Fehmi Ağca

DYNAMICS OF POLITICAL CHANGES

Second Edition

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOURTH CHAPTER
THE EFFECT OF POLITICAL LEADERSHIP ON THE DE-CISION MAKING

FIFTH CHAPTER
ELECTION SYSTEMS AND ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

SIXTH CHAPTER
POLITICAL POLARIZATION AND PARTIZANSHIP

SEVENTH CHAPTER
INTEREST GROUPS

EIGHTH CHAPTER
PUBLIC OPINION AND MEDIA EFFECT ON POLITICS

TWELTH CHAPTER
DYNAMICS OF CHANGE IN CONTEMPORARY
GLOBALIZATION

PREFACE

Politics in time begins with a focus on institutional continuity, in relation with the dependence and positive feedback. Examining the mechanisms that sustain stability over the time is necessary to understand the dynamics of political changes. The history of political systems can be explained in terms of changes in domestic and international political relations.

This book aims to give a general understanding about the various types of dynamics to explain the political changes throughout the history. Particularly, it focuses on the historical background of the emergence of current global liberal economic system or the world system and the internal dynamics of the domestic political systems. In this context, the the effect of political leadership, partisanship, election systems, interest groups, public opinion and the ethnic groups are reviewed in a manner to understand their role on the political changes. The relationships between domestic and international dynamics are also handled by analyzing the Cold War and Post-Cold War political systems.

In the second edition, the new developments in the Middle East were inserted in the tenth chapter. The Arap Spring strongly affected the political structures in the region. It seems to change the existing borders in the near future. Also, in the chapter six the success of the AK Party movement in Turkey was mentioned to demonstrate the ef¬fect of partisan mobilisation. In the ninth chapter different examples were included to show the ethnic polarisation in different political structures.

The world seems to experience new political changes in the light of rapidly changing technological, socieatal and environmental conditions. The interactions among the states, with the help of international organisations and transnational groups, have gained a new momentum. Regional

dynamics are becoming more effective to shape the international system. Under this conditions, understanding the dynamics of the rapidly changing political orders will require more coordinated efforts and researchs.

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ABBREVIATION LIST

ASEAN	Association of South Asian Nations
AU	Africa Union
BWI	Bretton Woods Institutions
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
COMECON	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
ECO	Economic Cooperation
EHA	Event History Analyses
EU	European Union
FTA	Free Trade Agreements
FY	Fiscal Year
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
INF	Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JDP	Justice and Development Party
KGB	Committee for State Security
MEU	Middle Eastern Union
NAFTA	North America Free Trade Area
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-governmental Organizations
OFA	Ohrid Framework Agreement
RCD	Regional Co-operation for Development
SALT	Strategic Arms Reduction Talks
TAF	Turkish Armed Forces
UAR	United Arab Republic
UN	United Nations
US	United States
USAN	Union of South American Nations
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialists Republics
WB	World Bank
WTO	World Trade Organization

INTRODUCTION

The history of political orders can be explained in terms of changes in domestic and international political relations. At some periods in some areas, political life has been rather well organized around well-defined boundaries, common rules and practices, shared causal and normative understandings and resources adequate for collective action. At other times, the system has been relatively anarchic. Relations have been less orderly, and boundaries have been less well-defined and institutions have been less common and less adequately supported. As the political institutions gain experience, the structure of political life and the nature of order changes. (March and Olsen, 1995)

Politics in time begins with a focus on institutional continuity, in relation with the dependence and positive feedback. Examining the mechanisms that sustain stability over the time is necessary to understand the dynamics of political changes. It is especially important to examine the closely related issue of timing and sequence. Sequencing arguments have ad-hoc explanations such as "just so happened." The best of these arguments illustrate, often with comparison, how the order of particular events matters crucially for the eventual outcome.

An approach that combines the insights and precision of rational choice models of legislative cycling with the attention to large-scale social changes have been the mainstay of historical institutionalism and political development.

Theories of political development try to understand the changes in political orders. They trace the organizational consequences of economic and technological globalization, mass migration, changing political power or changing military capabilities. They assume that local processes of growth,

cooperation, conflict and competition within and among political units lead to new political orders. Most of the political thinkers agree that more peaceful and gradual changes match better to the changing interests of powerful political actors and the changing demands of the environment.

The changing dynamics of the political system is closely related to the societal dynamics. In this context, it is essential to recognize the changing understandings of the society about political norms and institutions.

