in accordance with the rankings of the Goal Cards in the Strategic Plan. With this perspective, the said objectives can be examined as follows;

Table 1. *IMM Strategic Plan Goal Cards and Governance Relationship*

GOAL CARDS	Openness / Transparency	Participation	Rule of Law	Accountability	Responsiveness	Effectiveness	Integrity and Equity	Consistency (Compliance)
1. Goal Card	X					X		
2. Goal Card	X	X				X		
3. Goal Card	X	X				X		
4. Goal Card						X		
5. Goal Card 1H5						X		
6. Goal Card						X		
7. Goal Card 1H7						X		
8. Goal Card 2H1								
9. Goal Card 2H2								
10. Goal Card								
11. Goal Card 2H4						X		
12. Goal Card						X		
13. Goal Card						X		
14. Goal Card 3H1						X		
15. Goal Card						X		
16. Goal Card 3H3						X		
17. Goal Card 3H4						X		
18. Goal Card 4H1						X		
19. Goal Card 4H2		X				X		
20. Goal Card		X				X	X	
21. Goal Card 4H4						X		
22. Goal Card 5H1		X				X	X	
23. Goal Card		X				X	X	
24. Goal Card		X				X	X	
25. Goal Card 6H1						X	X	
26. Goal Card		X				X	X	
27. Goal Card 6H3		X				X	X	
28. Goal Card		X				X	X	
29. Goal Card 6H5		X				X	X	
30. Goal Card						X	X	
31. Goal Card 6H7		X				X	X	
32. Goal Card 7H1		X		X	X	X		
33. Goal Card 7H2						X		
34. Goal Card 7H3	X					X		
35. Goal Card	X					X		
36. Goal Card 8H1						X		
37. Goal Card	X			X	X	X		
38. Goal Card	X	X				X	X	X

39. Goal Card						X		
40. Goal Card 9H1		X				X		X
41. Goal Card		X				X		X
42. Goal Card 9H3		X				X	X	
43. Goal Card		X				X	X	
44. Goal Card 9H5		X				X	X	
45. Goal Card		X				X	X	X
46. Goal Card 9H7	X	X	X		X	X	X	
47. Goal Card		X	X			X		
48. Goal Card		X		X	X	X		
Note: The table was created by the authors.								

In this table created by scrutinizing the data in the goal cards, the principles of goal cards related to good governance have been tried to be determined. Because considering that the goals and purposes appointed as a result of researches and organizations made while creating the Strategic Plan are naturally understood by all citizens reading the Strategic Plan; it is natural to be able to evaluate and reveal the connection of the mentioned goals and objectives with good governance in this way, even if based on form and naming. From this angle, primarily the contact at the point of goal and objective was considered. Afterwards; the connection of activities and projects with good governance was tried to be detected. The detection of this connection was done based on naming in goals and objectives, words containing good governance principles used in these namings, and themes directly contained in namings.[2] As a result of the analysis made, it was observed that good governance principles were observed; especially the effectiveness and participation principles, which can be seen as a reflection of good governance, took place at quite high levels. This situation shows that action is taken with the aim of being able to keep the effectiveness area in municipal activities at an advanced level.[3]

6. CONCLUSION

Today, the opportunities brought by modern times and technological developments have caused new paradigms to emerge much faster in every field through a state of change and transformation. With the development of technology, developments in many fields such as social, political, cultural, and economic are at a visible dimension. In times when globalization continues so rapidly, the spread of these and similar developments and changes to different countries should be met quite naturally. One of these states of change,

2 The point intended here is; establishing a connection based on namings and themes. Considering it is natural for objectives created to realize specific goals to be understood by all citizens reading the Strategic Plan; it is natural for the connection of the mentioned goals and objectives with good governance to be evaluated and revealed in this way.

3 Along with this, which goal card other principles are connected with is presented to the reader's information via the mentioned table.

transformation, and development showed itself in the concept of management. It has been seen that the relationship between public administrations and citizens transformed into a different state from the traditional model, revealing a new concept, and this concept is governance. Governance, where mutual communication and interaction are important instead of the old management understanding, appears as a developing concept at this stage. Governance, first used in a report issued by the World Bank in 1989 regarding Africa's development problem, was gained to our Turkish language with the Habitat-II Conference.

Good governance is a concept ensuring the continuation of management with the participation of more than one actor in the management process. Good governance is a concept accepted as a tool for administrative mechanisms to realize management in a more functional and effective way. For management to be more effective and functional, good governance harbors certain principles within its structure. These principles constitute the backbone of the study. Because the application of good governance comes into existence with the observance of these principles. Within the scope of the article, eight principles were examined: openness, responsiveness, accountability, participation, rule of law, consistency, effectiveness, and equality. Institutions and organizations applying these eight principles sustain the management system on a governance axis. In this step, it should be stated that especially public administrations and municipalities observing the mentioned principles in actions they realize towards their citizens can make management more effective and efficient. Along with this, it was observed that good governance principles are actually handled as good governance practices and these principles can be evaluated by municipalities. It will show that institution administrators are trying to apply governance principles if they strive to observe issues such as: administrative mechanisms constantly taking an effective position within the process while performing their activities and acting by clearly conveying their actions to those concerned, trying to apply their actions observing national and international legal norms and thereby raising their accountability and responsiveness rates to advanced levels, realizing their activities consistent with predetermined plans and programs, providing practices that will increase the participation of internal and external stakeholders in the management system, and approaching interlocutors equally. It has been determined that administrative mechanisms acting in this manner will gain citizens' satisfaction when they implement their actions and can take the trust felt in management to further levels. Municipalities determining their areas of movement by observing these principles will raise the efficiency rate in activities to be done towards the citizen. Because the citizen having a say as a stakeholder in management will pave the way for offering contributions in various ways by ensuring the citizen's participation in the management system.

Following the examination of good governance principles, the final part of the article constituted the 2020–2024 Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Strategic Plan. After the good governance definitions handled within the article, the strategic plan of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality was examined to be able to observe how the concept of good governance is applied in the field. It was stated that the examination of this plan was done both to be an example of the view of municipalities within the country towards governance and to see how the concept of governance is applied in the field. The Strategic Plan was examined with the aim of revealing the relation of concepts within the published document with governance. The 2020–2024 IMM Strategic Plan appears as a document tried to be prepared in accordance with the new management understanding. Specifically, mission, vision, and headings confirm this argument. It is observed that principles of participatory, transparent, accountable and responsive, observing the rule of law, and equality understanding are observed within the plan. Issues such as with what perspective the Plan was prepared, the effort to create the plan under the guidance of accessed data by trying to reach Istanbulite fellow citizens, sharing where and in what amount resources are saved with financial tables, and how key performance indicators and objectives were constituted being clearly stated within the plan support this argument. In light of the information shared in the document, it shows that the IMM Strategic Plan was prepared and tried to be put into application in accordance with good governance principles by observing features such as participatory, effective, transparent in management. This situation is important. Because the strategic plan of Istanbul, the largest metropolis of Turkey and one of the world's largest metropolises, being a plan prepared observing good governance principles is a positive contribution in terms of management being sustained more efficiently by other municipalities also being able to benefit from good governance principles while preparing and applying their plans. Within the scope of all this background, it is observed that the concept of good governance has gained an important place in the eyes of municipalities in Turkey. Specifically, correctly observing good governance principles in the administration style of administrative mechanisms such as public institutions, non-governmental organizations, and municipalities will ensure the management mechanism functions more effectively, efficiently, and continuously, strengthening the contact with the citizen (Demirkaya, 2019).

In management systems where the good governance model is kept in view, communication with society can be applied more effectively and efficiently. Governance sustaining its system by observing mutual interaction and participation shows this situation. Works to implement the principles and features of the good governance concept will transform management into an even better state. Good governance principles are the application tools of good governance. Specifically, openness, rule of law, accountability and

responsiveness, participation, effectiveness, equality, and consistency principles should be mentioned as principles necessary to be observed for the application of the good governance concept in administrative systems. The application of these principles is an action that will develop the public's feeling of trust in municipalities and local government. Citizens being able to filter the actions and activities of both local and central administrations through these eight principles means an increase in the rate of satisfaction from management. An increase in satisfaction from management means public opinion carrying the trust felt towards management mechanisms to further levels. Because being able to implement a management process that approaches all its citizens equally, accepts the rule of law, can inform stakeholders transparently in realized actions, ensures actions can be at an accountable and responsive level, tries to include relevant persons in the management process by making them stakeholders in the management scheme, strives to establish an effective and beneficial management mechanism, and can act consistently in work and activities will affect the citizen's attitude towards management positively and increase management quality. Again, the implementation of good governance will be instrumental in the inclusion of new stakeholders in the management system, effectively lightening the state's load in the management process and contributing positively to the speed of completing work of bureaucracy at local and general levels. Allowing stakeholders participating in the management scheme to do the duties and collaborations falling upon them will make it possible for the entire management system to continue its administration seriously and consistently. Together with this background, new paradigms should be brought to the management wheel by evaluating modern opportunities well, and specifically technological steps such as digitalization steps should be followed carefully. Social media applications, digital platforms, and internet components that technology integrates into our lives must be used as required for the continuity of management to proceed more healthily. Particularly, the good usage and monitoring of social media channels by public institutions and organizations, the private sector, and non-governmental organizations will prevent both the spread of disinformation information, which is one of the greatest dangers of our age, and the unstable and fear climate that may occur on the basis of governance. In times where digital transformation happens rapidly, countries following this transformation will present a healthier and more stable environment to their citizens in terms of management. This state of following will be a tool for the better application of the governance model. In summary; the use of good governance principles and features by management mechanisms in a way suitable with the social, political, and technological opportunities of the age we live in will ensure management is sustained in a more quality, satisfying, and stable manner.

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Chapter 5

TO BE OR NOT TO BE...EXCEPTIONAL: AN ANALYSIS ON DONALD TRUMP'S MIDDLE EAST POLICIES

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1. Introduction

The construction of an identity is a tale old as time. The need to define the "self" and the "other" through the dichotomisation of the world can be traced back to the development of first human communities. This attempt later took on a macro form as communities evolved from small groups to large political entities. Such process necessitated the generation of the systematic establishment of all-encompassing identities. However, it is crucial to note that this advancement was the outcome of a construction, and the most comprehensive way to understand this process would be to reference a particular theory: social constructivism. The theory of constructivism differs from the mainstream theories as it opens a new horizon in understanding state behaviour, international relations, and foreign policy. It is the theory of ideas and claims that the physical world is shaped by normative interpretations in which individuals attach meaning to certain concepts and events (Adler, 1997, p. 322). Therefore, the world becomes "our making" and how one comes to perceive it is left to the power of one's perception.

To construct something insinuates the act of producing an object "that otherwise would not exist" (Dunne et al., 2013, p. 188). Once formed, these objects will endorse a specific meaning and utility within a certain context, and they will be imbued with ideas, beliefs, and norms. It becomes possible to view the world as a state of becoming, something that is always under construction, rather than simply being (Viotti & Kauppi, 2012, p. 279). This construction process is a social one; thus, it requires a collective consciousness behind the act itself. Hence, it cannot be done by the individual alone but stands in need of the engagement of others (Steans et al., 2010, p. 183). For a phenomenon to come into being it must undergo a triangulation of procedure that would ultimately result in its social construction: collectively shared belief, the rhetoric to support such belief, and actions that displayed it. With respect to this, the collection of ideas, interpretations, perceptions come to form social facts that are the outcome of human agreement/belief. History can also be viewed as an intersubjective evolving process in which the people "make their own history".

Furthermore, human communities can also be regarded as the main perpetuators behind the formation of states as these political entities are historical constructs. Therefore, it becomes natural to view states as artificial creations in which people come to make it and can develop or modify it in different ways (Jackson & Sorensen, 2013, p. 211). States embody specific identities and if states are social constructs, then it would not be erroneous to claim that identities too become socially constructed through collectively shared beliefs about the world. Identities, particularly national identities, prove to be the most appropriate case for constructivist theory due to the fact that they are constructed through the help of historical events, socially shared

ideas, and language. For instance, language is truly pivotal. This is because speaking is in fact doing; thus, identities are constructed out of "practical linguistic rules" (Kowert, 2015, p. 104). Therefore, language is constructed to promote national identity. All of these are used in a way to construct a "self", a "national identity" that is unique or exceptional when compared with "others". This understanding, inevitably, opened the way of adopting an "exceptional" identity. Exceptionalism is the general belief that a state, society or individual is "exceptional". The term indicates that the entity that is mentioned is superior (politically, economically, historically, etc.) to its competitors.

With regards to what has been put forward thus far, the aim of this research is to shed light on the idea of exceptionalism, particularly American exceptionalism, and its impact on the making of US Middle East foreign policy. It will try to answer the question of to what extent and in what form does the idea of American exceptionalism provide a basis for president Donald Trump's Middle East policy. The study has utilised the application of an International Relations theory: social constructivism. Therefore, the ontological position of it has leaned towards the adoption of a constructivist approach. It is a single case study in which the objective is to conduct an in-depth one-case analysis. The collection of data is based on a literature review and takes Trump's discourses and policy actions as a point of reference. Its scope is limited to the period of Trump's presidency (2017-2021) and the Middle East foreign policy formulated by the Trump Administration. The policy towards Israel has not been included in the scope due to the role of the Lobby which would require an analysis on its own.

There have been many claims regarding the myth of American exceptionalism and the end of it during the Presidency of Donald Trump (e.g. Oglesby, 2020; Restad, 2020; Smith 2016; Wertheim, 2018); however, this article will aim to contradict these arguments. While such arguments mainly revolve around the innenpolitik level, there have been studies with similar claims concerning US foreign policy. Therefore, in line with the research question and objective, the article is organised as follows. The first section will expand upon the conceptualisation of the notion of American exceptionalism by explaining its constituents. It will endeavour to expose the factors that had contributed to the formation of such notion by giving reference to its intellectual heritage and specific historical events. The second part will try to unearth the correlation between the Trump Administration's Middle East policy and the impact of American exceptionalism. Findings obtained from this section will show whether this phenomenon serves as a premise for the making of US Middle East foreign policy.

2. The creation of a Myth: Understanding the concept of "American Exceptionalism"

Exceptionalism, occasionally, can be used as a tool to justify the acts and policies that are carried out by states (Brummet, 2007, p. 302). To exemplify, American exceptionalism focuses on "uniqueness", "being above" and an "exception" to certain laws and treaties. The government often views itself as supercilious enough to not to be a part of treaties and immune to International Law. With respect to this, it can be said that exceptionalism may create the belief that states can be a "special case outside the norms" (Tyrrell, 1991, p. 1031). The United States of America (USA) has come to be regarded as one of the many states that has successfully constructed and then adopted a certain sense of exceptionalism which provided a basis for its national identity.

The USA tends to perceive itself unique and exceptional just like every other nation. This belief in the notion of "American exceptionalism" refers to the idiosyncratic character of the superiority of the US and its chosen stature by God for a holy mission (Ereli, 2018). The creed regarding the premise in which the country has reached the pinnacle of the evolution of western modernity and human progress is quite prevalent in the concept itself (Saito, 2009, s. 43). Representing a free nation based on democratic values, and personal rights and liberties has been equated with its position as the highest stage of civilisation. Its unwavering acceptance of being the epitome of a unique and, in the words of John Winthrop, shining "city upon a hill" forms a significant part of the concept (Ceaser, 2012). Such notion can be simply put as the idea that Americans have a divine and special history, destiny, and mission (Madsen, 1998). Of course, all these ideas can be traced back to certain events and thus be categorised under three classifications as the notion derives its foundation from these taxonomies: religious, philosophical, and political.

2.1. Religious foundation

From its national anthem to presidents swearing on the Bible, religion has come to be regarded as a crucial aspect of both American history and the notion of American exceptionalism. The belief in superiority, being chosen by God himself, and burdened with a divine mission can be attributed to the religious ideas that were prevalent in the early colonial history of the country (Ereli, 2018). The influx of migrants has often been seen as the reason behind the prevalence of religious ideas in which these migrants were usually those who were migrating from Europe in fear of religious and political persecution. There was not only diversity in religious thought but also a heterogeneity in the political beliefs that came with these thoughts. Thus, the North American continent was brimming with a variety of ideas and belief systems which made it, many believed, a fertile ground for "the freedom of religion" (Seiple, 2012). There is no doubt that this wide spectrum of beliefs contributed much to the

composition of the US; however, it would not be wrong to deem that none had the impact of the Puritans.

Puritanism was a sect under Protestantism and had been born in England in the 16th century with the aim to purify the Church of England (Kessler, 1992). The believers of this sect had become discontented with the religious repression in England and hence started the journey to the New World for religious freedom. During these "pilgrimages" John Winthrop gave a sermon that blatantly expressed the belief that the Puritans were directly chosen by God himself to pursue their divine mission in the promised land that they were heading to (Ereli, 2018). The idea that the Puritans would be the ones to build a shining city upon the hill in these new lands denoted the emphasis on their superiority and divine mission. Furthermore, Tocqueville believed that the Puritans were essentially the founders of the US because their actions, beliefs, and practices contributed to the genesis of US "nationalism" (Kessler, 1992). Their "exceptionalist" claim would not only influence the national character of America but would also imbue that character with an exceptionalist vision during the making of policies.

2.2. Philosophical foundation

The Enlightenment has had a significant impact in the trajectory of the development of ideas and schools of thought. While there have been many interpretations of the Enlightenment; such as, the French Enlightenment, German Enlightenment, Scottish Enlightenment, and English Enlightenment, it would be best to expand upon the notion of American Enlightenment for it not only has traces of other enlightenments but also has come to form the basis of American exceptionalism's intellectual foundation. The reason why such a separate categorisation for American Enlightenment exists is due to its prevailing differences from the others; for instance, the lack of a feudal system and inquisitions. America was considered as a utopia in itself; thus, its birth was a direct product of the intellectuals themselves (Köktaş, 2014, p. 113). According to Commager (1977), the Enlightenment had been imagined and formulated by the Old World, but it had been actualised by the New World.

Moreover, Calvinism, the Scientific Revolution, and the ideas of John Locke have had an impact on American Enlightenment and hence contributed to the philosophical foundation of American exceptionalism (Goetzmann, 2009). Calvinism provided the ground for capitalist mode of production to bloom and blossom whereas the Scientific Revolution provided the appropriate tools for rationalisation and humanism. John Locke's ideas concerning man's inalienable rights, his nature, and the type of government needed for him to flourish provided the basis for the American political system. With regards to this, it would not be wrong to claim that the US was practically the political

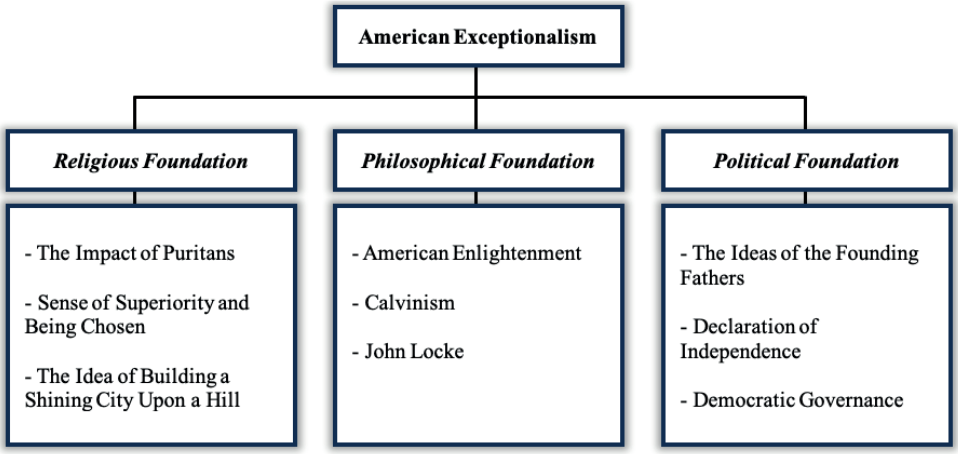
and ideational manifestation or the embodiment of the practices of the Enlightenment. This philosophical aspect paved the way for the emergence of an idiosyncratic political structure in which the US would position itself as a "model" or the "pinnacle of modernity".

2.3. Political foundation

This foundation has much in common with the previous one; however, it will be explained as a distinct dimension with a special emphasis on the US political culture. In order to understand this culture, it would be appropriate to look at the Founding Fathers and the making of the Declaration of Independence. The ideas that emanated from the Fathers and the founding documents would come to maintain the notion of a new nation that would be the envy of all other nations. This was seen as an opportunity to rid the new emerging nation of the corruption prevalent in Europe by restoring a good government, safeguarding private property, ensuring equality before law, and protecting man's rights and liberties (Madsen, 1998). In addition, the establishment of separation of powers, the adoption of a limited government based on constitutionalism, and the maintenance of self-government were thus to be embedded in the national identity and political culture of the US (Ereli, 2018). America, unburdened by the complications in Europe, would gain the opportunity to become the epitome of a democratic society.