The main dynamics of the political changes throughout the history can be classified as follows:
a. Religions
b. Leaders
c. Philosophers
d. Geographic Explorations
e. Enlightenment and Reasoning
f. Scientific innovations
g. Emergence of Capitalist System
h. Industrial Revolution
i. Colonialism
j. Grand Theories (Liberalism, Realism, Radicalism)
k. Globalism

Apart from these, the internal dynamics have a crucial impact on the political changes. These internal dynamics include;
a. The type of political system,
b. Political leadership,
c. Political parties and partisanship,
d. Elections systems and political campaign dynamics,
e. Public opinion,
f. Interest groups,
g. Ethnic identity and mass migration.

Research models have contributed to developing theoretical models for the anticipated future of the political models.

These research models can be used to recognize the basic reasons and consequences of political changes.

The continuity and change of the political system interact could explain the reasons for political changes. The effect of the international norm dynamics on political changes is important. One of the dynamics explaining the political change in any country is the leadership control on the political system. The most influential political actors in any political system are the presidents, or the prime ministers agreed as the heads of the executive power.

History put forward the most valuable sources of examples regarding birth, rise, and extinct of the political systems. In the historical background of the political changes, the birth of the world economic system is the main foundation of the modern political systems.

In democratic countries, the people decide which political cadres would govern the country. But the election systems may have a different effect on the election outcomes and the composition of the government. On the other side, election campaigns in democratic states have always profoundly affected the preferences of the electorate. Today, effective and successful election campaigns require systematic and scientific planning. The leaders of political parties have to take into account this point if they want to be preferred by the majority of the people.

The political parties use their political supporters to attract the attention of the mass people. The existence of a strong connection between political parties and their members can be very influential to reach the people and to declare the political messages of the parties. Partisanship increases the emotion and effect of the election campaigns. Most probably, the political parties having strong local organizations with a crowded party membership are much more likely to be successful in the election campaigns and will be preferred

by the majority of the people.

Interest groups have always been accepted as the dominant factor, in determining the political decision makers, in any country and any political system, whether it is democratic or non-democratic. It is important to understand which interest groups are more influential and what kind of bargaining or compromise happen among the different interest groups.

The political struggles in any country strive to shape the public opinion, in the direction of their political ambitions. This is crucially important for the political leaders or for the governments to decide whether to make a change on their main political approaches. In this regard, the role of media has a great importance to keep or change the public opinion into a specific direction.

In the past and even today, the ethnic groups continue to affect the political systems. Today, increasing mass migration from the underdeveloped regions of the world to the developed countries has been creating more problematic issues for the host nations. Now, the problem of the minorities and immigrants are becoming the subjects of the political debates, and this issue is forcing the political parties to make changes in their political agendas.

Developed states have the dominant position in the world politics. But, the emergence of new economic powers, such as China, India, Brazil, Indonesia and Turkey is likely to affect the international political system. In this regard, regional economic integrations in South America, Southeast Asia, Africa and the Middle East may create pressures, especially to change the composition of the international institutions.

Cold War period was the result of ideological confrontations between the US and the Soviet Union and also the deterrence of the nuclear weapons. Post-Cold War period is a new era, with the rapidly changing political dynamics. This

period has also witnessed the return to the old political confrontations based on ethnic and religious discrimination. The inaptness of the United Nations to solve the conflicts and the armed struggles started to question the role of international institutions.

Today, the world has witnessed radical technological and societal changes. Globalism is affecting all parts of the life throughout the world, including political institutions. The internet and mobile phones have accelerated the speed of interactions among the individuals and different societal and political groups.

This changing environment has widely affected the Westphalian nation-state order and made the national borders meaningless. The world seems to experience new political changes in the light of rapidly changing technological, societal and environmental conditions. Time is speeding up. The interactions among the states, international organizations and transnational groups have gained a new momentum. Regional dynamics is becoming more effective to shape the international system. Under these conditions, understanding the dynamics of the rapidly changing political orders will require more coordinated efforts and researches.

FIRST CHAPTER
POLITICAL SYSTEM AND CHANGE

Political science focuses on the institutional arrangements, as well as the philosophical justification of government. Policy studies help us learn about the linkages between social and economic conditions in society, the responses of the political system to these conditions, and the effects of government activities on those conditions.

1.1. Main Features of the Policy Decision-making System

A policy is a course of action or inaction, rather than specific decisions or actions. A policy is also a set of interrelated relations, related to the selection of goals and the means of achieving.