This political culture paved the way for the belief that the USA represented the greater good, was the salvation of mankind and "to be American was to be exceptional". Thus, it was destined to be a model to other nations and the guardian of democracy and freedom. In time, America would come to promote the idea of human improvement through free trade, human rights, and decolonisation. It would assume the role of a civilising hand towards other states which would be come to known as "progressive imperialism" (Sümer, 2008). The institutions and values of the US would be protected and projected in which this projection would be reflected during the making of its foreign policies (Hoffmann, 2005, p. 225). Furthermore, such ideas had consolidated themselves to the extent that in the 20th century numerous presidents had praised the political and economic strength of the US and proclaimed that it had become a beacon of hope for other nations and hence had to bring the hope of democracy, freedom, and free markets to the world (Saito, 2009, p. 44).

Figure 1: the sum of American exceptionalism



With respect to this, the material aspect that was needed for constructing an identity (the founding documents) was achieved, and three things that were needed to be fulfilled – collectively shared belief, rhetoric to support it, and actions that displayed it – had been achieved through the harmonisation and amalgamation of the tripartite foundational bases. In sum, all three foundations contributed to the construction of the notion of American exceptionalism (figure 1). After this construction process the notion began to reflect itself in both the *innenpolitik* of the state and in the making of foreign policy. Of course, there have been differences amongst US presidents concerning the path that America ought to take in order to enact this exceptionalist character (Edwards, 2018, p. 178). Such differences have manifested themselves into two distinct methodologies: isolationism and interventionism. Whereas the former refers to the US "standing apart from the world and serving merely as a model of social and political possibility" (McCartney, 2004), the latter indicates active engagement and leadership.

While many believe this belief to sustain itself throughout the course of American history, there have been questions regarding whether president Donald Trump had severed a crucial vine for the sustainability of exceptionalism. There is a considerable amount of literature with the claim that Trump had brought the end of American exceptionalism; however, this study advocates that the stance of the president was simply another form of the notion rather than a rejection of it. The reason why there have been many views concerning his approach can be attributed to the fact that it has been nearly impossible to situate him in either methodological position (as mentioned above); thus, I claim that he is both. The following section will endeavour to analyse Trump's Middle East policies and put forward the extent of the construction of an American exceptionalist policy framework.

3. A brief look into Trump's foreign policy stance

Before diving into Trump's stance on the Middle East, it would be best to briefly explain his general foreign policy outlook. President Trump was a candidate from the Republican Party, and it is crucial to note that the Republicans have seen themselves as the sole champion of American exceptionalism and even have gone far enough to accuse the Democrats as non-believers of this notion (Gilmore et al., 2020, p. 541). During the campaign of 2016 presidential elections, the official party platform's statement was "we believe in American exceptionalism" (RNC, 2016). Though Trump had not expressed this belief in similar wording, he used the slogan "Make America Great Again" (McMillan, 2017). Perhaps, the reason why many claim that Trump rejected the exceptionalist discourse may be attributed to his rhetoric in which he stated that America had lost its exceptional character (Trump, 2015) and thus he needed to put America first. Hence, the foreign policy of Trump mainly revolved around the condemnation of both US globalism and nation-building efforts (Edwards, 2018).

Putting America first was a pivotal factor in the making of foreign policies in which such a mind-set led Trump to step away from multilateralism in the global scene and implement tariffs (Garrett, 2018). According to Frantzman (2019), the main objective was to reduce the external footprint of America and demand that other countries deal with their own wars and burdens. Because Trump perceived US foreign policy as a mess and such mess emanated from its globalist ideology. Thus, he put forward statements such as how the US would "get out of the nation-building business and instead focus on creating stability in the world" or would focus on "reinvigorating western values and institutions instead of trying to spread universal values that not everybody shares or wants" (Trump, 2016; Edwards, 2018, p. 182). In addition, his desire to withdraw from the global scene can be seen from his claims concerning the military and their retrenchment, "…rebuild our badly depleted military… greatest people on Earth in our military but its badly depleted…" (Trump, 2016a).

By withdrawing from the international scene, Trump aimed to make America gain its exceptional character once again. His lack of enthusiasm for meddling in other nations' affairs and for getting involved in other countries' nation-building process, and his scepticism and distrust towards international organisations, international agreements and trade agreements all signified the turn to the prioritisation of the US. Trump's endeavour to "make America great again" entailed the pursuit of strengthening the institutions of the US, increasing economic prosperity for the working and middle classes, and improving and safeguarding the rights and liberties of the American people. Thus, Trump had a distaste for getting involved in the affairs of others as he

believed such interference could harm the democratic soul of the US. According to Edwards (2018, p. 182), "Trump would return 'stability' to the United States to champion its own interests, control its own fate, and return it to being a beacon for others to emulate". With regards to these, it can be observed that Trump reflected the isolationist stance of American exceptionalism.

4. Consistencies and Contradictions Under the Banner of "America First"

When Donald Trump came to office there were many questions regarding his foreign policy stance towards the Middle East. This may be attributed to the fact that during his campaign he had not articulated a set of coherent policies on how he would deal with the issues prevalent in the region. Nonetheless, the speeches he had conducted before his election and during his presidency coupled with his policy actions have displayed his foreign policy stance. Trump's distain for international commitments and his desire to avoid direct involvement were the bases of his isolationist foreign policy outlook. In line with this perspective, he had formulated policies that focused on the situations in Iraq, Syria, and Afghanistan, and the alliance between the Gulf and the US. While some of these policies had been consistent with his isolationist position under the banner of American exceptionalism, there had also been instances in which he had contradicted his own foreign policy framework and thus displayed the characteristics of an interventionist understanding of American exceptionalism.

4.1. Consistent with isolationism

Trump's criticisms concerning the globalist ideology that the US was trapped in reflects itself well in his approach to the allies of the US in the Middle East. He had encouraged allies to take more of burden on regional security. His claim on how countries must pay for their own burdens resonates with his certain statements, such as, "…we are not being reimbursed for our protection of many of the countries that you'll be talking about, that, including Saudi Arabia…we protect countries, and take tremendous monetary hits on protecting countries…we lose, everywhere…" (Trump, 2016; Özdamar et al., 2023, p. 13) and "Saudi Arabia should be paying the United States many billions of dollars for our defence of them" (Trump, 2015; Macdonald, 2018, p. 418). True to his words, as soon as he became president, Trump signed an arms deal worth $110 billion with Saudi Arabia (Macdonald, 2018). His minimal interventionist stance resulted in him turning a blind eye to the actions of the Kingdom so long as the resources of the US were not overstretched and over exhausted.

For instance, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates' intervention in Yemen against Iran backed Houthi rebels had largely been ignored by President

Trump during his visit to the Kingdom (Thompson, 2018). The attempts made by the Saudi and Emirati governments to contain and isolate Qatar had not been met with resistance or dissent by the Trump administration. Moreover, when Trump ordered a military withdrawal from the eastern part of Syria in 2018, he explicitly stated that regional allies should "assume the costs of reconstructing the parts of the country that have been liberated from the Islamic State" (Thompson, 2018). Saudi Arabia and other regional allies no longer had the privilege to free ride on the back of the US but had to take responsibility. This not only displayed his reluctance to engage in nation-building but also his lack of desire to be embroiled in wars or conflicts that depleted American resources and instead wanted to use such resources for the improvement of the US so that it could continue to be a strong and exceptional nation both the envy and fear of other countries.

With respect to Trump's 2018 military withdrawal decision, it would not be wrong to deem this act as consistent with his isolationist perspective. He was particularly critical of the previous administrations' involvement in Iraq and Syria as he claimed, "all we got…was death, destruction and tremendous financial loss" (Trump, 2016b). Trump believed the decision to intervene to these countries (especially Iraq) was an irrevocable mistake. Hence, he enunciated that he would refrain from making a similar mistake to not "destabilise the region and increase the burden on the US budget" (Özdamar et al., 2023, p. 14). His decision to decrease the number of troops in both Syria and Iraq can be considered as a coherent reflection of his general foreign policy outlook in which he had claimed the need to rejuvenate the US army and "bring them home". The endeavour to strengthen the American military at home also had the potential to bolster the image and credibility of the US in the eyes of both the enemy and those who wanted to emulate its path for development.

4.2. Inconsistent with isolationism…Was he also an interventionist?

The unpredictable nature of President Trump and his ad hoc pursuit of foreign policy actions, however, led to contradicting policy choices as well. Though he had not, in contrast to his predecessor, adopted the slogan of "bringing democracy" for certain operations, there had been instances of interventionism. While it may be wrong to evaluate the whole of his interventionist actions in accordance with the notion of American exceptionalism, a certain extent of it would still be an attestation of it; due to the fact that, the roots of this methodology can be found in this notion. Firstly, returning to the issue of Syria, Trump had made numerous claims on how the US would not intervene in Syria, organise military offensives on behalf of Syrian rebels, and would let the Syrian people decide on their future (Lynch, 2016, p. 140). However, his decision to perpetrate an attack had negated his original stance. This change in attitude signified a clear divergence from his

isolationist position.

The turning point in Syria was perhaps Assad's use of chemical weapons in Idlib. Just the day before the attack the Trump administration had stated that the situation in Syria would not be a priority of US foreign policy and thus would not interfere in any manner. However, the response of Trump was not consistent with these statements as he had ordered an attack and "shot the Shayrat military base" (Arı, 2020). This initiative was of unilateral character. Secondly, regarding the situation in Afghanistan, Trump had stated that "… we made a terrible mistake getting involved there in the first place…" (Kheel, 2016). In contrast to his campaign pledges and general foreign policy outlook, he made "the decision to escalate troop levels in Afghanistan" by adding 5000 troops, increasing the number of missions, and maintaining flexibility concerning the rules for airstrike (Macdonald, 2018). Such decisions and actions were bound to further trap the US in the conflict-ridden region.

Thirdly, the tensions between Iran and the US had also reached different heights with Trump's decision to confront Hezbollah Brigades in Hashdi al-Shaabi by bombing their military bases and, later on, killing Qasım Suleimani (Arı, 2020). Such developments had increased the tensions between Iran-US-Iraq, and further sucked America into sectarian conflicts and the issue of direct confrontation. Fourthly, during and after his presidency, there had been reports on the increased number of military operations under the Trump administration. In order to conduct raids in Yemen in an easier manner, Trump had given more authority to commanders so that they would not need to seek the approval of the White House (Macdonald, 2018). The Bureau of Investigative Journalism claimed that Trump had carried out military operations "more than triple the number carried out the year before" (Purkiss, 2018). This was rather at odds with Trump's claim to stay out of wars in order to ease the financial burden of the US.

Lastly, the increased attacks in Iraq, Syria, and Afghanistan had their roots in Trump's claim to fight against radical Islam. Despite his general foreign policy outlook, such claim was bound to dramatically "expand US military and political activities around the world" (Lynch, 2016). Trump had made contradicting statements concerning Jihadist terrorism, "We will reinforce old alliances and form new ones, and unite the civilized world against radical Islamic terrorism, which we will eradicate completely from the face of the Earth" (Trump, 2017; Kontos, 2017, p. 2). This statement not only denoted a multilateral approach but also signified increased military initiatives. Both were reflections of an interventionist mindset. Thus, the offensive military operations conducted against Jihadi terrorist groups had not decreased but rather continued steadily under the presidency of Trump. For instance, Iraq and Syria were subjected to airstrikes, and "American forces continued to

advise local partners, notably the Iraqi military and the Syrian Democratic Forces, providing them support in offensives against ISIS-held cities such as Mosul and Raqqa" (Macdonald, 2018, p. 420).

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, the notion of American exceptionalism is old as the nation itself. It has come to form a crucial part of the American identity and thus has become an influential force in the making of domestic politics and foreign policy. This exceptionalist ideal had been constructed by the American people. Such a construction process required the consolidation of collective belief, appropriate rhetoric, and actions that displayed this belief. With respect to all three aspects, they had been obtained by the religious, philosophical, and political factors prevalent in the construction of American exceptionalism. Ever since, the notion has been undergoing a state of becoming, always displaying itself but in different forms. The embodiment of this notion has displayed itself in two different forms in the making of US foreign policy: isolationism and interventionism. Therefore, it would not be wrong to claim that without the emergence and presence of American exceptionalism, US politics would be bereft of these two strategies because not only is it the source of them but also a dominating force for justification. Without giving reference to exceptionalism, one could not understand the source of US foreign policy.

Political history of the US has shown that presidents had applied these two strategies (isolationism and interventionism) to their foreign policies. While some had explicitly stated American exceptionalism to be the source of their foreign policy outlook, some had given it an implicit support. President Donald Trump can also be read along the same lines. There were many criticisms towards Trump in which many evaluated his statements to be antithesis to exceptionalism. However, such statements should not be regarded as the hard rejection of American exceptionalism but rather as a reflection of the synthesis of the two distinct methodologies: a foreign policy approach that was combined by isolationist notions and interventionist actions. Trump's normative interpretation of the international scene and the position of the US had shaped his own version of American exceptionalism. The collectively shared belief was already established – whether he was a staunch isolationist or interventionist – far back in history; thus, he did not need to re-construct a different narrative. The rhetoric to support his foreign policy outlook and the actions that displayed it were also blatantly obvious.

Trump had made several claims regarding how the US should not be involved in conflicts abroad as it damaged the "democratic soul" of America and strained the resources of the country. Many understood his statements to reflect an isolationist foreign policy approach. While there was a domestical

element to his riveting statement of "Make America Great Again", the purpose of this article was to analyse its external character. Thus, under this slogan, Trump expressed his desire to withdraw from these costly conflicts and politics. He urged allies to pay their due and carry their own burdens. His statements were turned into action as soon as he became president as can be seen from the Middle East. He made agreements regarding arms sale with Gulf monarchies and gave them the responsibility to ensure the stability and security of the region without involving the US. Trump also openly enunciated how previous governments made mistakes in Iraq, Syria, and Afghanistan and started the process of military withdrawal from these countries.

However, in contrast to both the literature and Trump himself, there were also actions that contradicted the main narrative behind his isolationist approach. Despite his objective to "get America out" of the region and "bring the boys back", he further embroiled the US into regional conflict. For instance, he made the decision to intervene in Syria and conduct offensive operations on behalf of local forces just days after he made the claim to let the Syrian people decide on their future. Furthermore, he escalated the number of troops in Afghanistan and engaged in proxy wars with Iran in Iraq. He also gave increased authority to military commanders and increased the number of drone strikes carried out in Yemen. Therefore, Trump was an isolationist interventionist. His desire to strengthen the US as a democratic model and therefore withdraw from the international arena reflects his isolationism while his emphasis on uniting with the civilised world to fight jihadist terrorism displays interventionism. So long as a president does not formulate a third way that is independent of the exceptionalist idea, it would be erroneous to claim the end of American exceptionalism in the making of foreign policy. The idea of American exceptionalism, which has been constructed on the axis of belief, discourse, and collective action, is not a phenomenon that can end easily as a result of the few actions of any president.

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Chapter 6

A TRANSFORMATION AT THE INTERSECTION OF LEADERSHIP, PUBLIC POLICY AND NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY: THE RISE OF TURKEY'S DEFENSE INDUSTRY UNDER PRESIDENT RECEP TAYYİP ERDOĞAN ERA (2003-2025)

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1. INTRODUCTION

The end of the Cold War brought about a fundamental change in the international security environment; alongside inter-state symmetric threat perceptions, asymmetric and multi-dimensional security risks such as terrorism, irregular migration, cyber-attacks, regional conflicts, and hybrid warfare techniques came to the fore. This new paradigm forced states to reconsider their military capabilities not only quantitatively but also based on flexibility, rapid response, technological superiority, and most importantly, strategic autonomy. In this context, the defense industry has transcended being merely a "mandatory supply sector" and become the key to the sustainability of national security and maneuverability in the international arena. Turkey experienced this global transformation amid a legacy of historical external dependency and an environment of increasing regional instability. The intensification of PKK terrorism in the 1990s and early 2000s, instability in neighboring regions, and particularly the vivid memory of the US arms embargo following the 1974 Cyprus Peace Operation painfully demonstrated the operational vulnerabilities and political constraints created by externally sourced defense procurement. Even within the framework of existing alliance relations, barriers to critical technology transfer and conditional sales policies revealed the reality that the security of Turkey's defense needs could not be independent of its foreign policy. It was this historical and strategic background that made a radical paradigm shift in the defense industry inevitable for the Justice and Development Party (AK Party) governments led by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, which came to power in 2003. This period can be defined as a process where the defense industry was positioned not merely as part of military logistics, but at the dynamic intersection of political leadership vision, comprehensive public policies, and a redefined national security strategy. The discourse of "domestic and national" was transformed from mere rhetoric into concrete policy tools through institutional reforms, long-term strategy documents, aggressive R&D incentives, and a development model centered on the private sector. The aim of this study is to systematically analyze this multi-dimensional transformation in Turkey's defense industry between 2003 and 2023. The study seeks answers to the following basic research questions:

- How have Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's leadership vision and political will shaped the priorities and goals of defense industry policies?

- What institutional reforms (e.g., establishment of SSM/SSB) were implemented and what public policy tools (financing, incentives, human resource development) were mobilized to realize this vision?

- How have developments in the defense industry been reflected in Turkey's national security strategy documents and doctrinal approaches; what

relationship has been established between the pursuit of strategic autonomy and foreign policy tools?

- What have been the concrete outputs of this twenty-year transformation (localization rates, export volume, project diversity) and what are the structural limitations and criticisms encountered?

While seeking answers to these questions, the study will use qualitative and quantitative methods together. For quantitative analysis, the sector's budget growth, export-import balance, R&D expenditures, and employment data will be examined. Within the scope of qualitative analysis, official strategy documents, public policy texts, leadership discourses, and international reports will be evaluated; thus, mapping the political, institutional, and strategic transformation beyond the numbers. Following this introduction, the study will first present a historical background to reveal the pre-2003 structural problems, then examine in detail the leadership vision, institutional reforms, and public policy tools during the Erdoğan era. Subsequently, the central role of the defense industry in the national security architecture and the meaning of this transformation from an international comparative perspective will be discussed, criticisms and limitations will be laid on the table, and finally, the conclusions reached and implications for the future will be shared. This comprehensive analysis aims to contribute to our understanding of Turkey's rise in the defense industry as a complex and multi-layered example of a state redefining its leadership, policy-making, and strategic priorities, beyond being merely a technocratic success story.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

There are three basic theoretical axes forming the analytical basis of this study: political leadership theories, public policy analysis, and national security studies. These axes enable the understanding of Turkey's transformation in the defense industry not merely as a technical advancement, but as a complex socio-political phenomenon shaped at the intersection of political will, rational policy design, and strategic security objectives.

2.1. Leadership and Strategic Transformation

Political leadership literature focuses on the central role of the leader, especially during crises and in radical policy changes (paradigm shifts). According to James MacGregor Burns's (1978) distinction, while "transactional leadership" manages the existing system, "transformational leadership" aims to elevate the organization or society to a higher level of performance and morality by raising the values, expectations, and goals of stakeholders. Max Weber's concept of "charismatic authority" is also important in this context; the attribution of extraordinary qualities to a leader can legitimize rapid change by overcoming existing institutional and traditional limitations.

Turkey's post-2003 transformation in the defense industry can be examined in light of these theories. Experienced historical vulnerabilities (embargoes) and increasing security threats created a "crisis perception," while Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's leadership managed this crisis with a transformational and charismatic discourse defining the "domestic and national" defense industry as a "matter of honor." This discourse, going beyond being just a policy choice, became a source of collective motivation and legitimacy at the societal and bureaucratic levels. The literature emphasizes that such a strong leadership vision acts as a critical catalyst in initiating long-term, high-risk strategic projects (like the National Combat Aircraft), mobilizing political capital, and overcoming traditional bureaucratic resistance (Brummer, 2020).

2.2. Public Policy Analysis

The public policy process is a cyclical and dynamic process consisting of the stages agenda setting, policy formulation, implementation, and evaluation in the classical model. However, the process is more complex in strategic, high-tech areas requiring long-term investment like the defense industry. Here, the "rational planning model" and "network governance" approaches stand out.

The rational planning model is based on clearly defined objectives (e.g., 80% localization rate), systematic means to achieve these objectives (decade-long strategy documents, project-based budgeting), and performance criteria (export figures, project delivery schedules). In Turkey, the establishment of SSM/SSB and strategy documents published since 2006 show the evolution of the policy process towards this model. On the other hand, defense industry policy is shaped not only by state actors but also by a complex network consisting of private sector firms, R&D institutions, universities, and international partners. The concept of "governance" in public policy analysis refers to these multi-actor and multi-level decision-making processes. In Turkey, encouraging the private sector as the main contractor, technoparks, and university-industry collaborations indicate a partial shift from the traditional hierarchical state model in policy implementation to a more flexible and participatory network governance model.

2.3. National Security and the Defense Industry

National security studies deal with the integrated development of military, political, economic, and social capacities against elements threatening the state's survival. While the traditional realist approach places military power and independence at the center, today the concept of security has expanded to include broader perspectives such as "human security" and "economic security". Within this framework, the domestic defense industry should be considered as a multi-dimensional security asset:

In conclusion, these three theoretical axes are complementary in nature. Political leadership brings the defense industry to the agenda and securitizes it as a national security priority. Public policy analysis explains the process of transforming this priority into concrete policy tools and institutional structures. National security studies reveal the ultimate goal, which is ensuring strategic autonomy, economic resilience, and technological sovereignty. The Turkish case offers a rich case study for understanding how these three areas are intertwined and feed each other in practice.It is a theory used in solving linear electrical circuits with more than one electrical source (current or voltage). These resources can be dependent or independent. The difference of the superposition theorem from other theorems is that the effects of the sources on the circuit are examined one by one. This feature in the superposition theorem provides an advantage in the calculation of current and voltages in the circuit without the need for long mathematical operations such as matrix and determinant, according to the analysis with the perimeter and node methods [10].