The main features of policy making are as follows:

a. A decision network is required in producing decision and action.
b. At the policy making level, a policy is not usually expressed in a single decision. It tends to be defined in terms of a series of decisions that comprise more or less common understanding of what policy is.
c. Policies invariably change over time.
d. Policy decision making is concerned with the difficult task of "policy termination" or determining "policy succession".
e. Much political activity is concerned with the maintaining the status quo and resisting challenges to the existing allocation of values.

As the main actor of the international political system, the state is a set of institutions with superordinate power over a specific territory. The main state institutions comprise;
a. Legislative bodies, including parliamentary assemblies

and subordinate law-making institutions,
b. Executive bodies, including governmental bureau and departments of state,
c. Judicial bodies, principal courts of law, with responsibility for enforcing and developing the law through their decisions.

The state regulates private activities, engages in designing and redesigning of institutions, alongside direct activities of taxing and distributing benefits and services. It also regulates the conflicts within society and organizes society to carry on conflict with other societies.

1.2. Political System and Policy Analyzes

Policy analyzes are concerned with "who gets what" in politics, and more importantly "why and what difference it makes". Policy processes involve complex interactions between state and non-state actors. A simplified model of a political system is shown below:

Graphic 1: A Simplified Model of Political System
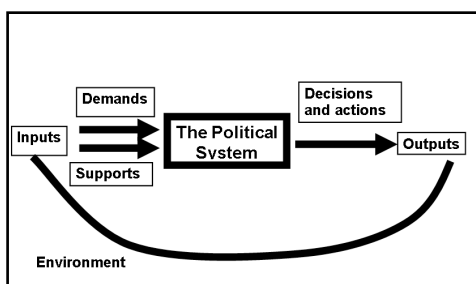
Political science mainly focuses on the institutional arrangements as well as the philosophical justification of government. The fundamental processes of political systems are inputs and outputs.

Inputs take the forms of "demands and supports." De-

mands are related to the actions by individuals and groups seeking allocations from the authorities. Supports comprise actions such as voting, obedience to the law and the payment of taxes.

These demands and supports are being transformed into the political system into the outputs as the "decisions and actions."

Political science is more than the study of policy processes, such as campaigns, elections, legislating. It also explains the causes and consequences of the government activities. Policy studies can be helpful to advance the level of political awareness, and to improve the quality of public policy. Policy studies also help us learn about the linkages between social and economic conditions in society, and the effects of government activities on those conditions. They incorporate the ideas and methods of economics, sociology, anthropology, psychology, history, law and public administration, as well as political science.

Policy studies also contribute to the significance, reliability and theoretical development of the social sciences in general.

Through policy analyzes;
- First, we can learn what government is doing and not doing, in welfare, defense, education, civil rights, health, environment, taxation. It also helps to recognize how much money is spent by the government each year.
- Secondly, we can inquire about the causes or determinants of public policies and the effects of social, economic and cultural forces.

- Thirdly, we can inquire about the consequences or impacts of public policy and the effects on political institutions and processes.

A search for the causes and consequences of the public policies involves the use of scientific standards of inference. The object of these searches is to develop general theories about public policy that are reliable and applicable to the different government agencies and various policy areas.

Policy studies often focus on how policies are made rather than their content or their causes and consequences. Policy making occurs in six identifiable stages. These stages are;
a. Problem identification
b. Agenda setting
c. Policy formulation
d. Policy legitimization
e. Policy implementation
f. Policy evaluation

There is a problem in assessing the independent effect of mass opinion, on the actions of policy makers. Elections, parties, and interest groups
institutionalize channel of communication from citizen to decision makers. But, we can never assure if mass opinion shapes public policy or public policy shape mass opinion.

Individuals and interest groups can organize themselves to identify problems and suggest solutions. They define their interests, persuade others to support their cause, gain access to government officials, influence decision

making and watch over the implementation of government policies and programs.

Policy issues do not just happen. Influential individuals, interest groups, policy planning organizations, political office holders and mass media can employ different. Tactics of agenda setting include creating an issue, dramatizing it, calling attention to it, and pressuring the government to do something about it.

Policy formulation is the development of strategic alternatives for dealing with problems. A legislative staff is a major source of policy formulation. The staff of political party groups in the parliament has a government bureaucracies, interest group offices, legislative committee rooms, in the meetings of special commissions and policy planning organizations known as think tanks. Many scholars concentrate their attention on the final phase of policy making and conclude that policy making is a process of bargaining, competition, persuasion and comprise among interest groups and government officials.