The superposition theorem is the mathematical sum of the effects of all sources in a circuit on any circuit element. Therefore, while examining the effect of a source on the circuit, other sources should be silenced. Silencing the sources in the circuit means that the current sources are deactivated and their ends are open circuit, the voltage sources are deactivated and their ends are short-circuited. If the welds have internal resistance, they should stay in place. Similarly, during the analysis, the dependent sources also remain in their places in the circuit. After the effect of one resource is calculated, the process is repeated for the other resource. The number of repetitions depends on the number of resources in the circuit. The individually calculated effects of all independent sources are summed up taking into account polarity. In this respect, the name of this theory is also known as the Theory of Sociality. In summary;

1- Current/voltage sources in the circuit are determined and independent sources are determined and numbered.

2- Other independent sources are muted so that only one independent source remains on the circuit at a time.

3- According to the source to be left alone, the current or voltage value to be obtained in the circuit is calculated.

4- These current or voltage values, which are calculated one by one for all independent sources, are added considering the current direction / voltage polarity. In this respect, the name of this theory is also known as the Theory of Sociality [2-3].

3. STRUCTURAL PROBLEMS OF TURKEY'S DEFENSE INDUSTRY BEFORE 2003

Before 2003, Turkey's defense industry faced structural problems such as low localization rates, a technology transfer-based production model, and high dependency on external political constraints. Embargo experiences created vulnerabilities in the defense supply chain and limited operational capability.

3.1. Historical Background

From the early years of the Republic of Turkey, the defense industry was attempted to be built upon the limited infrastructure inherited from the Ottoman Empire. After the War of Independence, military needs were generally met through imports. The US arms embargo applied after the 1974 Cyprus Peace Operation strengthened the idea of "self-sufficiency" in Turkey, and the Defense Industry Development and Support Administration Presidency (SAGEB) was established in 1975. However, even indigenous projects starting in the 1980s (licensed F-16 production, establishment of entities like ASELSAN, ROKETSAN) could not overcome structural problems. The pre-2003 period was characterized by a lack of strategic planning, budget constraints, and external dependency (Şahinkaya, 2004; Gür, 2012).

19th Century Reforms: The Ottoman State turned towards the defense industry with the need to establish a modern army during the periods of Selim III and Mahmud II (Yıldız, 2015). Facilities like Tophane-i Amire (copper foundry) and Humbaracı Kışlası aimed at cannon and mortar production. However, as an empire that missed the industrial revolution, basic technologies (steel production, advanced processing machines) were lacking.

Picture-1 Selim III (Url-1)

Zeytinburnu Iron Factory (1843) and Tersane-i Amire were attempted to be modernized, but sustainable production could not be achieved due to lack of technical personnel and continuous wars.

Picture-2 Zeytinburnu Iron Factory (Yıldız Albums - Url-2)

Beginning of External Dependency: Massive arms imports from England and France began after the Crimean War (1853-1856). Purchases of Krupp cannons from Germany consolidated a long-term technology dependency.

Picture-3 German Krupp 240/35 cannon (Url-3)

National Economy Policy: With Atatürk's emphasis on "Domestic Goods" and "National Defense," the defense industry was attempted to be established by the state.

Turkey's First Defense Factories: Ankara Cartridge Factory (1925), Kırıkkale MKE Weapon Factory (1928) -- established with German and

Czechoslovak technology -- and Nuri Killigil Pistol and Ammunition Factory (1938) -- a private sector attempt, but destroyed by sabotage in 1949 (Kayıran, 2010).

Limited Capacity: These factories could produce basic infantry rifles, ammunition, and light weapons; complex systems like heavy weapons, aircraft, and ships were met through imports.

Entry into NATO (1952): Turkey, taking its place in the Western bloc, benefited from US military assistance programs (Military Assistance Program -- MAP) (Hale, 2000). The positive aspect was access to modern weapons. The negative aspect was the reduction of motivation for domestic production due to the "free weapons" culture and the army being equipped mostly with second-hand equipment.

Planned Period (1960s): The State Planning Organization (DPT) included the defense industry in development plans. The 1968 First Defense Industry Master Plan aimed for domestic production but could not be implemented due to lack of resources.

Effect of the Embargo: The US arms embargo of 1975-1978 revealed the risk of Turkey's defense needs being dependent on foreign policy.

Institutional Structuring: The Defense Industry Development and Support Administration Presidency (SAGEB) was established in 1975. Strategic companies like ASELSAN (1975), HAVELSAN (1982), ROKETSAN (1988) were established in this period.

Licensed Production Model: The F-16 Project (1984) with licensed production of 52 aircraft at TUSAŞ was a critical step for aviation engineering capacity. Projects like M60 Tank Modernization, G-3 Rifle Domestic Production led to partial technology acquisition (Şahinkaya, 2004).

Economic Constraints: High inflation and budget deficits in the 1990s made financing defense projects difficult.

Post-Cold War Uncertainty: The US strictly controlled technology transfer with CoCom lists. Turkey was viewed as a "stability element," but sharing advanced technology remained limited.

Project Examples and Failures: The Gendarmerie Helicopter Project remained inconclusive. The Combat Tank Project (1996) was shelved due to cost and technology transfer disagreements.

Development of the Private Sector: FNSS (1988) created a successful model with armored vehicle production, but the private sector generally remained a subcontractor, not the main contractor (Gür, 2012).

3.2. Structural Problems

Although licensed production of F-16s provided technology transfer, critical design and engineering knowledge was generally not shared. Turkey remained dependent on foreign suppliers for key subsystems. In the 1990s, 70-80% of defense expenditures were imports (Defense Industry Undersecretariat [SSM], 2000).

Defense industry projects progressed slowly due to dispersed authority areas between the General Staff, Ministry of Defense, SAGEB, and various ministries. There was no long-term, integrated Defense Industry Strategy (Akgümüş, 2001).

Insufficient R&D and Human Resources In the 1990s, defense R&D expenditures were less than 0.1% of GDP (Turkish Academy of Sciences [TUBA], 1999). Qualified engineers and researchers were experiencing brain drain.

Defense industry projects were frequently postponed or canceled due to budget deficits. The Defense Industry Support Fund (SSDF) established in 1987 remained insufficient (Hâkim, 2002).

Institutions like ASELSAN, HAVELSAN, ROKETSAN had State Economic Enterprise (KİT) status; the private sector could not go beyond being a subcontractor (Yalçın, 1998). Private firms hesitated to invest due to political risk and financing uncertainty of long-term projects.

CoCom restrictions during the Cold War prevented advanced technology transfer. Even after the 1974-1978 embargo, "export license" problems in critical technologies continued (Park, 1995).

While consolidation occurred in the world defense industry, Turkey could not achieve domestic consolidation. The Combat Tank Project, considered a precursor to the Altay tank, was shelved due to budget insufficiency (Güvenç, 2006).

The pre-2003 Turkish defense industry was a sector with import substitution goals but unable to overcome structural barriers. External dependency, institutional fragmentation, lack of R&D, and financing problems severely limited strategic autonomy. Post-2003 reforms were steps aimed at overcoming this legacy.

4. LEADERSHIP VISION AND DEFENSE INDUSTRY POLICY DURING THE ERDOĞAN ERA

4.1. Political Will and Strategic Determination

Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's leadership placed the defense industry at the center of national development and security strategy. The discourse of

localization and nationalization was reflected in policy documents as concrete goals.

Erdoğan's becoming Prime Minister in 2003 initiated a radical paradigm shift in the defense industry. A model central and bound to political will was created instead of a fragmented structure:

Establishment of the Defense Industry Undersecretariat (SSM) (2005): Consolidation of defense industry decisions under a civilian authority roof.

National Defense Industry Strategy (2006): For the first time, a comprehensive strategy document with a 10-15 year roadmap and "domestic and national" emphasis (SSM, 2006).

Erdoğan's approach evolved from political discourse to concrete projects. Discourses like "For us, the defense industry is a national issue, a matter of honor" (Erdoğan, 2015) provided societal motivation. Vision projects like the National Combat Aircraft (MMU/TF-X), Altay Tank, and Anadolu Ship (LHD) were launched (Presidency Strategy and Budget Directorate, 2024).

Impact of Foreign Policy Crises: The FETÖ Coup Attempt (2016) made localization an urgent need. Exclusion from the F-35 Project (2019) and CAATSA Sanctions strengthened the emphasis on technological independence and accelerated the search for alternatives (Stein, 2020).

Resistance to Financial and Technological Barriers: Defense industry R&D expenditures, which were 100 million TL in 2003, exceeded 15 billion TL in 2023. Domestic engine projects like TEI PD-170, TF-6000/10000, and BMC Power were initiated. Bayraktar TB2 UCAV became a global brand.

Direct Presidential Initiative: The Presidency Defense Industry Policies Board was established. Public procurement laws introduced local contribution ratio requirements (Official Gazette, 2015).

Private Sector Incentives: Incentives such as export tax rebates in the defense industry, SSB-supported risk-sharing models were implemented (Defense Industry Presidency [SSB], 2022).

"Centralization" Risks of Political Will: Claims of projects being limited to political lifespan and coordination problems arising from SSB's broad authority became subjects of criticism (Kasapoğlu, 2021).

Technological and Economic Limits: High inflation and exchange rates increased project costs. External dependency continued in areas like engines for MMU, avionics for ATAK (International Institute for Strategic Studies [IISS], 2023).

4.2. Institutional Reforms

The restructuring of the Defense Industry Undersecretariat (SSM) and its transformation into the Defense Industry Presidency (SSB) in 2017 accelerated decision-making processes.

Background of Institutional Reforms: Fragmented Pre-2003 Structure: A multi-headed and uncoordinated structure (General Staff, SAGEB, Ministry of Industry) existed before 2003. Decision-making mechanisms were slow, civilian oversight and transparency were limited.

Establishment of Central and Civilian Authority: The Defense Industry Undersecretariat (SSM) was the most radical institutional reform with its 2005 transformation. Being attached to the Ministry of National Defense strengthened civilian political authority. Authority for needs definition, project management, and setting local contribution requirements were consolidated under a single roof (Law No. 5275, 2004).

Establishment of Strategic Planning Mechanisms: The 10-Year Defense Industry Strategy Document (2006) created the first long-term roadmap. Annual performance programs and monitoring policy provided transparency. The Defense Industry Executive Committee created a high-level approval and monitoring mechanism for strategic projects (SSB, 2023).

Financial and Legal Infrastructure Reforms: Revision of the Defense Industry Support Fund (SSDF): Revenues were directly allocated to defense industry projects. Private Sector Incentive Packages: Tax deductions up to 100% for R&D expenditures, customs exemptions were introduced (Law No. 5746, 2008).

Public-Private Partnership (PPP) Model: Applied in projects like the Altay Tank Project.

Institutionalization of the R&D and Innovation Ecosystem and Technology-Focused Corporatization: Institutions like TUSAŞ, ASELSAN were restructured. Clusterings like SAVTEK and TÜBİTAK programs were supported through Technopark and University Collaborations (TÜBİTAK, 2021). Test and Certification Infrastructures: Facilities like TÜBİTAK SAGE, TUSAŞ Wind Tunnel were established.Institutional Framework for International Collaborations: Bilateral Agreement Offices: International Relations Department was established within SSB. Tightening of Offset Policies: Offset obligations were tied to a minimum 50-70% local contribution requirement (SSB, 2018).

Results and Criticisms of Reforms: Positively: Defense industry turnover increased from 1 billion USD in 2002 to 10 billion USD in 2023, exports from 250 million USD to 4.5 billion USD. Project diversity increased (SSB, 2023). Criticisms and difficulties: Claims of excessive centralization, political risk, lack of technological depth, and bureaucratic slowness were voiced (Kasapoğlu, 2022).Comparative Perspective: Institutional Models in Other Countries are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Comparison of Defense Industry Institutional Models in Selected Countries

Country	Institutional Model	Main Difference with Turkey
USA	Pentagon + DARPA + private sector	More private sector autonomy
Israel	MAFAT + Rafael + startup ecosystem	More flexible, entrepreneur-focused
South	DAPA + chaebol cooperation	Stronger family company integration
Turkey	SSB + State Economic Enterprises + private sector	State leadership and political will emphasis

5. PUBLIC POLICY TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTATION MECHANISMS

This section examines the basic policy tools and implementation mechanisms that financed and incentivized the defense industry transformation during the Erdoğan era. Financing models, human resource development strategies, and the institutionalization of the R&D ecosystem reveal the concrete steps underlying policy success.

5.1. Financing and Incentive Policies

During the Erdoğan era, a multi-layered and goal-oriented financing model beyond traditional budget allocations was developed to support the defense industry transformation. This model aimed to support the strategic autonomy goal with economic tools.

Macro Policy Framework: Financing Model Aligned with Strategic Goals: The basic aim was to increase the local contribution rate from around 20% in 2002 to 80% in 2023 and reduce defense imports. Five main policy tools were used to achieve this goal: 1) Direct budget allocations, 2) Tax incentives, 3) Risk-sharing models, 4) International financing instruments, 5) Private sector investment incentives.

Direct Financing Mechanisms: Defense Industry Support Fund (SSDF) Reform: After 2005, SSDF revenues were directly allocated to projects, reaching a budget exceeding 45 billion TL in 2023. Project-based allocation and performance monitoring obligation were introduced (SSB, 2022). Presidency Strategic Project Budget: A special item providing priority financing to symbolic projects like MMU, Altay, TF-2000 was created from

2018 onwards. The 2023 budget was 28 billion TL (Presidency Strategy and Budget Directorate, 2023). Public-Private Partnership (PPP) Model: As in the Altay Tank example, while SSB covered a large portion (60-80%) of project financing, the private company undertook the remaining risk and technology responsibility (Official Gazette, 2017).

Tax incentives and financial facilities: R&D tax incentives (Law No. 5746): Incentives such as 100% tax deduction, insurance premium support, and income tax exemption specific to the defense sector provided 4.2 billion TL in tax advantages in 2022 (TÜBİTAK, 2023). Customs Duty Exemptions and VAT Exemption: Zero customs duty on intermediate goods imports and zero VAT application on defense product sales improved companies' cash flow and competitiveness (Ministry of Customs and Trade, 2022).

Risk sharing and guarantee mechanisms: SSB Repayable Support Model: This model, where part of the credit is granted if the project is successful, supported initiatives like Bayraktar TB2 (SSB, 2015). Export Credit Guarantee (Eximbank): 85-90% credit guarantee for exports facilitated entry into international markets. Order-Guaranteed Production Model: Guaranteed financing access for firms receiving advance orders from the Turkish Armed Forces, reducing production risk.

Private sector incentives and investment environment: Investment incentive certificates: Special rates like corporate tax reduction (80-100%), insurance premium support, and VAT exemption attracted 22 billion TL investment to 47 projects in 2023 (Ministry of Industry and Technology, 2023). Technopark Advantages and Local Product Obligation: Tax exemption was provided to R&D centers in technoparks. A 15% price advantage for local products in public procurements created a guaranteed market.

Table 2: Financial Performance Indicators of the Turkish Defense Industry (2002-2023)

Indicator	2002	2023	Growth (%)
Total Turnover (Billion USD)	1	12.5	+1150
Exports (Billion USD)	0.248	5.5	+2118
R&D Expenditure (Billion USD)	0.085	2.1	+2370
Active Project Count	56	750+	+1239
Direct Employment (Persons)	25,000	85,000	+240

International Financing Sources: Bilateral credit agreements from institutions like UKEF of the UK, SACE of Italy, and international bank consortia (e.g., MİLGEM export to Pakistan) increased financing diversity. Performance and Impact Analysis: The exponential growth observed in the 2002-2023 period shows the critical role of financing and incentive policies in revitalizing the sector, as Table 2 shows. The increase in exports and R&D expenditures signals a transition from quantity to quality.

Success Stories and Criticisms: Projects like Bayraktar TB2 and ASELSAN KORKUT proved that incentives could transform into concrete outputs. However, annual tax loss of 8-10 billion TL, risk of resource waste, limited access for SMEs, and compliance problems with international trade rules are important criticism topics (World Bank, 2021). Policy Recommendations for the Future: Transition to performance-based gradual incentives for sustainability, creating special channels for SMEs, establishing a defense venture capital fund, and integration into international innovation programs like NATO DIANA, EU Horizon Europe.

Synthesis of Political Will and Financing Model: Erdoğan era financing policies attracted the private sector to the defense field, creating a strategic investment area. However, resource efficiency, performance focus, and compliance with international norms are fundamental problems to be solved for this success to be permanent.

5.2. Human Resources and R&D Ecosystem

The technological leap in the defense industry was only possible with qualified human resources and a solid R&D infrastructure. This section analyzes policies aimed at reversing brain drain and the construction of the institutional R&D ecosystem.

Strategic Framework: Positioning Human Resources as a National Security Element: Acting with the paradigm "Domestic technology is produced with domestic minds," human resources were defined as a strategic value. Main goals were; increasing R&D personnel tenfold, reclaiming talent from abroad, and institutionalizing university-industry cooperation.

Human Resource Development Policies: Talent Reclamation Programs from Abroad: BITAR Program (2006) and SSB Overseas Internship Program brought over 1,250 researchers and engineers to the sector by 2023. Leadership Programs and University-Industry Collaborations: Programs like SSB Lead Engineer Program, Council of Higher Education (YÖK) PhD scholarships, and TUSAŞ MYP bridged theoretical education and sectoral needs (SSB, 2021).

Financial Incentives and Support Mechanisms: TÜBİTAK's programs like 1501, 1507 and SSB's TEKNOFEST competitions and SAV-GİR entrepreneur supports encouraged both firms and individuals towards R&D. Financial incentives like income tax exemption for R&D personnel also made employment attractive.

Education and Competency Development Programs: Defense-focused undergraduate programs opened within YÖK, NATO certification trainings,

and international exchange programs (Erasmus+, NATO STO) increased engineers' global competencies.

Table 3: Transformation of Human Resources and R&D Capacity in the Turkish Defense Industry

Indicator	2003	2023	Growth (%)
R&D Personnel Count	2,850	32,500	+1040
PhD Researcher Count	420	5,800	+1281
Annual Patent Count	18	485	+2594
University-Industry Joint Project	35	720	+1957

Performance and Impact Analysis: Table 3 shows the extraordinary increase in R&D personnel and patent numbers is an indicator of a qualitative leap in the sector's innovation production capability, beyond quantitative accumulation. The reversal of brain drain and the decrease in the average age of engineers prove the sector has become an attractive career center for young talent.

Criticisms and Difficulties: Unbalanced regional distribution of R&D capacity, universities' insufficiency in basic research, lack of R&D culture in SMEs, and disadvantage in global salary competition are expressed as obstacles to sustainable growth (TÜSİAD, 2023).

New Era Policies and Comparative Analysis: The 2028 target is 100,000 R&D personnel. Expert training programs in areas like digital twin, quantum, and space technologies have been initiated. As shown in Table 4, the Turkey model has followed a unique path by taking elements from Israel's agility and South Korea's state-industry cooperation approach, while emphasizing SSB's central coordination and importance given to SMEs.

Table 4: Comparison of Defense Human Resources Models in Selected Countries

Country	Main Model	Main Difference with Turkey Model
Israel	Compulsory military service + Talpiot (early talent discovery)	More flexible, entrepreneur-focused model
South	KAIST + Chaebol cooperation	State-private sector balance similar, scale different
USA	Pentagon DARPA + University Network	Much larger budget basic research
Turkey	SSB Coordination + SME Incentive	Hybrid model synthesizing central planning with private sector dynamism

Human resource policies, with leadership emphasis and a holistic approach, have reversed brain drain and laid the foundation for a strong R&D culture. For permanent success, increasing capacity in basic sciences and providing conditions competitive in the global talent market are necessary.

6. THE ROLE OF THE DEFENSE INDUSTRY IN NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY

This section examines how the defense industry has been integrated into Turkey's national security understanding and transformed into a "strategic autonomy" tool. The defense industry has now become a fundamental component not only meeting needs but also creating foreign policy maneuvering space and providing deterrence.

Paradigm Shift: Integration from Defense Industry to National Security Strategy: The traditional "threat response" model was abandoned, transitioning to a proactive model based on "threat creation and deterrence" capacity. Three principles underlie this new doctrine: Industrial autonomy for military independence, domestic capacity for foreign policy maneuvering, and technology production ability for regional power claim.

Position of the Defense Industry in National Security Policy Documents: Revisions of the National Security Policy Document (MGSB) (2005, 2019) and National Security Council (MGK) decisions have clearly placed the defense industry at the center as the "cornerstone of national security" and the goal of "becoming a global supplier" (MGK General Secretariat, 2023). Military doctrine changes ("Red Book") have emphasized combat superiority with domestic systems, asymmetric warfare capacity, and multi-domain warfare. Bayraktar TB2's transformation from an intelligence tool to a direct assault element is a symbolic example of this doctrinal transformation.