During the implementation stage, many activities need to be designed to carry out the policies, including the establishment of new organizations or the assignment of new responsibilities to the existing organizations. Besides, it is necessary to translate the related laws into operational rules and regulations. Then, in the light of these operational rules and regulations, they must hire personnel, make contracts, spend money and perform tasks.

Evaluation is the final step in policy making. Members

of parliament, interest groups, bureaucrats, media and think tanks need to learn if the policies could achieve their stated goals and its costs and effects on society. An effective evaluation process requires a feedback linkage. Evaluation of current systems identifies new problems and starts the policy making process once again. These assessments often succeed in stimulating reform, designed to remedy perceived mistakes, inadequacies, wasteful expenditures and other flaws in existing policy. Systematic evaluation is careful, objective and scientific assessment of the current and long-term effects of the policies, on both target and non-target groups.

1.3. Dynamics of Change

Successful political change requires that leaders understand the implications of their actions. They need to remember that the changes anywhere in the organization, strategy, structure, work, people or culture, will have implications everywhere. It is not easy to determine when organizational changes take place in an unstable environment.

Successful leadership requires a vision of where the organization needs to go. With proper planning, widespread participation, active and committed leadership, organizations can successfully manage the complex dynamics of large-scale change.

A political order arises from negotiation among rational actors pursuing personal preferences or interests. Political integration represents a collection of contracts among the actors with conflicting interests. The policy actors prefer coalitions of the rational actors. Politics

can transform individual preferences into collective actions by some procedures of bargaining, negotiation, coalition formation and exchange.

Sometimes, relatively small, timely interventions can change the history. However, there is no guarantee to realize arbitrary changes at any time. Changes in order are the results emerging from changing powers and material capabilities. (Mearsheimer, 1994)

The mechanisms to establish a shared identity for a society may not be developed at the international level as it is in the individual nation states. (March and Olsen, 1996) That situation may not change quickly, but it can change gradually with the conscious intention. (Buzan, 1993)

Democratic states import democratic norms and decision-making rules into the political system. Most important ones are the standards of transparency, consultation and compromise. At the same time, democratic norms spread through international contact. For example, participation in the EU contributed to the construction not only of a European identity but also a democratic culture in the countries such as Greece, Portugal, and Spain.

At any given time, there is a relative distribution of power. Some groups may have more, and others may have less. Radical changes require significant shifts in the distribution of power. The early stages of the major changes may instigate counter political activity. Political resistance can start when reorganizations significantly alter established patterns of control.

Understanding the dynamics of change requires a conceptual approach to the working styles of organizations. At the heart of the system, there is a transformation process, converting inputs to outputs.

Transition states have typically three characteristics: Instability, uncertainty, and stress. The times of significant change necessitate the management of three sets of issues during the transition period: Power, anxiety and control. During this stage, necessary action steps to be taken are shown in the table below. (Wyman, 1998)

Table 1: Responses to Power, Anxiety and Control

Implications	Action Steps
Need to shape the political dynamic of change	1. Build the support of key power groups 2. Use leader behavior to generate energy in support of change 3. Use symbols and language deliberately 4. Define points of stability
Need to motivate change	5. Create dissatisfaction with current state 6. Build participation in change 7. Reward behavior in support of change 8. Provide opportunities for disengagement
Need to manage transition	9. Develop and communicate a clear image of future 10. Use multiple leverage points 11. Develop transition management structures 12. Collect and analyze feedback

1.4. International Norm Dynamics and Political Change

Norm identifies the standards for appropriate behavior for the members of a society. But, many related conceptual issues still cause confusion and debate. Scholars have recognized different types of norms. The most common distinction is between regulative and constitutive norms. Regulative norms order and constrain the behaviors. On the other side, constitutive norms create

new actors, interests or categories of action. The norms involve standards of appropriate behavior. Therefore, inter-subjective and evaluative dimensions are inescapable when discussing the norms.

At the time of the foundation of the international organizations, dominant realist views of politics have concerned much with the issues of legitimacy and ideology. During the Cold War, international relations scholars had been studying two of the greatest social construction projects: European integration and decolonization. Scholars recognized that decolonization was driven by a normative agenda to reconstitute the identities of the new states in the former colonizers. (Finnemore and Sikkink,1998)

Norms and normative issues are crucial for the study of politics. Students of politics have to intensify the meaning of the rule of justice and its influence on human behavior.

United Nations involved establishing norms on certain issues, such as decolonization, human rights, education, but it often failed to theorize these normative processes. As contemporary researchers make their arguments about norms, culture, and ideas, they need to specify ideational causal claims and mechanisms clearly, in the context of historical and empirical research.

1.4.1. Domestic and International Norms

International norms are closely related to the domestic norms. Many international norms began as domestic norms and became international through the efforts

of entrepreneurs. Also, international norms must have their influence through the filter of domestic structures and domestic norms. Domestic influences are stronger at the early stage of a norm's life cycle. But its effects gradually become weaker after it became institutionalized in the international system. International relations scholars have assumed that the existence of a coercive state which can enforce laws makes a domestic order very different from the international order.

Macro-level theorizing has provided good explanations on how the norms produce social order and stability. Norms channel and regularize behavior and often limit the range of choice and constrain actions. From a constructivist perspective, the international structure is determined by the international distribution of ideas. Common ideas, expectations and beliefs of an appropriate behavior may determine the world order and stability. In the international structure, idea shifts and norm shifts are the main vehicles for the system transformation.

1.4.2. Evolution and Influence of Norms

Norm influence is a three-stage process:
a. The first stage is norm emergence,
b. The second stage involves broader norm acceptance,
c. The third stage involves norm internalization.

Different actors, motives and mechanisms of influence may characterize each stage. The characteristic mechanism of the first stage is persuasion by norm entrepreneurs. As the norm leaders, norm entrepreneurs try to convince the states to embrace new norms. The second

stage is characterized by a dynamic
of imitation as the norm leaders attempt to socialize
other states to become norm followers. At the third
stage, norms acquire a high quality and are not a matter
of broad public debate.

1.4.2.1. Stage 1: Origins or Emergence of Norms

Norms are actively built by the agents with strong no-
tions about appropriate behavior in their community.
They call attention to the issues or even create issues
by using language that interprets and dramatizes them.
The construction of a framework is an essential compo-
nent of the political strategies for norm entrepreneurs.
In constructing their frames, norm entrepreneurs face
alternative norms and create alternative perceptions.
When they are successful, the new frames resonate
with broader public understanding and are adopted as
new ways of understanding issues.

The motivations of norm entrepreneurs can be ex-
plained regarding empathy, altruism, and ideational
commitment. Empathy requires the capacity for par-
ticipating in another's feelings or ideas. Altruism ex-
ists when actors take action designed to benefit anoth-
er, even at the risk of significant harm to the actor's
well-being. It is the reflection of a shared perception of
common humanity.

Norm promoters at the international level need some
organizational platform so that they promote their
norms. UN has distinctive structural features that influ-
ence the kinds of norms. It promulgates about matters
such as decolonization, sovereignty, and humanitarian

relief. As an example, the tripartite structure of the International Labor Organization strongly influences the kinds of norms.

International organizations use the expertise and information to change the behavior of other actors. Expertise usually helps or blocks the promotion of new norms within standing organizations.

Treaties implicitly specify that a particular number of countries must ratify the treaty to enter into force. The accept of the treaty by the majority of the UN members will have significant effect for the existence of a norm.

1.4.2.2. Stage 2: Norm Acceptance

Many countries are likely to adopt new norms without pressure. The effects of international norms are becoming more important than domestic politics for a norm change. (Ramirez, Soysal and Shanahan, 1997)

The primary mechanism for promoting norm acceptance is an active process of international socialization intended to induce norm breakers to become norm followers. States are not the only agents of socialization. Networks of norm entrepreneurs and international organizations also act as agents of socialization in compliance with international standards, by pressuring targeted actors to adopt new policies and laws, and to ratify treaties.

State identity fundamentally shapes state behavior. State identity is an important contribution to the norms research. Scholars have recognized the role of inter-

national sources of legitimization in shaping state be-
havior. States care about international legitimization
because it has become an essential contributor to per-
ceptions of domestic legitimacy for the citizens. In the
area of human rights, many researchers suggest that
most of the state leaders try to change their negative
international image as human rights violators.

1.4.2.3. Stage 3: Norm Internalization

Norms may become so widely accepted and internal-
ized by the actors. Internalized norms can be extreme-
ly powerful, and not questioned, and hard to discern.
However, they are not at the center of political debate,
and political scientists may ignore them.