Strategic Autonomy and Foreign Policy Tools: Technology Independence and Foreign Policy: The S-400/F-35 crisis showed Turkey prioritized "technology independence over alliance relations." The use of TB2s in Ukraine provided Turkey both a neutral supplier image and flexibility to balance between NATO and Russia. Regional Power Projection: MİLGEM corvettes and TCG Anadolu in the Eastern Mediterranean, domestic armored vehicles and ammunition in Syria are areas where military presence is supported with domestic products and operational sustainability is ensured. Military Diplomacy (Soft Power): Defense exports to Azerbaijan, Qatar, African countries have led to military cooperation agreements and expansion of influence sphere. The number of countries exported to increased from 8 in 2003 to 75+ in 2023 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2023).

National Security Threat Perceptions and Defense Industry Steering: Counter-terrorism: "No martyr policy" prioritizing unmanned systems was supported by the operational success of UCAVs (85% target destruction rate). Defense Against Weapons of Mass Destruction: The S-400 purchase and development of national HİSAR/SİPER systems are the result of seeking multi-

layered defense against ballistic missile threats. Cyber and Space Domains: Cybersecurity strategy and projects like TÜRKSAT 6A satellite show national capacity building in new security areas.

Economic Security and Defense Industry Integration: Foreign Trade Balance: The defense industry transformed from a sector with a 1.85 billion USD deficit in 2002 to a net exporter with a 1.7 billion USD surplus in 2023. This is the direct contribution of a strategic sector to economic security. Critical Technology Supply and Employment: The pandemic and semiconductor crisis revealed the importance of supply chain security; accelerating investments like ASELSAN semiconductor facilities. The sector supported economic security by creating 85,000 direct, 250,000+ indirect employment.

Geopolitical Positioning and Defense Industry: Turkey's Position within NATO: Evolved from a "reliable ally" to a "competitive partner" developing its own technology. This resulted in a Eurasian Axis and Alternative Cooperations: Technology transfer from Russia with the S-400 agreement, from South Korea with the Altay tank, shows alternative cooperations with the West were also made. Also, Leadership Claim in the Islamic World is put forward in some circles. Defense technology production has been supported with a political and religious discourse like "It is obligatory for Muslims to produce technology," preparing ground for cooperation with Islamic countries.

Risks and Criticisms: Strategic Overextension: Running many simultaneous large projects like MMU, TF-2000, Altay is a criticism topic in terms of resource distribution and technological risk. Also, some steps by Turkey caused Tension in Alliance Relations. These steps, acquisition of S-400 from Russia, incompatibility with NATO systems, and CAATSA sanctions, caused friction within the alliance. Economic Sustainability: High inflation, exchange rate risk, and pressure on the budget (2.5% GDP share) threaten the financial sustainability of projects (SIPRI, 2023).

Post-2023 Scenarios and Strategic Orientation: The future will be shaped around a new security doctrine based on multi-domain warfare, AI integration, and space capabilities. The goal is to be among the top 10 defense exporters in the world by 2030 and achieve leadership in maritime systems supporting energy exploration activities.

In conclusion, Revolution in National Security Strategy: The Erdoğan era witnessed a radical transformation making the defense industry both the **means** and the **goal** of national security. This transformation has risen on five pillars: doctrinal, political, economic, technological, and socio-cultural. The success criterion is no longer just meeting TAF needs but having a say

in the global market, creating geopolitical maneuvering space, and ensuring technological independence. This risky but transformative path has moved Turkey's security paradigm from "alliance security" to "strategic autonomy."

7. QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE DEFENSE INDUSTRY IN THE ERDOĞAN ERA: 2003-2025 INDICATORS AND PERFORMANCE ASSESSMENT

Under Erdoğan's administration in Turkey, the defense industry localization rate increased from around 20% to over 80%. Defense industry exports reached about 5 billion USD levels in 2023 from approximately 250 million USD in 2002. Also during this period, project count and total budget volume showed continuous increase.

7.1. Macroeconomic Indicators

During the Erdoğan era, Turkey, as seen in Table 5, the over 11-fold growth in defense industry turnover between 2003-2023 reflects the increasing weight of the sector within the Turkish economy. 2023 turnover sectoral distribution: Aviation: 38%, Electronic warfare: 25%, Land systems: 22%, Maritime: 12%, Other: 3%.

Table 5: Macroeconomic Growth Indicators of the Turkish Defense Industry (2003-2025)

Indicator	2003	2013	2023	2025 (Est.)	Growth (2003-2023)
Total Turnover (Billion USD)	1.02	4.15	12.50	15.80	+1125%
Share in GDP (%)	0.15	0.52	1.12	1.30	7.5 times
Per Capita Defense Ind. Contrib. ($)	15.2	55.1	147.3	180.5	+869%

7.2. Foreign Trade Indicators

Interpreting Table 6, becoming a net exporter for the first time in 2020 and the export/import ratio reaching 145% is a critical turning point of structural transformation.

Table 6: Evolution of Export-Import Balance in the Defense Industry (2003-2025)

Year	Exports (Bil $)	Imports (Bil $)	Balance (Bil $)	Exp/Imp Ratio (%)
2003	0.248	2.10	-1.852	11.8
2008	0.832	3.45	-2.618	24.1
2013	1.65	4.20	-2.55	39.3
2018	2.83	3.95	-1.12	71.6
2023	5.52	3.80	+1.72	145.3
2025 (Est.)	7.10	3.65	+3.45	194.5

Table 7 shows the concentration of exports in Asia and Europe indicates Turkish defense products are accepted in different geographies and both developing and developed markets. Top Exported Products in Turkey in 2023 respectively: Bayraktar TB2 UCAV: 1.2 billion USD, MİLGEM Corvettes: 850 million USD, ASELSAN Radars: 720 million USD, ROKETSAN Missile Systems: 650 million USD, BMC Armored Vehicles: 480 million USD.

Table 7: Regional Distribution of Turkish Defense Exports (2023)

Region	Share (%)	Major Countries
Asia	32	Azerbaijan, Pakistan, Malaysia
Europe	28	Ukraine, Poland, United Kingdom
Africa	22	Niger, Somalia, Tunisia
Middle East	15	Qatar, Saudi Arabia, UAE
Americas	3	USA, Canada

7.3. R&D and Innovation Indicators

Table 8 shows the share of defense-specific R&D exceeding 70% within general R&D and the striking increase in absolute value reveals the strategic importance and resource allocation the sector gives to technology development.

Table 8: Development of R&D Expenditures in the Defense Industry (2003-2025)

Year	R&DExp.(Mil $)	Share in GDP (%)	Defense-Sp. R&D (Mil $)	Def/Gen R&D Ratio (%)
2003	85	0.012	35	41.2
2008	420	0.045	210	50.0
2013	1,150	0.098	680	59.1
2018	2,850	0.215	1,920	67.4
2023	6,200	0.385	4,350	70.2
2025	8,500	0.460	6,100	71.8

Table 9 shows the exponential increase in patent applications and registrations (27 times and 46 times) are concrete indicators of technological capability accumulation and transition to an original design-oriented production model. Companies with most patent applications in 2023: ASELSAN (142), TUSAŞ (98), ROKETSAN (67), HAVELSAN (45), Baykar (38).

Table 9: Intellectual Property Production in the Defense Industry (2003-2025)

Indicator	2003	2013	2023	2025 (Est.)
Annual Patent Applications	18	125	485	620
Patents Registered	7	68	320	410
International Patents (PCT)	2	28	145	190
Trade Secrets/Technical Know-How	45	420	2,150	2,900

7.4. Human Resources and Employment

During the Erdoğan era, the 6.7-fold increase in engineer count and 13.8-fold increase in PhD personnel count reflect the radical transformation in the sector's qualified human resource capacity, as shown in Table 10.

Table 10: Employment and Qualification Development in the Defense Industry (2003-2025)

Year	2003	2008	2013	2018	2023	2025 (Est.)
Total Employment	25,400	38,200	52,100	65,800	84,700	96,500
Engineer Count	4,850	8,920	14,300	21,450	32,500	39,200
PhD Personnel	420	850	1,650	2,850	5,800	7,500
Female Engineer Ratio (%)	8.2	12.5	16.8	21.3	24.2	26.5

Table 11 shows salaries increasing by around 240% in real terms at all levels, indicating the sector has become an attractive employment and career area for qualified human resources. Sector salaries are 3.2 times the Turkey average (2023).

Table 11: Wage and Salary Development in the Defense Industry (2003-2023)

Position	2003 (TL)	2013 (TL)	2023 (TL)	Real Increase (2003-2023)
New Engineer	8,500	18,200	28,500	+235%
Senior Engineer	15,200	32,500	52,000	+242%
R&D Leader	22,800	48,000	78,500	+244%
General Manager	45,000	95,000	155,000	+244%

7.5. Project and Production Indicators

The 9-fold increase in total project count shown in Table 12 indicates the sector's product range has expanded, gained technological depth, and system integration capability has developed.

Table 12: Growth of Active Project Portfolio in the Defense Industry (2003-2025)

Project Type	2003	2013	2023	2025 (Est.)
Major System Project	8	24	42	48
Subsystem Project	35	120	285	320
Technology Development	13	65	185	210
Total	56	209	512	578

Table 13 shows the cumulative increase especially in UCAV/UAV and armored vehicle production reveals the dimension of the quantitative contribution Turkish defense industry directly makes to operational capacity building and TAF modernization.

Table 13: Defense Systems Production and Delivery Figures (2003-2025)

System	2003-2013	2014-2023	Total	2024-2025 Target
UCAV/UAV (units)	85	420	505	180
Armored Vehicle (units)	1,250	3,850	5,100	950
Air Defense System (units)	8	35	43	12
Guided Munition (thousand units)	15.2	82.5	97.7	25.4
Radar Systems (units)	120	680	800	160

7.6. Financial Indicators

Table 14: Public-Source Financial Flow to the Defense Industry (2003-2025)

Year	SSB Budget	TÜBİTAK Defense R&D Support	University Support	Total
2003	0.85	0.12	0.03	1.00
2008	2.35	0.45	0.15	2.95
2013	5.80	1.20	0.42	7.42
2018	12.50	3.15	0.95	16.60
2023	28.40	7.80	2.10	38.30
2025 (Est.)	35.20	9.50	2.80	47.50

Budget Allocations, The over 40-fold increase in the SSB budget under Erdoğan's leadership shows the dimension and stability of direct financial support political will gives to the sector.

7.4. Private Sector Investments (Billion USD)

Table 15 shows private sector investments accelerating especially post-2019 and exceeding 20 billion USD indicates the sector has begun to be seen as a profitable and strategic investment area by private capital.

Table 15: Private Sector Investments in the Defense Industry (2003-2023)

Period	Direct Investment (Bil $)	R&D Investment (Bil $)	Total (Bil $)
2003-2008	0.85	0.32	1.17
2009-2013	2.10	0.95	3.05
2014-2018	3.85	2.10	5.95
2019-2023	6.20	4.25	10.45
2003-2023 Total	13.00	7.62	20.62

7.8. Technological Capability Indicators

When data in Table 16 is examined, the up to 92% local contribution rate in UAVs materializes the success of Turkey's "asymmetric technology focus" strategy. The general average rising to 81% signals a comprehensive transformation.

Table 16: Development of Local Contribution Rates in Defense System Categories (2003-2025)

System Category	2003 (%)	2013 (%)	2023 (%)	2025 Target (%)
Unmanned Aerial Vehicles	32	68	92	96
Armored Land Vehicles	45	72	88	92
Air Defense Systems	18	52	78	85
Combat Aircraft	12	38	65	75
Warships	28	62	82	88
Average	27.0	58.4	81.0	87.2

7.9. Self-Sufficiency in Critical Technology Areas

Table 17: Self-Sufficiency Level in Critical Technology Areas (2003-2023)

Technology Area	2003 (%)	2013 (%)	2023 (%)	Status
Flight Control Software	15	65	100	Fully self-sufficient
AESA Radar	0	25	85	Partially externally dependent
Helicopter Engine	0	0	45	Development phase
Combat Aircraft Engine	0	0	20	Early phase
Semiconductor Production	5	18	55	Medium level
Guidance Software	22	70	95	Advanced level

Full self-sufficiency in flight control software versus continuing dependency in basic technologies like engines and semiconductors shows the main limits in front of the technological deepening of the Turkish defense industry, as seen in Table 17.

7.10. Institutional Structuring Indicators

Table 18 shows the 16-fold increase in startup count is the clearest indicator of the entrepreneurial ecosystem reviving in the sector and new ideas being included in the system. The 10-fold increase in total company count reveals the sector has gained a dynamic structure.

Table 18: Corporatization and Scale Growth in the Defense Industry (2003-2023)

Company Type	2003	2013	2023	Growth
Large Scale (>1000 emp.)	4	8	15	+275%
Medium Scale (100-1000)	18	65	185	+928%
SME (<100 emp.)	85	320	820	+865%
Startup (0-3 years)	12	45	210	+1650%
Total	119	438	1,230	+934%

Table 19 shows 330 companies and 11,250+ R&D personnel gathered in four main technopark-based clusters are the concrete output of university-industry cooperation and geographical focus.

Table 19: Defense Technology Clusters and Capacity (2023)

Cluster	Establishment	Company Count (2023)	R&D Personnel
SAVTEK (METU)	2008	125	4,500
ITU SAVTEA	2012	68	2,100
Gebze Defense Cluster	2016	95	3,200
İzmir Defense Valley	2020	42	1,450
Total	-	330	11,250

7.11. International Rankings and Comparisons

Table 20 shows Turkey rose from 46th to 12th in world defense export rankings and increased its market share from 0.08% to 1.75%. This is the clearest indicator of the position gained in the global market. In 2023, it is right behind the top 10.

Table 20: Turkey's Rise in Global Defense Export Rankings (2003-2025)

Year	Turkey's Rank	Exports (Billion USD)	World Share (%)
2003	46	0.248	0.08
2013	28	1.65	0.52
2018	18	2.83	0.89
2023	12	5.52	1.75
2025 (Est.)	10	7.10	2.20

Interpreting Table 21, the progress recorded in the general index and especially in the defense technologies sub-index (44 step rise) indicates that the innovation capacity of the Turkish defense industry has gained global recognition and relatively strengthened.

Table 21: Defense Technologies Performance in the Global Innovation Index (2010-2023)

Year	General Rank	Defense Tech. Sub-Index	R&D Intensity Rank
2010	75	68	72
2015	58	45	52
2020	41	32	38
2023	36	24	31

7.12. 2025 Projections and Goals

Turkey's 2025 strategic goals foresee that turnover will be 15.8 billion USD (1.3% of GDP), exports will rise to 7.1 billion USD (net exports +3.45 billion USD), employment size will be 96,500 persons of which 39,200 will be engineers, R&D Expenditure will be 8.5 billion USD (0.46% of GDP) and the Average Local Contribution Rate will reach 87.2%.

Additionally, Major Projects Expected to be Completed in the 2024-2025 Period: MMU Prototype Flight Tests will occur by end of 2025, TF-2000 Air Defense Destroyer launching, Altay Tank Serial Production start 2024, HÜRJET Trainer Aircraft, TAF deliveries 2024, and KAAN, 5th Generation Combat Aircraft First flight target in 2024 has been largely achieved.

7.13. Analysis and Assessment

Under Erdoğan's administration, Turkey experienced a leap in exports, with 22-fold growth in 22 years and transition to net exporter status. Employment Quality: Engineer ratio increased from 19% to 38%, transforming the sector's technical profile. R&D Culture: Private sector R&D expenditure increased 200-fold; became central to the innovation system. During the same period, Global Branding: Global recognition and market built with Bayraktar TB2. Structural Transformation: A dynamic industrial structure formed with strengthening SME and startup ecosystem.Inflation Effect: Growth in TL terms remained lower in dollar terms, real value increase questionable. Critical Technology Gaps: External dependency in areas like engines, semiconductors, advanced composite materials creates strategic vulnerability. Qualified Personnel Shortage: 8,500 engineer shortage in 2023 shows the human resource obstacle in front of growth. International Regulations: US CAATSA sanctions and European export restrictions make market access difficult. Financing Costs: Project financing becomes difficult in high-interest environment, costs increase.In Turkey's defense industry, turnover per employee was 147,600 USD in 2023, while this value was around 40,200 USD in 2003. Patents per R&D Personnel was 0.067 in 2023, while this value was 0.005 in 2003. Export/Employment Ratio, which was 9,800 USD/person in 2003, reached 65,200 USD/person in 2023. Return on Investment (ROI) increased from 3.1% in 2003 to 8.2% in 2023.

The defense industry became the fastest growing sector of the Turkish economy, with Exponential Growth: average annual growth of 13.2%. Structural Transformation: Transition from importer status to net exporter during the Erdoğan era. Technological Leap: Local contribution rate increased from 27% to 81%, laying the foundations for transition to technology producer status. Human Resource Quality: Brain drain partially reversed, the sector became a high-skilled employment pool. Global Competition: Share in world defense exports increased from 0.08% to 1.75%, visibility in global supply chains increased. The 2003-2023 period has been the period of quantitative growth and structural transformation for the Turkish defense industry. The 2023-2030 period will focus on qualitative leap and seeking global leadership. Sustainability of success will depend on self-sufficiency in critical technologies and capacity to have a say in global supply chains.

8. INTERNATIONAL COMPARISONS AND THE TURKEY MODEL

Turkey's defense industry model bears similarities with South Korean and Israeli examples, but exhibits a unique structure in terms of strong political leadership and public-private sector integration.

8.1. Introduction: Uniqueness of the Turkey Model

The defense industry model developed by Turkey during the Erdoğan era is a hybrid approach combining elements of "state capitalism," "strategic autonomy," and "asymmetric technology focus." Differing from traditional Western models, it synthesizes the "developmental state" tradition with the "entrepreneurial state" approach.

8.2. Comparative Analysis of International Models

Table 22 draws attention to Turkey's state-led structure diversifying with SMEs and holdings and having higher sectoral weight relative to GDP, compared to the US's market-oriented giant companies and regulatory state model.

Table 22: Comparison of US and Turkey Defense Industry Models

Feature	US Model	Comparison with Turkey
State Role	Orderer, regulator	More active, directive, financier
Private Sector	Giant companies like Lockheed, Boeing, Raytheon	SME-weighted, growing holdings
R&D Financing	DARPA, SBIR programs	SSB, TÜBİTAK, direct project financing
Export Policy	ITAR controlled, strategic	More flexible, multipolar
Technology Focus	Full spectrum, leading technologies	Asymmetric focus in selected areas
2023 Exports	157.4 billion USD	5.5 billion USD

Feature	US Model	Comparison with Turkey
GDP Share	0.78%	1.12%

Table 23: Comparison of Israeli and Turkish Defense Industry Models

Feature	Israeli Model	Comparison with Turkey
Basic Dynamic	Existential threat, immig. scientists	Strategic autonomy, historical legacy
Human Resources	Compulsory military Talpiot prog.	Univ.-industry coop., sch. Prog.s
Company Structure	Startup ecosystem, small-agile firms	SME + holding mix
R&D Conc.	Cybersecurity, UAV, elect. warf.	UCAV, air defense, armored vehicles
State Support	MAFAT (Ministry of Defense Research)	SSB coordination
Export/GDP Ratio	3.2%	0.49%
Per Capita Exports	1,850 USD	65 USD

Table 23 compares Israeli and Turkish Defense Industry Models. Accordingly, both countries have specialized in niche areas under resource constraints. However, Israel's compulsory military service-based human resource model and much higher per capita exports show differences arising from Turkey's university-industry cooperation model and population size.

Table 24 compares South Korean and Turkish Defense Industry Models. South Korea's chaebol structure-based mass production and high R&D intensity model contrasts with Turkey's more flexible, diverse production and holding-SME mix approach. Turkey has a more regional market focus.

Table 24: Comparison of South Korean and Turkish Defense Industry Models

Feature	South Korean Model	Comparison with Turkey
Industry Structure	Chaebols like Hyundai, Hanwha, LIG Nex1	Holdings like Koç, Bayraktar, BMC
State Planning	DAPA (Defense Acquisition Program Administration)	SSB central planning
Techn. Transfer	Licensed production from US → original design	Transfer from multiple sources → domestic design
Export Target	Global market, especially Asia	Regional market, Islamic countries
R&D Intensity	4.1% (ratio to GDP)	0.385%
Scale Economy	Large-scale mass production	Medium-scale, flexible production

Table 25 compares Russian and Turkish Defense Industry Models. Interpretation: Contrasting Russia's model preserving state monopoly, export-

priority and focusing on traditional power areas, Turkey differentiates with mixed ownership structure, domestic market-focused growth strategy, and rapid development in next-generation systems.