Professions are powerful and pervasive to internalize
norms among their members. Professional training ac-
tively socializes people to value certain things above
others. As the state bureaucracies and the international
organizations have become more and more profession-
alized, the policies increasingly reflect the normative
bases of the professions. (Haas, 1989)

The core of the neo-functionalist argument about the
integration process in Europe was that the frequent in-
teractions among people create predictability, stability
and habits of trust. As trust became habitual, it would
become internalized, and the internalized trust would
change affect among the participants. Changed effect
means changed identity and changed norms. Thus, the
engine of integration was indirect and evolutionary.

1.4.3. Globalization and the Change of the Norms

Five principles are central to the world culture: universalism, individualism, volunteer authority, rational progress and world citizenship. The norms underpinned by these principles will be more successfully internationally accepted. (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998)

With the effect of historical events, the international system may search for new ideas and norms. Ideas and norms associated with the losing side of a war or an economic failure would easily discredit for new alternatives. Cold War was a period of major normative growth and consolidation, based on the principles of the winning coalition.

The current period of globalization promotes a dramatic expansion of new norms and creates new opportunities for the norm entrepreneurs. New communication and transportation technologies and increasing global interdependence have led to increased connections and the homogenization of global norms. The normative changes increased substantially in the second part of the twentieth century. The expansion of international organizations, especially the UN, has been contributing to this acceleration process by providing more opportunities to negotiate on a broad range of normative issues.

1.4.4. Norms, Rationality and Strategic Social Construction

The empirical research can reveal the relationship between norms and rationality. Norm entrepreneurs are extremely rational and very sophisticated in their calcu-

lations about how to achieve their goals. They engage in strategic social construction. These actors make detailed means-ends calculations to maximize their utilities and to change the other players' utility function.

Institutionalist thinkers argue that the choice is not a particular robust analytic tool. The social and cultural environment may affect the basic human behavior. In this understanding, norm conformance driven by the logic of appropriateness requires deterministic look. Actors may have various claims for different courses of action. Persuasion is central to most of the empirical studies about normative influence and change. It is the mission of norm entrepreneurs. Persuasion is the process determining that which agent action becomes the social structure and which ideas become norms.

Contemporary empirical research on the norms aims to show how the "ought to" becomes the "is." Empirical researchs clarify the perceptions of the people about what is good and what "should be" taking into account the political reality.

SECOND CHAPTER
RESEARCH MODELS

Understanding the reasons for political changes requires empirical studies. Political analysts use some research models to reach some conclusions about the behavior of the people and how their perceptions or political preferences have been changing by the time. In this regard, they used different models, such as the event history modeling, Box-Jenkins modeling, regression models in the context of macro- comparative analyzes and the feedback models.

2.1. Event History Modeling

Event history analyzes (EHA) can be defined as the analysis of the duration of the occurrence or non-occurrence of an event during the risk period. It is used to study the duration until the occurrence of the event of interest. (Vermunt, 2009)

Event history modeling is a powerful statistical tool used to study events and their causes. Political scientists may study the transition from one regime to another by using event history modeling. Social scientists are interested in defining a period in which organizations are at risk of experiencing events and understanding the causes of the occurrence and timing of these events. This model provides an accessible, up-to-date guide to EHA, for researchers and advanced students in the social sciences.

The foundational principles of EHA are discussed, estimated and interpreted, using standard statistical packages. The techniques for this analysis are survival analysis, duration analysis or hazard modeling.

2.1.1. Definitions: State, Event and Risk Period

A state is a dependent variable, the dynamics of which we want to explain.

An event is a transition from one state to another. It is a qualitative change that occurs at a specific time. Often events are not only repeatable but also different types. There may be a multiple-state situation.

The risk period is the period that someone exposed to a particular risk.

2.1.2. The Collection and Management of the Event History Data

Event history data are collected retrospectively. The respondents are asked to recall the dates of events that have occurred since a certain age or during a fixed time before the interview. Respondents may be asked to recall events in a chronological order, depending on the significance of the start of the observation period.

Event histories are usually stored as a format. Prior to an EHA, the data must be restructured so that there is a record for each period. Manipulating event history requires some programming skill to make them suitable for analysis. For the accuracy and efficiency of any data entry project, a web-based interface requires producing

a dataset precisely.(Steele, 2005)

2.1.3. Continuous-time and Discrete-time Event History Models

There are many event history models. The question is about if event times should be measured in continuous or discrete time. Through continuous-time methods, the effects of potentially endogenous variables must be interpreted with caution. Interpreting the effects of time-varying covariates on survival probabilities requires particular care.