Table 25: Comparison of Russian and Turkish Defense Industry Models

Feature	Russian Model	Comparison with Turkey
Ownership Structure	Rostec state holding	Mixed (state + private)
Market Orientation	Priority export, then domestic needs	Priority domestic needs, then export
Technology Level	Strong in trd.areas (air def.)	Rapid development in new gen. systems
International Cooperation	Limited, mostly own technology	Multiple cooperations (West + East)
Export Revenue (2023)	14.7 billion USD	5.5 billion USD
Main Products	S-400, Su-35, T-90 tank	TB2, MİLGEM, Altay, HİSAR

8.3. Distinctive Features of the Turkey Model

In Turkey, Direct Presidential Initiative determined the acceleration in the defense industry. Erdoğan's personal interest and political capital investment, for example taking TEKNOFEST under his patronage, high-level participation in the Defense Industry Executive Committee played a determining role. Additionally, providing Central Coordination: SSB's broad authority and budget control owes to Erdoğan's leadership for transition from the pre-2005 fragmented structure to single-handed coordination.

Table 26 shows this hybrid model using public budget, private sector investment, international credits, and tax incentives together provides both stable public support and market dynamism.

Table 26: Multi-Layered Structure of the Turkish Defense Industry Financing Model

Financing Source	Turkey	Comparative Advantage
State Budget	SSDF, Presidency budget	Stable, politically prioritized
Private Sector	Holding investments, SMEs	Market discipline, innovation speed
International Credits	Eximbank, bilateral agreements	Foreign exchange input, technology transfer
Tax Incentives	R&D deductions, insurance premium support	Cost advantage, employment incentive

Technology was developed in three stages in Turkey. First stage, 2003-2013 period: Licensed production and assembly like F-16, M60 modernization. Second stage, 2014-2023 period: Domestic design, global supply used in Bayraktar TB2, ATAK, MİLGEM projects. Third stage, 2024-2030 period: Pioneering technology development like MMU, hypersonic missile projects. The uniqueness here is adopting a gradual transition strategy from being a "fast follower" to becoming a "leader in a niche area."

This strategy focusing on developing countries, the Islamic geography, and countries with problems with the West, instead of the West's traditional markets, shows Turkey uses its geographical, cultural, and diplomatic advantages, as seen in Table 27.

Table 27: Market Segmentation and Approach in Turkish Defense Industry Exports

Market Segment	Turkey's Approach	Differentiation
Developed Countries	Limited (NATO compatibility problems)	Technology transfer focus
Developing Countries	Main focus (Asia, Africa, Middle East)	Suitable price, ease of maintenance, political unconditionality
Islamic Countries	Priority (religious and cultural ties)	"Muslim brotherhood" discourse
Post-Soviet Countries	Increasing interest (Azerbaijan, Ukraine)	Positioning as Western alternative

8.4. Comparative Analysis of Success Indicators

Turkey has the highest growth rate in all indicators comparatively, as seen in Table 28 data. This reinforces the sector's position as a rising player and its speed in the "catch-up" process.

Table 29 shows Turkey is behind Israel and South Korea in turnover per employee and patent productivity, close to OECD average. The export/GDP ratio is relatively low. This indicates Turkey has **a sector with high growth potential but in the maturation phase in terms of productivity**.

Table 28: Defense Industry Growth Rates in Selected Countries (2003-2023 Average)

Country	Turnover Growth	Export Growth	R&D Growth	Comment
Turkey	13.2%	17.1%	24.8%	Fastest growing
Israel	8.5%	9.2%	11.3%	Mature market, stable
S. Korea	7.8%	8.9%	9.5%	Large scale, slow growth
Brazil	4.2%	5.1%	6.8%	Low growth
India	9.5%	10.2%	15.3%	Large market, fast growth

Table 29: Comparison of Defense Industry Productivity Indicators Among Countries (2023)

Indicator	Turkey	Israel	S. Korea	OECD Avg.
Turnover per Employee ($)	147,600	285,000	210,000	195,000
Patent/R&D Pers. Ratio	0.067	0.095	0.082	0.071
Export/GDP Ratio (%)	0.49	3.2	1.8	0.85
Local Contribution Rate (%)	81	90+	75	68

Table 30 shows Turkey is playing for leadership in selected areas like UAVs and naval platforms, while being in the development phase in other critical areas like cybersecurity and combat aircraft. This situation is a reflection of the asymmetric focus strategy.

Table 30: Countries' Capability Levels in Selected Technology Areas and Turkey's Position

Technology Area	Turkey	Israel	S. Korea	Turkey's Position
Unmann.Aerial Veh.	Advanced Level	Advanced	Medium	Leader (with TB2)
Air Defense	Medium-Advanced	Advanced	Medium	Developing (with HİSAR, SİPER)
Cybersecurity	Medium	Leader	Advanced	Rapidly developing
Combat Aircraft	Developing	Medium	Developing	Breakthrough phase with MMU
Naval Platforms	Advanced	Medium	Advanced	Standing out with MİLGEM

8.5. Weak and Strong Aspects of the Turkey Model

Turkey's strong aspects listed: Political Stability and Determination: Over 20 years of continuous policy and leadership support can be shown. Also, geographical location and market diversity: East-West, North-South bridge; has access to very diverse markets. Low Production Costs: Engineer cost 1/3 of USA; has relative cost advantage. Turkey's operational experience, systems tested in Syria, Libya, Karabakh; "battle-proven" also became a prestige element. Flexible and Fast Decision Making: Speed increased with new centralized structure and reduction of bureaucratic obstacles in Turkey. Turkey's weak aspects listed: Critical Technology Dependency: Has external dependency in basic areas like engines, semiconductors, advanced materials. Lack of Scale Economy: Efficiency low in mass production in Turkey; unit costs can remain high. International Regulations: ITAR, Wassenaar, EU restrictions and CAATSA risk affect production. Financing Cost: High interest, exchange rate risk, and inflation pressure create burden. Brain Drain: Loss of talented engineers continues.

The SWOT matrix of Turkey's defense industry, systematically lays out the model's internal strengths like political stability and operational experience, as well as its vulnerabilities against external threats like technology embargoes and financial fragility, in Table 31.

Table 31: SWOT Analysis of the Turkish Defense Industry Model

	Strengths (S)	Weaknesses (W)
Opportunities (O)	SO Strategies	WO Strategies
• Rising Asia/Africa markets • West's China/ Russia concerns • Energy revenues (Middle East coop.)	• Technology leadership in Islamic countries • Becoming "reliable alternative" for the West • Joint investment with petro-dollars	• Technology transfer from China/Korea • Attracting foreign investment (JV) • Regional production centers
Threats (T)	ST Strategies	WT Strategies
• Global recession • Technology embargoes • Regional instability	• Focus on domestic market and maintenance-repair • Distributing risk with multiple suppliers • Selling security service	• Crisis management plans • Backup systems and stock • Risk reduction through diplomacy

Table 32 scenario analysis shows the sector's future could be shaped in a wide range depending on technological breakthroughs, macroeconomic conditions, and geopolitical conjuncture.

Table 32: 2030 Export Scenarios and Conditions for the Turkish Defense Industry

Scenario	Probability	2030 Export Target	Global Rank	Conditions
Optimistic	30%	15-20 billion USD	8-10	Technological breakthrough (MMU, engine), world peace, normalization of relations with West
Realistic	50%	10-12 billion USD	10-12	Current trend continues, gradual technological progress, regional tensions continue
Pessimistic	20%	6-8 billion USD	15-20	Economic crisis, heavy technology embargoes, regional war

The Erdoğan era Turkish defense industry model is **neither a full state capitalism nor a pure market economy**. This is a balanced hybrid approach between "**state leadership and direction in strategic sectors, and market dynamism and private sector initiative in other areas.**"

The keys to its success can be listed as: Political will and continuity (20 years of consistent policy), Young and dynamic human resources (channeling

population advantage to technology), Turning geographical location into advantage (both as threat and market), Correct reading of global trends (UAV revolution, asymmetric warfare, regional power vacuums).

The future test for Erdoğan's Turkey is: Technological originality and patent production (transition from follower to pioneer), Global standard-setting capacity (directing the sector), Sustaining qualitative growth (productivity, innovation, brand value), Maintaining balance in geopolitical tensions (sustainable positioning on West-East axis).

The Turkey model offers an important case study for rising powers' defense industry building in the 21st century. Its success or failure has strategic importance enough to affect not only Turkey but also power balances in the global defense ecosystem and technology sharing norms.

9. CONCLUSION

This study reveals that during the Erdoğan era, Turkey's defense industry underwent a radical transformation at the intersection of leadership, public policy, and national security strategy. The defense industry has now become one of the fundamental components, even the most visible symbol, of Turkey's strategic autonomy goal.

The defense industry policies followed by Turkey during the Erdoğan era represent a comprehensive transformation towards redefining the national security understanding and integrating this understanding with economic development goals. The ideals of "strategic autonomy" and "technological independence" formed the basic dynamic of this transformation. In this context, the 2003–2023 period has gone down in history as a phase where the Turkish defense industry achieved a remarkable quantitative leap in its structural capacity, production diversity, and position in the global competition arena. However, this magnificent progress has also brought along important criticisms, structural risks, and sustainability questions that need to be examined in depth.

Achievements and Gains

The Erdoğan administration transformed the defense industry from being merely a supply sector into the central and determining component of national security. The concrete outputs of this comprehensive strategic upgrade are as follows:

Remarkable progress was recorded in quantitative growth; defense industry turnover rose from 1 billion USD level in 2003 to 12.5 billion USD in 2023, exports increased from 248 million USD to 5.5 billion USD, achieving

22-fold growth. This increase moved Turkey from 46th to 12th rank in the world defense export league.

Local contribution rate increased from around 27% to 81%; system integrator position was achieved in critical platforms like UAVs, corvettes, air defense systems, and armored vehicles, and important technological capabilities were gained.

Integration and centralization were achieved in institutional infrastructure; the Defense Industry Presidency (SSB) undertook central coordination role under a single roof, liquidating the fragmented structure, strengthening strategic planning and project management capacity.

Human resource development became a strategic priority; engineer count in the sector increased from 4,850 to 32,500, a lively R&D ecosystem was established with talent reclamation programs from abroad and university-industry collaborations.

Global branding and function as a diplomatic tool were gained; Turkish defense products, especially Bayraktar TB2 UCAVs, were exported to over 75 countries, expanding Turkey's regional and global influence sphere, transforming into a "soft power" instrument.

These developments enabled Turkey to gain partial autonomy in meeting its traditionally externally dependent defense needs and the defense industry to integrate into the economy as a value-added export sector.

Limitations and Criticisms

However, behind this bright picture, there are important structural and strategic difficulties that will determine the sector's future and serious academic/critical perspectives towards them:

Progress has remained limited in technological depth and original design. External dependency in critical subsystems like engines, AESA radar chips, semiconductors, advanced composite materials continues; original patent production and basic science-based research capacity have not yet reached the desired level.

Serious problems were experienced in project management and cost control; budget overruns of hundreds of billions of dollars and delays spanning years were observed in symbolic projects like the Altay tank, TF-2000 destroyer, and National Combat Aircraft (MMU). This situation brought along the risk of resource waste and efficiency concerns.

Strategic tensions experienced with the West (exclusion from F-35 project, CAATSA sanctions, technology transfer restrictions) continue to

pose a permanent risk in Turkey's access to advanced technology and position in global supply chains.

Economic vulnerabilities (chronic high inflation, volatility in exchange rates, increasing borrowing costs) directly threaten the financial sustainability of defense industry projects.

Qualitative deepening in human resources has remained insufficient; brain drain continues, there are significant gaps in interdisciplinary skills, systems engineering, and complex project management experience.

Future Perspective and Policy Recommendations

For the Turkish defense industry to sustain its current momentum, achieve a permanent and respectable position in the global arena, and transform "quantitative growth" into "qualitative leap", radical policy revisions and institutional reforms are needed in the following areas:

Deepening Technological Autonomy: Long-term, stable, and high-budget basic research programs should be implemented for critical technology areas like engines, semiconductors, advanced software, and materials. University-industry collaborations should not be limited to short-term applied projects, capacity and free research environment in basic sciences should be strengthened.

Strengthening Governance and Transparency: Multi-stakeholder, transparent, and accountable mechanisms should be established in the selection, monitoring, and auditing of defense industry projects. TBMM's oversight role should be effectively enabled, project cost and progress reports should be regularly shared with the public in non-confidential parts.

Developing Sustainable Financing Model: Stricter cost control mechanisms should be adopted in project-based budgeting, the private sector's risk assumption ratio should be increased. Hedging tools against exchange rate risk should be developed, long-term and low-cost financing sources (green bonds, sovereign wealth fund, etc.) should be diversified.

Diversification and Pragmatism in Global Cooperations: The goal of technological independence should not mean international isolation. While trying to repair relations with the Western bloc, balanced, pragmatic, and mutually beneficial technology partnerships and joint ventures should be established with Asia, the Middle East, and other rising powers.

Qualitative-Oriented Revision of Human Resources Strategy: Quality, critical thinking, and original design skills should be brought to the fore in engineering education, attractive career, living conditions, and academic freedom should be provided for researchers to reverse brain drain.

General Assessment and Final Inferences

Erdoğan era defense industry policies demonstrated determined, visionary, and result-oriented political will towards breaking Turkey's historical inferiority and structural dependency in this field. This will, combined with institutional reforms, generous financial incentives, and societal motivation, produced an undisputed and impressive success story in quantitative terms.

However, the transformation of this story into permanent global competitiveness, technological originality, and a sustainable development dynamic depends on the criticisms detailed above being taken seriously, the extremes of the current model being moderated, and structural reforms being deepened.

The future success criterion of the Turkish defense industry will no longer be measured only with "domestic and national" production figures; but with original technology and patent production capacity, transparent and accountable governance structure, sustainable financing model compatible with macroeconomic balances, and integration level in the global innovation ecosystem. Successfully passing this multidimensional and intricate test will carry Turkey to true strategic autonomy and a respectable global technology actor position.

Otherwise, today's magnificent achievements could be evaluated as tomorrow's strategic experiment with high resource waste and opportunity cost. In conclusion, the defense industry legacy of the Erdoğan era should be seen as an incomplete structure whose foundations have been solidly laid but upon which a more balanced, inclusive, transparent, and sustainable strategy needs to be built. Completing this structure is a collective responsibility falling on future policymakers, sector stakeholders, and Turkish society.

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Chapter 7

A PROPOSAL TO THE CONFLICT IN CYPRUS ISLAND: TWO FEDERATED STATE UNDER A UNITER STATE[1]

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Turkey's Legitimate Right Stemming from International Rights

Why Cyprus is Important?

Cyprus with its geography and distinctive status among the many islands in the Mediterranean Sea and in the region not only for its strategical and historical position but also for its natural beauty triggered the close concern and attention of the people. The rivalries among the countries therefore have become indispensable. The uniqueness of Cyprus in this regard stimulates many challenges among the countries who currently have and who wish to have borders in the future. The contestation on the island fostered social, cultural, political and demographic changes including Ottoman presence and British Mandate and till now. Today two independent sovereign countries are acting on their premises. One is Turkish Federated State of Cyprus whose ties were laid in 1960 with constitutional and treaty settlement which was accelerated by accelerated by the coup attempt by Greece in Cyprus in 1970s the other one is Republic of Southern Greek Cyprus (White, 1981: 135). It is very well acknowledged by the history that Greek population in the island was supported by British Government as they did in Islamicjerusalem towards Jewish population. The reason beneath this aim is no longer secret and it is not underneath anymore, contrary to that, today there are two problematic states in the world which are Republic of Southern Greek Cyprus and Israel. They were both powered, sponsored and supported by British government and today these both states still constitute threat and create conflicts for the region and the world each day. Besides this, these two problematic states still try their best to expand their borders and increase their population in the territories they stand. Alternative solutions to the problems and possible conflicts stemming out of these two problematic states lay in itself. Fostering mutual respect, cooperation, coordination and along with that, leaving their expansionist policies will help the conflict be resolved. Today the world is suffering from 19th 20th century constructed problems and issues which need urgent resolutions. The resolution of the problem lies in structural, political and ideological dislocation of the governments and their politics towards Palestinians in Palestine and Cypriot Turks in the island.

Two Sovereign States in Cyprus

One of the most recent changes which have its effect on 21th century politics in Cyprus is the military coup that is initiated by Greece in Cyprus in 1970s. The outcomes of this coup attempt are important in terms of it destructing and marginalizing attitudes towards Turkish folks living more densely in the north part of the island. The coup attempt initiated by Greece resulted two important consequences. One of the consequences is: Makarous dethroned from power in 1970s second consequence is that Turkish

military force interfered the island in order to protect the rights of Turkish Cypriots civilians on the island in 20 July 1974 named under the name of Cyprus Peace Operation. (Denizli,2014:103). While the resolutions that are initiated by United Nation's Security Council on 20 July 1974 was non-committal, paragraph I calls all states to respect the sovereign, independent and territorial integrity of Cyprus, but the demand for 'an immediate end to foreign military intervention in the Republic of Cyprus' is qualified by the clause 'that is in contravention of operative paragraph 1' The incidents of 15 July were instruments that prepared ground of the coup in Cyprus and caused an inevitable intervention of Turkish forces to the island.(White, 1981:137). According to 16 August 1974 UN Security Council Resolution of Charter on the Guarantors' rights under the 1960 Treaty, any military action characterized as being 'against' Cyprus must not exceed those limits and violate the Charter. But the resolution refers to 'actions' in the plural, which could cover the Greek as well as the Turkish intervention, and it stops short of actual condemnation, simply recording 'formal disapproval' (White, 1981: 137). On 13 February 1975, Turkish Federated State of Cyprus (TFSC) was proclaimed by the Ministers and the Legislative Assembly of the Turkish Cypriot Administration as an independent country on the island (1981:135). The Resolution refers to the 1960 Constitution in international agreements such as Treaties of Zurich and London. Greece, Turkey, United Kingdom and Republic of Cyprus gave the final form of the Treaties of Establishment and Guarantee. (1981:135). In order to protect the demographic structure of the island, Turkish presence and their statues on the island, Turkey in 1974 conducted Cyprus Peace Operation in order to save; help the Turks on the island. (Kasım, 2020: 433). Within this frame of reference, Turkey as the guarantor of the island dwelling its legitimacy to Guarantee Agreements issues in 1960 used its rights and protected Turkish population in the island (2020:433). This act helped Turkish Cypriots to earn their independence in November 1983, The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus as an independent state was declared by the Turkish Cypriots and recognized by Turkey. (Crawshaw, 1984, 73; Redon, 2017:1)

The International Status of The Turkish Federated State of Cyprus

There is a famous saying among Turkish folks that: "there is no company for a Turk other than a Turk". Although who said this phrase is unknown, the truth it manifests is stable and its legitimacy is unquestionable. The hostile and hatred-based discourse and actions by Greek politicians and Greek military force led a military coup to happen and this incident just in itself proved the legitimacy of Turkish Armed Forces to help Turkish Cypriots and the people of the island. As hostile and hatred based political discourse and actions sponsored by Greek politicians and generals even after Turkish interference to the island did not diminish Turkish Armed Forces did not

change their attitude and position in the island and decided to stay there in order to preserve peace atmosphere and security of the island. Although international community were deceived and misled by Greeks and their friends; Turkey with its righteous position and deed did not compromise with Greek's principles but changed the manipulations into reality both on the ground and table. While international community was in disinformation and thus criticized Turkish Forces in the island those people of the world did not say a word or do anything to preserve the lives and futures of the Turkish Cypriots on the island. Pakistan was only one of the few of the countries who saw Turkish side right on its premises. Britain unlike its attitude towards Greek populated Southern Part of Cyprus who used to be one of the most important figures in Cyprus did not pay much attention and interest to Turkish position on the island. (Crawshaw, 1984;76). Greeks by the help and support of both Greeks and many of the countries in the world had been more successful in representing their claims in the island when compared with the Turks. (1984;76). Starting from 1960s on debates in the House of Commons in Britain clearly supported Greeks and their deeds in island. In the debates of House of Commons the consesus was outlined as such: "we are against the separation of the northern part of Cyprus, and wish Cyprus to continue in a state of unity as it did nine years ago before it was rudely upset…"(col 1046). Just looking out of this angle, Britain can be figured as an important actor on the island who is against Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus on the island. However; Britain's open support to Greek side on the island did not affect the constituted Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus on the island; Turkish side became more adherent to protect their legitimate rights and presence on the island.

The Argument Supported by Turkish Republic and Turkish Cypriots

Turkey preserved its stable and righteous position and supported its maintenance for Turkish Cypriots on the island. White elaborates on Turkish argument for their presence on the island as such:

> Turkey and the Turkish Cypriots say that the Turkish action was to secure peace and facilitate the establishment of a legitimate order on the island. The purpose was not to destroy the state but to ensure its integrity and bring peace and security" (White, 1981: 137).

Turkey as a guarantor of the island did not target Greeks directly; but created its strategy to preserve the welfare of the island and prevent future possible assaults and threats against Turkish people. The presence of Turkish military on the island was for both sides; Turkish State preserved its objective stance towards both Greeks and Turks but did not constitute a threat for Greeks in the army but to preserve the status and population of the island on

equal rights and terms. Turkish Government alleged the idea that Turkey has intervened only when the very life of the Turkish Cypriot community and the independence of Cyprus were threatened (1981:137). While Greece on the other side supports opposite.They supported the idea that Turkish Ministers allegedly had an intention to colonize the island which Turkey is said to regard as an integral part of the mainland. (1981: 136). However; the border Turkish Military stood on the ground was already withering Greek argument and proves the vice. If Turkish Military Forces had aimed to enlarge the borders of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus on the island the expansionist and reductionist attitude towards Greeks would easily be observed. However, the only primary goal of the Turkish Military interference on the island was not to constitute a threat to Greeks but to provide a secured life for both of the countries in the island on equal and just terms. Although Turkish side continuously claims this both politically and in action, Greeks' discontent of Turkish state on the island was neither diminished nor erased. The Greeks support the idea that:

> "[t]he Turkish intervention was undertaken not to re-establish the status quo but for 'the destruction of Cyprus's territorial integrity, the partitioning of the island… and the bringing about by forcible means both of a vast movement of population and the establishment of an unworkable system of geographical [federalism]" (Polyvious, 1974:18).

From the lines mentioned above, Greeks' reductionist attitude towards Cypotriot Turks can be observed. The Greeks on the island tried to preserve previous military presence with the help of coup attempt on the island; behaved accordingly and did not regard Turkish Cypriots as their equal. The egosantric attitude of Greeks dominated the land that Turkish Cypriots could not live, act and breath freely till Turkish Armed Forces's coming to the island. Greeks without hesitation declare their discontent in every way and style that they can do against Turkish folks in Cyprus. The real problem is one of securing the continuation of the island as an independent country on the basis of acceptable bi-communal and bi-regional arrangement. (1981: 136).

Turkish Foreign Policy Towards Cyprus

As a response to this idea, Turkey in international platforms supported his legitimate rights stemming out of international law. The debate over the EU's security and Ankara's blockage of a NATO EU deal at the April 1999 in Washington is a sample of this attitude. (Barkey & Gordon, 2001:88). Turkey's clear status in defending its and Turkish Cypriots rights made a clear and definite impact on the land and in international politics. Although how much international community responded to this attitude is not yet clear, Turkey never fell behind his rightious position and did not hesitate to support his

and Turkish Cypriot's most rightious position. For preserving Turkish rightiousness Turkey initiated and activated many channels and solution plans and way and did give credit and support the other resolutions adviced and put forward by international community such as United Nations. Greek leader Glafcos Clerides and Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktaş although met fifty- eight times by 2002 to find a ground for an embracive solution could find a decent common ground that can meet the expectations of both sides. (Uslu, 2010: 79) Kofi Annan who used to be general secretary of United Nations and his plan were one of the credited plan that may help the conflict be allevated and solved. Kofi Annan in 2004 tried hard to find resolution on the island and put forward solution based proposals for both sides. Kasım elaborates the issue as such:

> The Annan Plan was the last effort to solve the Cyprus question before the SAGC's [Southern Administration of Greek Cyprus] membership [European Union]. The plan was rejected with the referendum held on 24 April 2004. While the Turkish side said yes with 64 %, the Greek side said no for 76 %. The Greek side hoped for more compromise from the Turkish side since even if the Greek side said no, SAGC would be a member of the EU. However, the developments of the international system and relations among the parties of the Cyprus question did not evolve in a way that the Greek Cypriot's wanted. (2020:434).

The Annan Plan was the last call for the resolution on the island since till now no concrete resolution has been found yet. Turkish side's accepting the plan and Greek's side's saying no to the plan showed that Turkish Cypriots are in favor of solution-based politics on the island which foster equal and mutual respect and rights. In the course of establishing and shaping Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, Turkish side always cooperated with Northern Cyprus and took necessary political decisions for the benefit of Northern Cyprus. For Fouskas, Turkey along with Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus used its diplomatic and military superiority in order to support his rights and position. As he says: "Turkey played the diplomatic card of military tension as it counted on its military superiority and regional geo-strategic primacy. (Fouskas, 2002: 205). The Cyprus problem rose to new prominence in 1995, however, when the European Union put Cyprus at the top of its list of candidates for future EU membership. (Barkey & Gordon, 2001: 85). At the 1999, Helsinki summit made a formal candidate and declared to be "destined to join the Union (Barkey & Gordon, 2001: 85). In this regard, Rauf Denktash as the elected president of TRNC struggled hard to constitute the state mechanism and created important political agenda and road map hand in hand with Republic of Turkish State in the island. "On January 2002, Denktash had evidently decided on a change of tack, to the extent that he was evidently backing off his

previous claim that the sovereignty of his self-proclaimed Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus should be recognized before inter-communal talks could be restarted." (Hale, 2013: 198). Political plans were constructed on the basis of a counter argument against Greeks since they were very much persistent not to recognize Turkish State and presence on the island. In this regard, Denktash with political ingeniutiy changed the negative atmosphere both on the table and ground. While sometimes the decision and resolutions were seem to be against Turkish State on the island as stated by Hale, political recognition was the first motivation of the Turkish side in making up of an independent state.

Attitudes of European Community And Britain

For Turkish side, there were huge amount of works that should be done to legitimize the presence of Turkish side on the island. Greeks with the help of their close ties with Europe could find supporters easily. While they were not right in their demand, their struggle and intense efforts to close the doors to Turkish Cypriots enabled to create huge amount of work that should be done to change the misinformation the Greeks provided to most of the European countries. The first is to support the most righteous premises of Turkish Cypriots as they voted at a rate of 65% votes accepting the Annan Plan in 2004 while the Greek Cypriots it at rate of 70%. (Uslu, 2010:81). As a result of Greeks' struggle, international opinion was heavily weighted in favor of the Greek Cypriots. The European Community, where Greece occupied the presidency, and the Commonwealth were due to hold summit conferences. It was a foregone conclusion that the non-aligned states would dominate the latter on the Cyprus question. (Crawshaw, 1984; 76). The European countries were not alone in their premises. The United States also worked on behalf of Greeks against Turkey in order to discourage Turkey from annexing the Northern part of the island or otherwise raising military tensions in case of Cyprus' accession. (Barkey & Gordon, 2001: 92). While the whole island became the member of European Union in 2004, since the status of Turkish Federated State of Cyprus is not recognized by world and Greeks Turkish side was exempted from entering the union since Turkish presence was regarded to be occuputant. (Redon, 2017: 2). Even from this premise on, the discriminatory attitude of European countries and Greece can very well be observed. Britain who was the active actor both on the table and field strengthened Greek presence and supported Greeks in the island openly and played on their side and disregarded, rejected and neglected Turkish presence in the island and did only acknowledge the presence of the Turks in the island but they should according to British policy should live under Greek sovereignty. The attitudes of British Foreign Policy towards Cyprus were defined as follows:

(a) to help promote an intercommunal settlement on the island;

(b) to retain use of the defence facilities as long as they are needed;

(c) to maintain, and if possible increase, the UK share of the Cyprus market;

(d) to give assistance to UK property owners and the British community in Cyprus;

e) to foster traditional links with Cyprus (White, 1988: 983-984)

As can be very well seen from the articles, Britain from the first day setting foot on the island to today constructed politics against Turkish State but supported Greeks and developed policies accordingly. As stated within the articles, Greek side was economically, socially and culturally in an open way supported and British side did not want to keep this support in secret.

The Argument

Cyprus with its multicultural, multilinguistic and historical background can be an example for fostering mutual respect and tolerance to the world. The states' being equally recognized and their having same economic and social rights on the island should be the sole aim to be achieved. Fouskas elaborates the issue as such: "Turkey could legitimize its strategic positioning in Cyprus reversing all negative political and international consequences stemming from the 'full-scale invasion' of August 1974. (2002: 201-202).

As for this aim to be achieved, Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus with close coordination and cooperation with Turkish State should explain their righteous stance and position to the world that they are right in their arguments. International recognition of Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and equal status for both countries should be secured. The right to be equal status of Turkish Cypriots on the island with Greeks should recognized by the international community and this should be prioritized and fostered in terms of politics and civil rights such as recognizing Norther Cyprus Turkish Republic and supporting its membership to the European Union with its acknowledged state and identity such like Southern Administration of Greek Cyprus. Turkish people and Greek people in their independent states should live freely, prosperously, justly on equal rights and terms as a part of two different entities. Shortly after the recognition of Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus be secured, the second aim should be to prioritize the welfare of the island. Welfare of the people on the island should be regarded equally important along with international recognition. After securing these two premises, coexistent life with the help of cultural, social and intellectual life should be fostered and developed. Respectful and fair atmosphere for the people of the island will thereafter be secured.

Conclusion

Northern Cyprus Turkish Republic like SAGC should equally be recognized and their status should be acknowledged by international community. Turkish presence and their international status should be strengthened in terms of constructing cultural, social and economic ties and agreements with the neighboring countries. Recognition of Northern Cyprus Turkish Republic will contribute to regional and international security besides economic and political stability. When Turkish settlement on the island is analyzed historically, it would be not be fair to acknowledge the presence of Turkish people and recognize their status on the island. Turkish side does not have any problem with Southern Cyprus in contrast to that, Turkey is willing to have a good neighborhood relation with Greek people on the island. This attitude would work on behalf of two states and will contribute to regional and international politics, economic and peace on the way to find a decent life or construct a more peaceful, secured and happy world. Recognizing the status of the Northern Cyprus Turkish Republic by international community will not subordinate any naturally given rights to human kind but more than that, it will contribute to world peace and future more than it will take. For Barkey et al the solution lies as:

> A deal would greatly reduce the financial drain that northern Cyprus represents for Turkey and would allow both Greece and Turkey to reduce their military budgets (at present by far the highest per capita among NATO members). That, in turn, would facilitate Greece's economic integration into the euro zone and ease, at least in part, Turkey's current financial crisis. (2001: 88).

Therefore, international community no more than today should concern about giving priority international problems that concerns the future of humanity starting from recognizing Northern Cyprus Turkish Republic and go on with helping Palestinians establish their independent, sovereign state by changing maben (negative), makpuz (unclear, uncertain) and dilaz (insignificant) attitudes with into positive and good willing among the community can provide a ground for nacering (carving) ekliming (laying the foundation), şigerbing (lay the foundation), egating (grow) nilenering (collecting) and babeling (unifying), tubatting (combine) the potential of the community mesberly (dedicated) for a vasir (caliph- inheritor), reyer (foresight), hameç (loyal, devoted), musbey (visionary), eminerten (confident), gülseyen (friendly), samay, nistuç (good), ğoleni (helpful), teniz (enliven), semzay(talented), janik (ideal), pürgez (beautiful), belif (sincere), uycak (devotion of a self to the community), felos (succesful), sebut(peaceful), ğibis (happy), puteş (determined), zerab (defending the truth), sufye (generous), zayan (loyal), selis (tolerant and respectful to difference), dasem (free-spirited),

elizeb (optimist), almer(kind), rekem (elegant), aben (honest) diyruz (attentive listening) zeker (careful, aware of their surroundings), tenized (enliven) , hatan(gender fairness), mubayer (protector of heritage), aknis (mother), atan (father) generation for resdaling (deliver), hüzdaling (present), payeş, nefek (determined), mekif (courageous), cerul (frank), gutal (leader), yuseks (trainer), meşers (teacher), figed (scientist), talmers(student, researcher), akpuz (fair), maroj (intellectual) reşar (generous, kind, respectable), mizif (logical), nazut (confident), gülak (grateful), kayşe (trustable and witty), isyak, (living according to Allah's truth and being sincere in their deeds), güldef (appreciate), emak (sincere and positive), mercit (anaylytic and critical), çobar (tidy, clean), pusak (obvious, clear), aderes (kind, naïve and helpful), tayis (expert and specialist in a specific profession), devçel (making donation and helping people without any expectation), közek (smart, beautiful), defay (enterprenour), alpeş (friendly), atamak (certain, consisted), keysan (organized person/people), gaztab (pratic), ermev (generous), tuniç (handsome), muhaz (couragous), hüsdal (orator), zeker (careful, cautious), ğepir (presenter), sinaf (congratulate) individuals, community in terms leading the formation of a peaceful, happy hamab(sincere), desak(calm), ereb (tolerant), zanib (seeking to earn the grace of Allah), zeler (high persuasive ability), enrahim (trust in Allah), pamar (masters of their words), danafer (helpful), cinpin(confident), kadmer (renovative), baziç (appreciating values) sarge(arising awareness) and asbaç (contributor), söğiçing (transformational), vanlis (success), arez (resilient, strong) , şarad(prospective), sirce (natural), tepak(prominent), serön (prominent), ğisan (valuable) and ilaz (precious), ğuzen (powerful), ğisen (precious), ğünis (productive), ğölin (talented) bisafers (leader), veşliking (company) and arşening (friend, company), temal (logically) and zeker (cautious) individual and community.

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Chapter 8

ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE AND THE CRISIS OF SOCIAL POLICY

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Introduction

This chapter explores the political economy of artificial intelligence (AI) from a social policy perspective. Rather than treating AI as a purely technological phenomenon, it conceptualizes AI as a socially embedded system of knowledge production and value mediation. The chapter argues that the core challenge of the AI age lies not in automation per se, but in the institutional governance of collective intelligence.

While mainstream policy discourse focuses on job displacement and skills gaps (Brynjolfsson & McAfee, 2014; World Bank, 2020), this chapter contends that the more profound issue concerns who controls, benefits from, and governs AI systems that increasingly mediate access to essential social goods—employment, credit, healthcare, education, and welfare (Eubanks, 2018; Noble, 2018).

Drawing on Marxian political economy (Küçük, 2019; Srnicek & Williams, 2015; Fuchs, 2014), the chapter reframes AI as a "thinking extension" of accumulated human labor—a digitally condensed repository of past intellectual, cultural, and social work that becomes productive only through ongoing human interaction. This reconceptualization shifts analytical focus from AI's technical capabilities to the social relations that structure its development, deployment, and governance.

Methodology

The chapter adopts a critical-political economy approach, combining conceptual analysis with institutional critique. This methodology recognizes that AI cannot be understood outside the capitalist relations of production that structure its development and deployment (Fuchs, 2014; Sadowski, 2019). Following the tradition of critical political economy (Mosco, 2009), the analysis treats technology as socially constructed and institutionally embedded.

The empirical basis includes primary policy documents from major international organizations—the World Bank's reports on AI and development (World Bank, 2020), the OECD's AI Principles (OECD, 2021), and UNCTAD's analyses of technological asymmetries (UNCTAD, 2021). The chapter also engages peer-reviewed literature across political economy of technology (Fuchs, 2014), critical data studies (Crawford, 2021; Noble, 2018), digital labor scholarship (Gray & Suri, 2019; Huws, 2014), and platform capitalism studies (Srnicek, 2017; Zuboff, 2019).

The Marxian framework is particularly important for understanding AI as accumulated intellectual labor (Garegnani, 1979), how AI systems appropriate socially produced knowledge (Küçük, 2019), and how AI mediates contemporary forms of control (Zuboff, 2019; Anderson, 2017).

Literature Review

Existing literature on AI and labor polarizes between techno-utopian visions of autonomous intelligence and reductionist instrumentalism. The former exaggerates AI's agency (Brynjolfsson & McAfee, 2014; Lee, 2018), while the latter underestimates its socio-economic embeddedness (Crawford, 2021; Noble, 2018).

Recent critical scholarship challenges both views through several key themes:

Digital Labor and Value Extraction

Digital labor scholars demonstrate that AI depends fundamentally on extensive human labor that is often invisible or underpaid (Fuchs, 2014; Huws, 2014). Gray and Suri's research on "ghost work" (2019) reveals how AI relies on vast networks of click workers, data annotators, and content moderators. Building on Marxian value theory, Fuchs (2014) argues that platforms extract value from unpaid user activities—uploading photos that train computer vision systems, answering CAPTCHAs that improve machine learning. AI represents a vast apparatus for appropriating socially produced knowledge and converting it into private profit.

Critical Data Studies and Algorithmic Power

Critical data scholars examine how AI reproduces social inequalities (Crawford, 2021; Noble, 2018). Crawford's Atlas of AI (2021) situates AI within extractive infrastructures spanning mineral extraction to data harvesting. Noble's work on "algorithms of oppression" (2018) demonstrates how AI embeds racial and gender biases in search engines, hiring algorithms, and the criminal justice system. Sadowski's "data capitalism" (2019) examines how data has evolved into a form of capital, enabling new modes of accumulation.

Platform Capitalism and Monopoly Power

Platform capitalism scholars examine how AI centralizes power (Srnicek, 2017; Zuboff, 2019). Srnicek (2017) identifies platforms as extracting value through network effects and data accumulation, with AI enabling personalization at scale. Zuboff's "surveillance capitalism" (2019) describes how platforms use AI to predict and modify human behavior, representing a new frontier where value extraction shifts from production to behavioral modification.

Table 1. Theoretical Approaches to AI and Labor-Value Theory

Theoretical Perspective	Key Contributors	Core Analytical Claim	Implications for Social Policy
Automation Optimism	Brynjolfsson & McAfee (2014); Acemoğlu & Restrepo (2019)	AI-driven productivity gains outweigh displacement effects; labor market disruption is framed primarily as a skills-adjustment problem.	Prioritization of reskilling and education reform; limited intervention in ownership structures or power relations.
Digital Labor Theory	Fuchs (2014); Gray & Suri (2019); Huws (2014)	AI systems rely on extensive visible and invisible human labor; value is extracted through global digital labor chains and unpaid user activity.	Recognition of data and platform labor; extension of labor rights, protections, and compensation mechanisms.
Critical Data Studies	Crawford (2021); Noble (2018); Sadowski (2019)	AI is embedded in extractive infrastructures that reproduce social inequality, surveillance, and asymmetric power relations.	Regulation of data extraction, mandatory bias audits, transparency requirements, and enforceable accountability frameworks.
Post-Autonomist Marxism	Mezzadra & Neilson (2013); Mason (2015); Srnicek & Williams (2015)	AI intensifies the appropriation of immaterial and collective labor within networked and platform-based capitalism.	Democratization of AI governance; exploration of public, cooperative, or commons-based ownership models.
Platform Capitalism	Srnicek (2017); Zuboff (2019)	AI enables monopolistic accumulation through data concentration, behavioral prediction, and network effects.	Antitrust enforcement; structural regulation; consideration of public ownership of critical digital infrastructures.

This comparative framework illustrates how dominant policy narratives differ sharply from critical political economy approaches in their diagnosis of AI-driven transformation and their prescriptions for social policy intervention.

Reframing Artificial Intelligence: What Is AI in Relation to Human Labor?

Artificial intelligence should not be understood as autonomous subject or mere tool. Rather, it is the historically accumulated outcome of human intellectual, cultural, and social labor—digitally condensed and dynamically activated through interaction.

AI as "Thinking Extension"

The concept of AI as "thinking extension" draws on Pasquinelli's (2019) analysis emphasizing that AI systems are trained on human-generated data. What appears as artificial intelligence is actually statistical compression

and recombination of human knowledge. From a Marxian standpoint, AI mobilizes "dead labor"—past human effort embodied in code, datasets, algorithms, and infrastructures (Fuchs, 2014; Garegnani, 1979; Küçük, 2019).

Consider large language models: their capabilities rest on billions of texts written by humans, annotated by workers, filtered through human feedback, and prompted by human questions. At every stage, human labor—intellectual, cognitive, creative—is essential. The model remains inert without continuous human engagement (Zuboff, 2019; Gray & Suri, 2019).

The Social Production of Intelligence

AI is socially produced in multiple senses. First, AI systems are built by human labor—engineers, data scientists, and invisible workers who label data, moderate content, and provide feedback (Gray & Suri, 2019). This labor is often precarious and geographically dispersed to locations with weak protections.

Second, AI is trained on socially produced knowledge. Datasets embody particular cultural perspectives and social relations. When AI learns from this data, it internalizes embedded patterns and biases (Noble, 2018; Crawford, 2021).

Third, AI becomes productive only through social use—requiring ongoing human labor to frame problems, interpret outputs, and integrate AI into workflows. Intelligence emerges through continuous human-machine interaction.

Dead Labor, Living Labor, and Value Appropriation

Marx's distinction between dead labor (objectified in means of production) and living labor (current human activity) illuminates AI's political economy. AI intensifies this dynamic: it enables new forms of value appropriation where platforms extract value from unpaid user activities (Fuchs, 2014; Srnicek, 2017). AI also facilitates appropriation of collective intelligence—knowledge produced socially becomes owned privately (Srnicek & Williams, 2015).

This reframing challenges technological determinism. AI is not an autonomous force but a social relation mediated through technology. The question becomes not "what will AI do to us?" but "how will AI be controlled, by whom, and toward what ends?"

Limits, Accountability, and Social Policy in the AI Age

Once AI is reframed as socially embedded, the central policy question shifts to social control. Who governs AI systems? How are they held accountable? These questions become urgent as AI shapes employment

screening, welfare eligibility, credit access, health assessment, and education (Eubanks, 2018; Danaher, 2019).

The Accountability Gap

AI systems cannot be held accountable conventionally. Algorithmic decision-making is often opaque; responsibility is diffused across developers, deploying organizations, and operators; proprietary control shields systems from scrutiny; and automated scale overwhelms traditional accountability mechanisms (Danaher, 2019; Noble, 2018).