The event history analysis examines the distribution of event times. The events can theoretically occur at any point in time. Durations are grouped into intervals of time. These intervals are usually of equal width. The probability of survival up to the first interval is the probability of survival up to the second interval.

Durations are usually measured as months or years when they collected retrospectively. The discrete-time approach has several advantages over continuous-time methods. The main disadvantage is the need for further data manipulation prior to analysis. However, data manipulation makes discrete-time methods more transparent than continuous-time methods.

2.1.4. Unobserved Heterogeneity

Unobserved heterogeneity may occur due to unmeasured characteristics of the individuals. Unobserved heterogeneity is usually better identified when different groups share the same frailty.

The standard approach to check for unobserved heterogeneity is to use the model as a random effect to the different individuals over time.

2.1.5. Repeated Events

If some characteristics of the events are unobserved, the results of modeling repeated events may be misleading. It could be better to model repeated events jointly. One advantage of pooling repeated periods is to test the variables that predict the occurrence of the first event also impact on the subsequent events. This approach also permits investigation of the effects of previous events on the likelihood of later events of the same type.

2.1.6. Competing Risks

The different event types may be competing. In this sense, we need to check the relative frequency of the different types of events and the dependency of the event-specific hazards. A common way of formulating competing risks can be in terms of potential unobserved event times. Most models assume that the event times are independent. Over the course of an event history, one can think of individuals as experiencing different types of events or states.

2.2. Box-Jenkins Modeling

Box-Jenkins modeling involves a three-stage process of model selection, parameter estimation and model checking. Box-Jenkins model applies to many statistical modeling situations. It helps to find an appropriate statistical model that can be used to help answer ques-

tions about the data.

Data preparation involves transformation and differencing. The transformation of the data can help stabilize the variance. Differencing is to understand the difference between consecutive observations. The differencing data are often easier to model than the original data.(Box and Jenkings, 1970)

Main steps of the model are in follows:
a. Model selection in the Box-Jenkins framework uses various graphs based on the transformed and differenced data to identify potential processes that might provide a good fit to the data.
b. Parameter estimation is related to finding the values of the model coefficients that provide the best fit to the data. Sophisticated computational algorithms are designed to do this.
c. Model checking involves testing the assumptions of the model to identify any area where the model is inadequate. If the model is inadequate, Step 2 should be repeated to identify a better model.

2.3. Time Regression Models in Macro Comparative Analyses

For a macro comparative analyze, most analysts proceed many controls in their initial regression. In other instances, some of the variables are dropped and a second regression is tested.

There are three main options. The first one is variation in levels across countries. One can estimate cross-sectional effects over time periods (years, decades). The

second is variation over time within countries. The regression can estimate an average over-time effect for a set of countries. The third is cross-country variation of change over time.

Many pooled regression analyzes use annual data because such data are available and allows for the inclusion of more independent variables. This analysis can test medium and long-term effects. The preferred strategy is to examine all possible combinations of a reasonable number of independent variables (Kenworthy, 2007).

Much of the debate in macro comparative research has focused on how to estimate standard errors in pooled regressions. Many macro-comparative analyzes can be substantially improved by paying more attention to the direction, size, and robustness of regression coefficients and less to statistical significance.(Berk, 2004) The purpose of macro comparative research is to find the particular mechanism to use in forecasting the future. Time Series is a sequence of observations in time. In time-series studies, a single population is assessed, regarding about its change over the time. They are especially suitable for evaluating short-term effects in time.

Time-series studies have strengths and weaknesses. The strengths are consistency, specification and transformation that validate the relationship over time, to explain the past and forecast the future. There are two weaknesses. First, it requires time, money and energy. Second, it is ambiguous in context and process.

2.4. Feedback Models

There are many different ways to collect feedback. They may have strengths and weaknesses. For the comparability of data, departments benefit from using a combination of methods, to build a program suited to their needs and resources. A successful approach requires that participants should be clear on the purpose, structure and outcomes of the method. Consulting participants may provide a suitable feedback methodology. People are motivated to contribute in a positive way when they understand the issue and be respected for their efforts and feel free to express their views and ideas.

Politics in time is related to focus on institutional continuity, depending on positive feedback. It is important to examine the closely related issue of timing and sequence.