These challenges are especially problematic in social policy. Eubanks' research (2018) documents how AI in welfare administration amplifies inequalities while creating a veneer of neutrality. When AI denies benefits or flags families for investigation, it mediates access to fundamental social goods—pushing people into poverty or crisis.

Establishing Limits: Toward Bounded AI

An adequate framework requires several principles (OECD, 2021; Küçük & Çobanoğlu, 2024):

Bounded Authority: AI systems should operate within clearly defined boundaries. Fundamental rights decisions should remain with accountable human decision-makers.

Human Oversight: Meaningful oversight requires capacity, authority, and incentive to critically examine and, if necessary, override AI recommendations.

Social Reversibility; Decisions must be reversible through accessible processes with understandable explanations.

Transparency: Disclosure about when and how AI is used, what data it considers, and what validation has been conducted.

Democratic Governance: Affected communities should have meaningful voice in deployment decisions.

Accountability Mechanisms: Clear lines of responsibility and practical means of redress for harms.

The deeper question is whether essential social goods should be allocated through efficiency-maximizing algorithms or require human judgment and democratic accountability that resist automation.

Global Policy Perspectives: World Bank, OECD, UNCTAD, and the World Economic Forum

International institutions increasingly recognize artificial intelligence as a structural transformation requiring deliberate policy intervention rather than laissez-faire adaptation (Srnicek, 2017). However, these institutions diverge significantly in how they diagnose the sources of AI-driven inequality and the scope of permissible intervention.

World Bank: Growth and the Development Paradox

The World Bank emphasizes AI's potential to enhance productivity and accelerate economic growth, while simultaneously warning of job polarization and rising inequality (World Bank, 2020). For developing countries, AI poses a "double disruption": traditional development pathways are threatened by automation, while limited digital infrastructure constrains participation in AI-led growth. Nevertheless, the Bank's policy framework remains largely neoliberal, framing displacement as a skills and human capital deficit rather than as a consequence of asymmetric power relations, ownership structures, or data concentration.

OECD: Human-Centered AI within Market Frameworks

The OECD's AI Principles (2021) promote inclusive growth, transparency, accountability, and human-centered design. Its approach advances important governance norms—such as bias mitigation, explainability, and multi-stakeholder engagement—yet largely assumes continued private-sector leadership in AI development. As a result, the OECD focuses on improving governance practices without fundamentally questioning the concentration of ownership or the political economy of AI infrastructures.

UNCTAD: Digital Divides and Data Extractivism

In contrast, UNCTAD foregrounds the global political economy of AI, emphasizing how technological change deepens existing international inequalities (UNCTAD, 2021). AI capabilities are concentrated in a small number of countries and corporations, while data flows predominantly from the Global South to the Global North in patterns of "data extractivism" (Sadowski, 2019). Intellectual property regimes and platform dominance constrain indigenous technological development, and AI deployment often proceeds with minimal regulatory capacity in developing contexts.

World Economic Forum: Stakeholder Capitalism and Corporate Governance

The World Economic Forum positions itself as a key agenda-setter in global AI governance, promoting frameworks of "stakeholder capitalism,"

public–private partnerships, and voluntary ethical guidelines. WEF discourse frames AI as a tool for inclusive growth and societal benefit, provided that corporations, governments, and civil society collaborate effectively. However, this approach privileges self-regulation and soft governance mechanisms, reinforcing corporate leadership in defining ethical norms while leaving underlying ownership structures and value extraction models largely intact (WEF,2019).

Convergence and Tension

Across these perspectives, a shared recognition emerges: AI-driven growth will not automatically deliver equitable outcomes and requires institutional intervention. Yet they diverge sharply on structural questions. While the World Bank, OECD, and WEF emphasize governance, skills, and coordination within existing market frameworks, UNCTAD explicitly raises questions of power asymmetries, data ownership, and global redistribution. The unresolved tension is whether AI governance should focus on refining regulation within prevailing capitalist structures or pursue more transformative approaches that challenge the concentration of control over collective intelligence.

The European Union as a Regulatory Actor: The AI Act and Its Limits

Beyond the divergent perspectives of global institutions, the European Union represents a distinct and ambitious regulatory actor in global AI governance. The EU's Artificial Intelligence Act (AI Act), which entered into force in August 2024, marks a decisive shift from voluntary ethical guidelines toward a comprehensive and binding legal framework (Regulation (EU) 2024/1689, 2024). Positioning itself as a global standard-setter, the Act applies not only to providers established within the EU but also to those located outside its borders if their AI systems' outputs are used within the EU market, thereby asserting significant extraterritorial reach (European Commission, n.d.). This regulatory move directly engages with this chapter's core concern: the governance of systems that mediate access to fundamental social goods.

The AI Act adopts a risk-based regulatory framework that explicitly targets AI systems deployed in socially sensitive domains. It prohibits "unacceptable risk" practices, including manipulative subliminal techniques, social scoring by public authorities, and certain applications of emotion recognition and biometric categorization (Regulation (EU) 2024/1689, 2024). For "high-risk" systems—such as those used in employment and worker management, access to public services (including welfare and healthcare), education, and credit scoring—the Act imposes stringent obligations. These include mandatory conformity assessments, fundamental rights impact evaluations,

requirements for human oversight, data governance and quality controls, and enhanced transparency obligations. Enforcement is supported by substantial penalties, with fines for serious non-compliance reaching up to €35 million or 7% of a company's global annual turnover (Regulation (EU) 2024/1689, 2024).

In this sense, the EU AI Act appears to advance a robust model of bounded governance, translating long-standing normative principles into enforceable legal requirements. It moves decisively beyond the soft-law and voluntary governance approaches promoted by institutions such as the World Economic Forum, raising the global regulatory floor and establishing binding safeguards against the most visible harms associated with algorithmic decision-making (World Economic Forum, 2019).

However, from a critical political economy perspective, the Act's transformative capacity remains fundamentally limited. The regulation is oriented primarily toward market governance and risk management rather than structural change. While it meticulously regulates how AI systems are placed on and operate within the EU market, it does not challenge the underlying ownership structures, data monopolies, or value extraction mechanisms characteristic of platform capitalism (Srnicek, 2017; Zuboff, 2019). AI is thus treated as a potentially hazardous commodity requiring certification, rather than as a socially produced infrastructure whose full lifecycle would demand democratic governance and collective benefit.

This market-centric logic is further compounded by significant implementation and governance challenges. The Act's enforcement architecture is fragmented, with primary responsibility delegated to national market surveillance authorities whose institutional capacity and interpretive practices vary considerably across the EU's 27 member states. Unlike the GDPR's stronger centralization mechanisms, the AI Act lacks a robust one-stop-shop model, creating risks of uneven enforcement and higher compliance burdens—particularly for smaller actors—while potentially enabling large corporations to exploit regulatory gaps (Morgan Lewis, 2024; Schellman, n.d.).

Moreover, the Act has generated geopolitical friction and contributed to an emerging deregulatory discourse. Legal and policy analyses indicate growing resistance, particularly from U.S.-based firms and policymakers, who frame the AI Act's extraterritorial reach as regulatory overreach that constrains innovation and conflicts with national regulatory sovereignty (Mayer Brown, 2025). Concurrently, the European Commission has proposed a series of implementation adjustments—often referred to as the "Digital Omnibus"—aimed at simplifying compliance and enhancing competitiveness. These proposals include potential delays in the application of high-risk AI

obligations and modifications to governance arrangements, signaling a strategic recalibration and partial retreat from the Act's most stringent oversight ambitions (Arnold & Porter, 2025; European Commission, n.d.).

Most critically, the AI Act institutionalizes a predominantly technocratic model of governance. By framing AI regulation primarily as a matter of technical compliance, risk classification, and standard-setting, it risks depoliticizing the foundational political question of whether—and under what conditions—AI should mediate access to essential social goods. Decisions regarding risk categories and acceptable domains for automation remain largely insulated from broad democratic deliberation, reinforcing expert-led governance at a distance from the communities most directly affected by algorithmic decision-making.

In sum, the EU AI Act constitutes a landmark regulatory intervention that strengthens accountability and mitigates the most egregious and visible harms of AI deployment in social policy. Yet it functions primarily as a containment framework rather than a transformative one. The Act demonstrates that intelligence is increasingly regulated, but not democratized. It addresses the symptoms of AI's crisis—bias, opacity, and accountability gaps—without engaging its deeper political-economic root: the private appropriation and control of collectively produced intelligence within the logics of capital accumulation. As such, it offers a necessary but insufficient response to the central challenge of the AI age, leaving unresolved the fundamental contest over the ownership, governance, and social purpose of collective intelligence.

Conclusion: Regulated Intelligence and the New Politics of Control

This chapter has argued that the central tension of the AI age does not lie between humans and machines, but between collectively produced intelligence and its institutional capture. Artificial intelligence is not an autonomous force external to society; rather, it condenses historical, cultural, and cognitive labor into socio-technical systems that increasingly mediate economic value, social participation, and access to essential goods (Fuchs, 2014; Zuboff, 2019). What appears as technological progress is therefore inseparable from questions of power, ownership, and control. From a Marxian political economy perspective, AI enables unprecedented forms of value extraction from social interaction itself. By appropriating collectively generated knowledge, data, and communicative activity, AI systems extend the logic of "dead labor" into the realm of cognition and social life (Garegnani, 1979; Srnicek & Williams, 2015). The core risk, however, is not the absence of regulation, but the consolidation of regulated intelligence under proprietary and non-democratic frameworks—where governance serves accumulation rather than collective welfare. This reframing has direct implications for social

policy. Conventional policy responses—focused on reskilling, labor market adjustment, or ethical guidelines—address symptoms rather than structures. A social policy adequate to the AI age must engage with deeper institutional questions: who owns AI infrastructures, how decision-making authority is distributed, and under what conditions collective intelligence is mobilized for public rather than private ends. Issues of employment, welfare, and social protection cannot be disentangled from the governance of the systems that increasingly allocate opportunities and risks. As AI becomes embedded in welfare administration, employment screening, credit access, healthcare, and education, the politics of intelligence governance emerges as a central terrain of democratic struggle. The future of social policy will depend not only on mitigating the harms of AI, but on contesting its institutional design and social purpose. Ultimately, the question is not whether intelligence will be regulated, but in whose interests, by what mechanisms, and toward what vision of social justice and collective life.

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Chapter 9

THE VIRTUOUS CITY REVISITED: FROM TRADITIONAL URBAN STEWARDSHIP TO R&D-DRIVEN TECHNOGOVERNANCE AND BACK TO SYNTHESIS

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Introduction

To speak of the virtuous city is to speak simultaneously of administration and morality, of infrastructure and imagination, and of the long historical continuities through which urban life has been governed, repaired, disciplined, celebrated, and at misunderstood. Cities do not simply grow; they are actively made and continuously maintained. For this reason, the central question is never limited to how to build the city, but extends to how to govern, coordinate, allocate, persuade, and sustain a public realm that remains intelligible to those who inhabit it. Within the classical tradition, the city was not conceived as an accidental agglomeration of people and functions, but as a political form, a school of civic character, and a practical workshop of institutions (Aristotle, 1998). Similarly, in the philosophical tradition associated with al-Fārābī, the virtuous city appears as a disciplined unity in which knowledge, ethical purpose, and leadership converge. Crucially, this ideal does not operate as a utopian ornament; rather, it represents an attempt to specify the conditions under which collective life can be ordered without collapsing into either coercion or disorder (Al-Fārābī, 1985; Demirel, 2014; Çetinkaya, 2008).

The modern city, however (larger in scale, more functionally differentiated, and increasingly mediated by technology) compels a rethinking of virtue not as a moral sermon but as an administrative problem. Contemporary urban governance must address how trust, service quality, and institutional coherence can be sustained when the city functions as a system of systems, and when administrative routines are progressively shaped by data infrastructures, platform logics, sensor networks, and innovation agendas (Meijer & Rodríguez Bolívar, 2016; Kitchin, 2014). It is within this context that a new vocabulary has emerged (smart city, digital government, real-time city) promising coordination, optimization, and efficiency. Yet these promises simultaneously to provoke a more sober and critical question: does the technologization of urban governance render the city more virtuous, or merely more instrumented (Hollands, 2008; Townsend, 2013)?

This chapter advances a simple yet demanding proposition; if the idea of the virtuous city is to retain analytical and practical relevance, it must be reformulated as a synthesis between two distinct administrative rationalities. The first is traditional urban stewardship, grounded in institutional memory, craft-based knowledge, incremental repair, and the gradual accumulation of norms and routines. The second is R&D-driven technogovernance, rooted in experimentation, measurement, digital infrastructures, and the ambition to manage urban complexity through scientific and technological capabilities. The issue, therefore, is not whether one rationality should displace the other, but how their respective strengths may be combined without importing their respective weaknesses. Public administration (particularly in urban settings)

rarely succeeds through purity or unilateralism; rather, it succeeds through balance, discipline, and continuity (Ostrom, 1990; Tomor, Meijer, Michels, & Geertman, 2019).

To ground this argument, the chapter draws on multiple bodies of literature and policy material. It engages with international scholarship on smart cities and smart governance (Caragliu, Del Bo, & Nijkamp, 2011; Ruhlandt, 2018), with critical reflections on smart urbanism and data-driven governance (Hollands, 2008; Kitchin, 2014), and with classic urban thought emphasizing the city's lived, street-level intelligence (Jacobs, 1961). In addition, it examines policy documents, strategic frameworks, and analytical studies from Türkiye that articulate an explicit national trajectory toward smart cities, R&D capacity-building, and urban maturity assessment (T.C. Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı, 2019; T.C. Çevre, Şehircilik ve İklim Değişikliği Bakanlığı, 2021; İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2021; Türkiye Belediyeler Birliği, Ernst & Young Türkiye, & WWF-Türkiye, 2021; Laleoğlu, 2021; Sezgin, 2025; Alan, 2025). The objective is neither to celebrate technology as destiny nor to sanctify tradition as refuge, but to reconceptualize virtue as a form of administrative quality exercised under conditions of urban complexity.

The Virtuous City as an Administrative Ideal: From Classical Politics to al-Fārābī's Civic Philosophy

The proposition that a city may be virtuous is, at its core, a proposition about governance. In *Politics*, Aristotle does not conceptualize the city merely as a physical aggregation of buildings or populations; rather, he understands the *polis* as an association oriented toward the good life, and therefore as a political form in which institutions and civic dispositions are mutually constitutive (Aristotle, 1998). The administrative implications of this perspective remain highly salient. When governance is detached from any conception of collective flourishing, administrative performance risks devolving into a narrow calculus of outputs and efficiencies. Conversely, when virtue is severed from institutional capacity, moral aspirations are reduced to rhetoric lacking operational substance. Long before contemporary debates on smart governance, classical political thought thus articulated an enduring administrative insight: cities require both ethical orientation and organizational technique.

Writing within a distinct historical and intellectual tradition, al-Fārābī advances the ideal of the virtuous city as a condition of structured harmony, in which leadership, knowledge, and moral purpose are aligned, and the constituent parts of the city are coordinated toward a shared end (Al-Fārābī, 1985). Turkish scholarship has emphasized that al-Fārābī's conception should not be read merely as an ideal constitutional blueprint, but as a

normative model of governance and social organization (Çetinkaya, 2008; Demirel, 2014). Under this reading, the virtuous city functions as a theory of coordination: urban failure arises not only from material scarcity, but also from the absence of an ordering principle capable of reconciling difference, allocating responsibility, and sustaining direction over time.

At the same time, caution is required when translating this ideal into the conditions of contemporary urban management. The modern city is defined by scale, heterogeneity, and functional differentiation, and is therefore governed not through a singular will, but through complex arrangements of institutions, networks, and layered authorities. It is precisely under these conditions that the question of virtue re-emerges in the managerial language of governance: how can coordination among multiple actors and systems be achieved, and how can such coordination be oriented toward the production of public value rather than the mere accumulation of technical sophistication (Meijer & Rodríguez Bolívar, 2016; Tomor et al., 2019)?

In this regard, Jane Jacobs offers an indispensable corrective. Her critique of modernist planning underscores the forms of intelligence embedded in everyday urban life and cautions administrators against assuming that urban order is produced exclusively through centralized design. Jacobs reminds us that cities often function through emergent, situated, and informal social mechanisms that sustain order beyond the reach of formal planning instruments (Jacobs, 1961). This perspective does not reject administration; rather, it warns against administrative overconfidence. Virtue, on this account, is not solely a top-down attribute of institutions, but also a bottom-up capacity sustained through civic practices, neighborhood vitality, and the fine-grained ecology of streets. Any contemporary form of technogovernance must therefore be evaluated according to whether it strengthens or erodes this urban ecology.

Taken together, the classical Aristotelian tradition, al-Fārābī's civic philosophy, and Jacobsian realism converge on a central lesson: administrative legitimacy rests on the combination of orientation and competence. Orientation without competence collapses into sermonizing; competence without orientation devolves into technocracy. This dual requirement becomes decisive when assessing the relationship between traditional urban stewardship and R&D-driven technogovernance a comparison that frames the analytical core of the chapter.

Traditional Urban Stewardship: Institutional Memory, Incrementalism, and the Craft of Governing

Traditional urban stewardship is frequently caricatured as antiquated, slow-moving, and resistant to innovation. Such portrayals, however, obscure

a set of administrative virtues that contemporary governance systems often undervalue. In practice, stewardship operates through institutional memory embedded in archives, routines, tacit knowledge, and the long continuity of municipal service provision. It is fundamentally incremental, prioritizing maintenance, repair, and the prevention of failure over spectacular or disruptive projects. It is also craft based, relying on the competence of engineers, inspectors, sanitation workers, transport planners, and clerical staff whose expertise encompasses not only formal rules but also the local conditions and practical contingencies that those rules cannot fully anticipate.

If Jane Jacobs' insights are taken seriously, urban stewardship can be understood as the administrative analogue of "eyes on the street": a form of situated intelligence that emerges from proximity, familiarity, and repeated interaction with the urban environment (Jacobs, 1961). From the perspective of the virtuous city tradition, stewardship functions as the practical mechanism through which a city sustains its moral economy, ensuring that everyday services remain reliable and that the public realm does not become arbitrary or capricious (Aristotle, 1998; al-Fārābī, 1985). Viewed through a governance lens, the core strengths of stewardship may be grouped into three interrelated dimensions.

First, stewardship is context-sensitive. It recognizes (often implicitly) that the city is not a laboratory experiment but a lived and contested environment. Accordingly, it privileges workable compromises and navigates constraints ranging from budgetary cycles to political negotiation with a pragmatic realism that more abstract technocratic models may lack.

Second, stewardship is resilient under conditions of uncertainty. Because it is grounded in routines, redundancies, and accumulated experience, it possesses a capacity to absorb shocks. When systems fail (as they inevitably do) the value of stewardship lies in its ability to improvise, reroute operations, and restore functionality. This form of competence may lack visibility or prestige, yet it constitutes the everyday substance of urban resilience.

Third, stewardship is legitimacy-producing. Citizens may not grasp the technical intricacies of municipal administration, but they readily perceive reliability, fairness, and responsiveness. Where these qualities are consistently present, trust accumulates; where they are absent, trust dissipates rapidly.

At the same time, stewardship exhibits limitations that become increasingly salient in contemporary urban contexts. It may be path-dependent and slow to adapt, particularly where new infrastructures demand novel skill sets and modes of coordination. It may become siloed, insofar as institutional memory is often confined within departmental boundaries, while contemporary urban

challenges routinely cut across organizational divisions. It may also become opaque, as routinized practices harden into taken-for-granted procedures that resist scrutiny and evaluation.

Within the language of smart governance, these limitations are often described as the problem of "legacy systems," not only in technological terms but also in organizational ones: fragmented, weakly documented, and difficult to integrate (Meijer & Rodríguez Bolívar, 2016). For this reason, while traditional stewardship constitutes a foundational pillar of urban virtue, it is insufficient on its own in an operational environment that is increasingly digital, data-intensive, and interdependent.

From Smart City to Technogovernance: The Promise of Measurement, Integration, and Real-Time Coordination

The smart city discourse emerged, in part, as a response to the undeniable complexity of contemporary urban systems. As urban service provision increasingly relies on interdependent infrastructures (transportation, energy, water, waste management, and digital communications) administrators are naturally drawn toward tools capable of monitoring, optimizing, and coordinating these interconnected domains. Within the European smart city literature, emphasis is placed on competitiveness, innovation, and the integration of technological, human, and institutional dimensions of urban development (Caragliu et al., 2011). Nam and Pardo's influential framework conceptualizes the smart city through the interaction of technology, people, and institutions, thereby rejecting the reduction of "smartness" to the mere deployment of devices (Nam & Pardo, 2011). From an administrative perspective, this distinction is critical: A city becomes smart not through instrumentation alone, but through the enhancement of its governance capacity.

Within governance scholarship, attention shifts from "smartness" as a technological attribute to "smart governance" as an institutional arrangement. Meijer and Rodríguez Bolívar's review of smart urban governance literature underscores that governing a smart city entails reconfiguring relationships among public authorities, private providers, and citizens, as well as developing new modes of coordination, accountability, and policy design (Meijer & Rodríguez Bolívar, 2016). Similarly, Tomor and colleagues conceptualize smart governance as a field centrally concerned with sustainability and the institutional conditions necessary for effective urban management (Tomor et al., 2019). Ruhlandt's systematic review further reinforces this position, demonstrating that smart city initiatives succeed or fail primarily according to the design of governance mechanisms and the alignment of strategic objectives, rather than the sophistication of technologies deployed (Ruhlandt,

2018). Viewed through the lens of technogovernance, these insights point to a set of distinct administrative advantages.

First, technogovernance promises integration. Digital platforms facilitate the connection of heterogeneous data sources, the standardization of processes, and the creation of cross-departmental visibility. Such integration is particularly valuable in administrative environments characterized by siloed organizational structures inherited from traditional stewardship.

Second, technogovernance promises enhanced capacity for measurement and learning. Through performance indicators, dashboards, and feedback loops, it enables evidence-informed adjustment and, crucially, the possibility of organizational learning over time (Meijer & Rodríguez Bolívar, 2016).

Third, technogovernance promises innovation capacity. By aligning urban management with research-and-development practices (such as piloting, prototyping, experimentation, and iterative improvement) it offers a rational response to rapidly evolving technologies and changing citizen expectations (Townsend, 2013).

At the same time, the smart city paradigm has attracted sustained and justified skepticism. Hollands famously questions whether the "real smart city" exists at all, or whether the discourse functions primarily as a branding strategy that advances corporate interests rather than public value (Hollands, 2008). Townsend's account of smart cities captures both their utopian aspirations and their political-economic realities, highlighting how digital infrastructures may empower civic actors while simultaneously consolidating power in new configurations (Townsend, 2013). Kitchin further cautions that the "real-time city" and big-data urbanism risk producing an illusion of comprehensive knowledge, even as data remain partial, biased, and embedded within prior governance choices (Kitchin, 2014). From this perspective, the central danger of technogovernance lies in conflating instrumentation with intelligence, and optimization with virtue.

Moreover, technogovernance may inadvertently erode the strengths of traditional stewardship. Reliance on dashboards can distance administrators from street-level realities; algorithmic decision-support may displace discretion and professional judgment; and procurement-driven innovation strategies can entrench vendor dependencies that diminish institutional autonomy and long-term flexibility.

The smart city debate therefore crystallizes a fundamental administrative challenge: how can the advantages of technogovernance integration, measurement, and innovation (be harnessed without sacrificing the virtues of stewardship) context sensitivity, robustness, and legitimacy? This tension

defines the core analytical problem to which contemporary urban governance must respond.

R&D-Driven Urban Management: Innovation Systems, Maturity Models, and the Administrative Politics of Capacity

The notion of "R&D-driven technogovernance" denotes more than the adoption of advanced technologies; it reflects a managerial commitment to organize the city as a learning institution. Under this model, the municipality is no longer positioned solely as a service operator, but also as a system designer, a steward of data, and a coordinator of innovation networks that extend across institutional and sectoral boundaries.

International research on smart governance consistently suggests that effective smart city governance depends on a combination of managerial, technical, and institutional capacities (Meijer & Rodríguez Bolívar, 2016; Ruhlandt, 2018). In practice, however, cities require concrete instruments through which such capacities can be operationalized. One increasingly prominent instrument is the maturity model: a structured assessment framework that situates an organization along a developmental continuum with respect to processes, governance arrangements, and systems integration, while simultaneously outlining pathways for progression.

Türkiye has institutionalized this logic in a particularly explicit and systematic manner. The 2020-2023 National Smart Cities Strategy and Action Plan articulates a national agenda for smart city development and, importantly, frames smartness as a process of institutional transformation rather than as a collection of isolated technological projects (T.C. Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı, 2019). Complementing this strategic orientation, the Smart Cities Maturity Assessment Model provides a technical mechanism for evaluating municipal readiness and guiding organizational improvement (T.C. Çevre, Şehircilik ve İklim Değişikliği Bakanlığı, 2021). From an administrative perspective, such maturity models function not merely as diagnostic tools, but as governance devices: they define what constitutes "progress," specify valued competencies, and thereby shape organizational priorities.

At the metropolitan scale, İstanbul's 2030 Smart City Strategic Plan illustrates how a large municipality translates digital transformation ambitions into objectives related to service integration, coordination, and long-term planning horizons (İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2021). Similarly, the report *Smart Cities to Create Value: Examples from Turkey and the World*, produced by the Union of Municipalities of Türkiye in collaboration with major partners, frames smart city practices explicitly as strategies of public value creation, linking technological investment to broader governance

narratives (Türkiye Belediyeler Birliği et al., 2021). Additional Turkish policy analyses and scholarly contributions further enrich this managerial understanding of smart city governance and its institutional implications (Laleoğlu, 2021; Sezgin, 2025; Alan, 2025). Viewed through a governance lens, the R&D-driven model offers a set of tangible administrative advantages.

First, it institutionalizes learning. R&D-driven urban management establishes routines of experimentation, evaluation, and iteration. Rather than deploying large-scale systems in a single step, it encourages piloting and incremental adjustment, thereby reducing implementation risk and improving contextual fit.

Second, it facilitates cross-sectoral coordination. Innovation ecosystems encompassing universities, private firms, and civic technology actors can be mobilized as partners in problem-solving processes. Such arrangements diversify expertise and may accelerate adaptive responses to complex urban challenges.

Third, it enhances strategic coherence. Long-term strategies and maturity frameworks help mitigate the fragmentation often associated with project-based digitalization, particularly in large and administratively complex municipalities (T.C. Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı, 2019; İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2021).

At the same time, the R&D-driven model exhibits identifiable limitations. One risk is the emergence of "innovation theater," in which smart city initiatives prioritize visibility and demonstration over substantive systemic improvement, echoing Hollands's critique of performative smartness (Hollands, 2008). A second limitation concerns capacity inequality. Not all municipalities possess equivalent financial, technical, or human resources; without sustained capacity-building mechanisms, national strategies may inadvertently widen existing disparities (T.C. Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı, 2019; T.C. Çevre, Şehircilik ve İklim Değişikliği Bakanlığı, 2021). A third limitation lies in data-centric blind spots. As Kitchin cautions, data-driven governance may privilege what is measurable while neglecting qualitative, relational, and distributive dimensions of public value that resist easy quantification (Kitchin, 2014).

Taken together, these considerations suggest that R&D-driven technogovernance holds significant administrative promise. Yet its effectiveness depends on being disciplined by the virtues of stewardship and by a thicker conception of virtue one that integrates learning and innovation with legitimacy, judgment, and institutional continuity.

The Critique of the Instrumented City: When Optimization Substitutes for Judgment

The city, as practitioners of public administration readily recognize, is not merely a technical system to be optimized, but a complex social field shaped by human behavior, institutional history, and normative expectations. Efforts to govern the city primarily through optimization logics therefore risk colliding, sooner or later, with the irreducible complexity of urban life. Within the smart city literature, this tension manifests as an ongoing (sometimes implicit, sometimes explicit) debate over the form of rationality that ought to guide urban governance.

On one side of this debate, managerial and policy-oriented approaches emphasize efficiency, integration, and data-driven decision-making as central virtues of contemporary urban administration (Caragliu et al., 2011; Meijer & Rodríguez Bolívar, 2016). On the other side, critical scholarship cautions that smart urbanism may reconfigure governance in ways that privilege technological control, corporate interests, and narrow performance indicators at the expense of democratic accountability and public value (Hollands, 2008; Kitchin, 2014).

Kitchin's analysis of the "real-time city" is particularly instructive in this regard, as it foregrounds an epistemological concern often obscured by technical enthusiasm. Urban data are not neutral or transparent representations of reality; they are generated through sensors, platforms, classification schemes, and administrative choices, each of which embeds assumptions about what is relevant, what is measurable, and what may be disregarded (Kitchin, 2014). When governance prioritizes what can be readily quantified, it risks marginalizing dimensions of urban life that are socially essential yet operationally complex, including trust, fairness, inclusion, and the informal infrastructures that sustain civic interaction.

The rise of the instrumented city also poses risks to institutional memory. Rapid system turnover can disrupt the transmission of archives, routines, and tacit knowledge; expertise may become embedded in proprietary platforms; and the city may gradually lose the craft-based competencies that underpin resilience in moments of failure or crisis. From this perspective, traditional stewardship should not be dismissed as anachronistic. Rather, it constitutes a repository of practices that have endured precisely because they enabled problem-solving under conditions of constraint and uncertainty.

Hollands's critique should therefore be understood not as a rejection of technology, but as a rejection of naïveté. His analysis suggests that the smart city discourse can operate as a rhetorical device that legitimizes intervention

without confronting deeper structural issues, and that it may generate new forms of exclusion by privileging particular actors and forms of expertise (Hollands, 2008). Townsend offers a similarly ambivalent assessment: while civic hacking and participatory innovation can revitalize governance, the same digital infrastructures may be appropriated by corporate platforms or securitizing logics, thereby reshaping power relations in less visible ways (Townsend, 2013). The central normative question thus re-emerges: does technogovernance genuinely serve the public interest, or does it merely modernize administrative power?

Addressing this question requires a governance framework capable of accommodating complexity without collapsing into either centralized technocracy or romanticized localism. Ostrom's work on polycentric governance and the evolution of institutions for collective action offers such a framework. Although her empirical research often focuses on common-pool resources, Ostrom's theoretical contribution is broader: effective governance frequently arises from layered, overlapping, and mutually monitoring institutional arrangements rather than from a singular hierarchical authority (Ostrom, 1990). Applied to the urban context, this insight suggests that virtue is most likely to emerge from a balanced governance architecture one in which local knowledge and distributed accountability coexist with strategic coordination and shared standards.

The Synthesis: Hybrid Virtuous City Governance as Stewardship + Science + R&D

The chapter's sustained comparison between "the old" and "the new" reflects a core analytical claim: the virtuous city can neither be preserved as a nostalgic museum of inherited practices nor presented as a technological showroom of innovation. Rather, it must function as a working system credible in its operations, legitimate in its authority, and capable in its response to complexity. Any viable synthesis must therefore rest on a set of governing principles that structure how stewardship, technogovernance, and R&D capacity interact in practice.

First, stewardship must be treated as the ethical operational baseline of urban governance: Stewardship should not be understood as a legacy constraint to be overcome, but as the foundational condition of administrative virtue. Reliability, continuity, and context sensitivity constitute non-negotiable requirements for legitimate urban governance. Jacobs's emphasis on street-level complexity should be read not as a cultural preference, but as a binding governance constraint: technological systems that erode the city's social ecology are administratively deficient, regardless of their innovative appeal (Jacobs, 1961). In parallel, Aristotle's orientation toward collective flourishing

serves as a reminder that urban governance cannot be reduced to service provision alone; it concerns the coordination and maintenance of a shared civic life (Aristotle, 1998).

Second, technogovernance should function as a mechanism of integration rather than domination: Smart governance is normatively defensible insofar as it reduces fragmentation, enhances coordination, and supports institutional learning (Meijer & Rodríguez Bolívar, 2016; Tomor et al., 2019). It becomes problematic when it substitutes judgment with dashboards or treats optimization as a sufficient proxy for governance. Kitchin's critique implies a concrete administrative implication: data infrastructures must be embedded within institutional review arrangements capable of identifying bias, blind spots, and unintended distributive effects, rather than operating as self-justifying technical systems (Kitchin, 2014).

Third, R&D capacity should be institutionalized as a disciplined learning system: R&D-driven governance must be distinguished from perpetual disruption. Its value lies not in constant novelty, but in structured learning over time. Türkiye's national strategies and maturity assessment models illustrate a viable pathway: articulating long-term objectives, defining staged maturity criteria, and embedding iterative improvement cycles that connect individual projects to organizational development (T.C. Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı, 2019; T.C. Çevre, Şehircilik ve İklim Değişikliği Bakanlığı, 2021). At the municipal level, strategic plans can then translate these objectives into coherent service portfolios and institutional reforms, rather than isolated technological interventions (İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2021).

Fourth, the synthesis requires a polycentric governance architecture grounded in shared standards: Drawing on Ostrom's conception of polycentric governance, the virtuous city must combine distributed responsibility with common rules, monitoring mechanisms, and mutual accountability (Ostrom, 1990). This is the institutional space in which "traditional" and "new" modes of governance can be reconciled: stewardship contributes local knowledge, legitimacy, and operational resilience, while technogovernance contributes visibility, interoperability, and coordination across systems. The synthesis is achieved when both are embedded within institutions capable of learning, correcting errors, and recalibrating authority over time.

Taken together, these principles define hybrid virtuous city governance not as a compromise between past and future, but as an administrative architecture that aligns ethical orientation, technical capacity, and institutional learning under conditions of complexity.

A practical synthesis framework: The Stewardship–R&D Loop

The proposed synthesis may be operationalized as an iterative governance loop that connects stewardship, data infrastructures, and R&D capacity into a continuous cycle of diagnosis, intervention, and institutional learning. Rather than treating innovation as an episodic or externally driven activity, this framework situates it within the everyday practice of urban administration.

1- Stewardship-based diagnosis: The cycle begins with a diagnosis grounded in stewardship. Attention is directed to service failures, citizen complaints, maintenance backlogs, and operational vulnerabilities that is, to the lived city rather than the "brochure city" (Jacobs, 1961). This stage ensures that problem definition emerges from operational realities and social experience, rather than from technological availability or branding considerations.

2- Data-infrastructure support: Data systems are then designed to illuminate the diagnosed problems. Measurement and integration are treated as supportive instruments, not as ends in themselves. Crucially, this stage requires explicit documentation of assumptions, data gaps, and methodological limitations, reflecting Kitchin's warning that urban data are partial, situated, and shaped by governance choices (Kitchin, 2014).

3- R&D-driven iteration: On this basis, pilot interventions are implemented and evaluated. Evaluation criteria should encompass not only performance metrics but also legitimacy, fairness, and administrative feasibility. This corresponds to the smart governance literature's emphasis on institutional capacity, reflexivity, and learning, rather than on technological novelty alone (Meijer & Rodríguez Bolívar, 2016; Ruhlandt, 2018).

4- Institutionalization and memory: Successful pilots are subsequently translated into stable routines, shared standards, and formal procedures. Training programs are updated, and institutional knowledge is preserved to prevent dependency on temporary project teams or external consultants. This step aligns with Türkiye's emphasis on institutional maturity and sustainability in smart city governance (T.C. Çevre, Şehircilik ve İklim Değişikliği Bakanlığı, 2021).

Within this loop, innovation is not positioned as the adversary of tradition. Rather, innovation functions as a method for strengthening stewardship, while stewardship provides the moral and operational discipline that prevents innovation from degenerating into spectacle or "innovation theater."

Türkiye as a Contemporary Laboratory: Strategic Ambition, Institutional Tools, and the Risk of Fragmentation

Türkiye's smart city agenda offers a particularly instructive empirical setting for the synthesis proposed in this chapter, insofar as it combines national-level strategic ambition with the practical pressures of municipal implementation. The National Smart Cities Strategy and Action Plan (2020-2023) reflects a state-level recognition that smart city development cannot be reduced to isolated technological initiatives, but instead requires coordination, shared standards, and an action-oriented roadmap (T.C. Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı, 2019). Its analytical significance lies not only in its thematic priorities, but in its explicit administrative claim: smart city governance depends on systematic capacity-building, institutional alignment, and common frameworks that structure local action. The subsequent Smart Cities Maturity Assessment Model reinforces this claim by providing a structured instrument through which municipal readiness can be evaluated and incremental improvement guided (T.C. Çevre, Şehircilik ve İklim Değişikliği Bakanlığı, 2021). In this sense, Türkiye has sought to translate smart city discourse into managerial instrumentation.

At the metropolitan scale, İstanbul's 2030 Smart City Strategic Plan illustrates the governance challenges associated with steering a complex megacity through long-term digital transformation objectives. The plan highlights the necessity of integrating service delivery, spatial planning, and technological infrastructures into a coherent strategic trajectory (İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2021). At the same time, the very existence of such a plan underscores a central governance dilemma: in large urban systems, projects tend to proliferate rapidly, while coherence is difficult to sustain. A virtuous approach to smart city governance therefore requires robust institutional mechanisms capable of prioritizing initiatives, integrating systems, and evaluating outcomes over time.

The report produced by the Union of Municipalities of Türkiye, in collaboration with major partners, frames smart city initiatives primarily through the lens of value creation and presents illustrative examples from both Türkiye and international practice (Türkiye Belediyeler Birliği et al., 2021). Such reports can perform a constructive role by diffusing knowledge and highlighting promising practices. Yet, as Hollands's critique would suggest, they also carry the risk of reinforcing success narratives that obscure institutional constraints, implementation failures, and uneven capacities (Hollands, 2008). From an administrative perspective, these documents should therefore be treated as learning instruments rather than as promotional artefacts.

Complementary analyses within Türkiye further reflect an effort to interpret smart city transformation through governance and management

perspectives. Laleoğlu examines the changing nature of urban management under smart city conditions, emphasizing shifts in coordination and administrative roles (Laleoğlu, 2021). Sezgin's policy-oriented analysis focuses on smart city applications in local governments and highlights practical challenges of implementation and coordination (Sezgin, 2025). Alan's more recent contribution emphasizes the national strategic orientation of Türkiye's smart city agenda and its forward-looking ambitions (Alan, 2025). Taken together, these texts point to a growing managerial consensus: the smart city is no longer an optional embellishment, but an emerging policy and administrative field. Nevertheless, significant challenges remain.

Challenge 1: Capacity divergence among municipalities.

A maturity model can diagnose gaps, and a national strategy can define goals, but without sustained investment in human capital and institutional support, capacity divergence may persist or widen (T.C. Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı, 2019; T.C. Çevre, Şehircilik ve İklim Değişikliği Bakanlığı, 2021).

Challenge 2: Fragmentation through vendor-driven projects.

Smart city projects can proliferate as disconnected procurements. This produces data islands and weakens integration, thereby undermining the promise of technogovernance (Meijer & Rodríguez Bolívar, 2016).

Challenge 3: The tension between demonstration and durability.

Cities may prioritize visible, demonstrable projects rather than durable improvements in maintenance, interoperability, and institutional learning. Jacobs would recognize this as a classic mistake: the city's health is often determined by the ordinary, not the spectacular (Jacobs, 1961).

Hence, Türkiye's case underlines the need for synthesis. The virtuous city, in contemporary terms, is a city that can modernize without losing its memory, and that can innovate without losing its judgment. It is a city that treats R&D as a method for improving stewardship rather than escaping it.

Conclusion

The tension between traditional urban stewardship and R&D-driven technogovernance is, at its core, a debate about administrative rationality. Stewardship offers context sensitivity, resilience grounded in routine, and legitimacy sustained through continuity. Yet it also carries risks of path dependence, organizational silos, and opacity. Technogovernance, by contrast, promises integration, measurement, and innovation capacity, while simultaneously risking superficial smartness, data-centric blind spots, and the replacement of judgment with optimization logics (Hollands, 2008; Kitchin, 2014; Meijer & Rodríguez Bolívar, 2016).

Revisiting the idea of the virtuous city clarifies what is ultimately at stake in this debate. A city is not virtuous because it is ancient, nor because it is technologically advanced. It is virtuous because it is well governed. And well-governed, in administrative terms, means that moral orientation is institutionally embedded and that competence is sustained through disciplined capacity. Aristotle's conception of the city as oriented toward the good life and al-Fārābī's vision of the virtuous city as ordered by knowledge and ethical purpose both converge on a common insight: governance is an art of alignment between ends and means, leadership and institutions, and social life and administrative technique (Aristotle, 1998; al-Fārābī, 1985; Demirel, 2014). Jane Jacobs complements this tradition by reminding us that urban intelligence is partly local, emergent, and embedded in everyday life, and that governance must therefore preserve the city's social ecology rather than override it (Jacobs, 1961). At the same time, the smart governance literature underscores that contemporary urban complexity necessitates new institutional mechanisms for coordination, learning, and sustainability (Meijer & Rodríguez Bolívar, 2016; Tomor et al., 2019; Ruhlandt, 2018).

The chapter's central contribution is thus a defense of synthesis. The virtuous city, reinterpreted for contemporary conditions, is a hybrid governance model: stewardship as the ethical and operational baseline; technogovernance as an integrative support for coordination and learning; R&D capacity as a disciplined system of institutional improvement; and polycentric arrangements as the architecture of accountability and shared authority (Ostrom, 1990). Türkiye's evolving smart city strategy and maturity instruments illustrate both the promise and the risk of this model. The promise lies in the articulation of tools for institutional learning and coordination; the risk lies in the possibility that strategy, if not matched by durable administrative capacity, may produce fragmentation, inequality, and performative forms of smartness (T.C. Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı, 2019; T.C. Çevre, Şehircilik ve İklim Değişikliği Bakanlığı, 2021; İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2021).

Ultimately, the most realistic (and therefore most administrative) lesson is straightforward. Cities do not become virtuous through slogans, nor do they become capable through gadgets alone. They become virtuous when their institutions can preserve continuity while absorbing innovation; when services remain reliable as reforms proceed; and when technological ambition serves the lived order of the city rather than displacing it. This conclusion is neither nostalgic nor technocratic. It is institutional and it is precisely what the virtuous city tradition, once translated into the language of contemporary governance, demands.

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