Graphic 2: A Sample Feedback Model
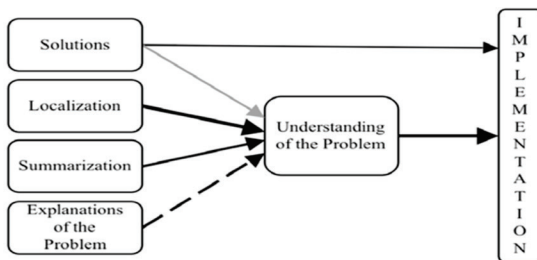
The graphic above shows a sample feedback model. Future feedback analyzes may involve examining these factors more closely by manipulating them in experiments.

There are different types of feedback models for different purposes. The following models can be used for different purposes: (University of Kent, 2014)

2.4.1. Structured Feedback Sessions

Group Size: Ideally 10-30 participants, but with good management can be up to 100. It usually takes about an hour.

Purpose: To gather information agreed by the group as a whole, and to highlight issues that need further attention.

Structure: Clarify expectations at the beginning of the session by explaining the details on a slide. The neutrality of the facilitator allows individual comments.

Method:
a. Ask the students to write down independently their thoughts on a specified topic. You may use a form. Allow 5-10 minutes.
b. Form groups of 4 or 5 and let them prepare a list of agreed points in order of priority. Allow 10 minutes.
c. Collect the most important point from each group and record on a flipchart. Allow discussion of each point and check continually that the groups are in agreement.
d. Collect new points from each group until all comments have been noted. Encourage the students to suggest solutions to any problem they identify.
e. Individual comments should record in italics.

Outcomes: Decide with the group, how to inform of any action.

2.4.2. Focus Groups

Group size: 6-10

Purpose: To engage in discussion with the students who are willing and able to express comments on their experiences.

Structure: Students can be the volunteer or recommended by staff. Alternatively, students may randomly join the discussions. The balance of age and gender matters. The openness and mutual respect, with a clear agenda, is important. To brief the students in advance allows preparation for responses and more efficient use of time in the meetings.

Outcomes: The outcomes of the discussion can be feedback.

2.4.3. Tutorials

Group size: One to one or small groups.

Purpose: The exchange of views on the matter as a whole.

Structure: The student should feel confident that their comments are taken seriously and valued.

2.4.4. Questionnaires and Surveys

Group size: Dependent on the field, purpose, and resources, it may range from 20 to 20,000.

Purpose: Questionnaires and surveys can operate at many levels within the university, to get responses for different issues. Ensuring a prize could be an incentive. Confidentiality is vital if the entry was optional.

Outcomes: Involvement of students and staff in planning and evaluating questionnaires is crucial to give credence to the method.

2.4.5. Informal Chats

Purpose: To encourage ongoing communication between staff and individuals in an informal way but with immediate effect.

Structure: Unstructured.

2.4.6. One Minute Methods

Group size: All or some members of a group.

Purpose: To gain feedback on specific issues during a limited period.

Structure: Volunteer form-filling, computer feedback.

Outcomes: Such methods are flexible and can be used spontaneously to assess a particular session. They require minimal effort and build up a system of ongoing feedback.

2.4.7. Suggestion Boxes

Group size: Best used in particular sessions.

Purpose: To gather anonymous, unstructured comments from people wishing to contribute.

Outcomes: This method suite to personal development for review and improvement of a facility. As always, the destination of the suggestions should be made clear.

2.4.8 Nominal Group Techniques

Purpose: To gather prioritized comments from everyone present.

Group size: Between 12 and 40.

Structure:
a. Students are given approximately 5 minutes to make individuals their list of statements based on two questions: What were the strengths of the experience and what improvements could be possible?
b. The group is then randomly split into smaller groups of 3-5, and all the individual statements joined. The facilitator then asks each group to provide just one statement under the appropriate heading of Strengths and Improvements. Each student can give ten votes for Strengths and ten votes for Improvements. The facilitator collects the votes.

Outcomes: A list of all current concerns ordered by priority.

2.5. Positive and Negative Feedbacks in American Politics

The American policy process has the characteristics of stability and dramatic change. Sometimes, government policies seem remarkably resistant to change. They follow standard operating procedures, work within norms of consensus among those involved, attract little public attention, and deviate little from year to year. At other times, or in other areas of public policy, dramatic changes occur. New problems may appear on the political agenda. Crises require quick government response. With the development of new programs, old ones terminate. (Baumgartner and Jones, 1991)

Many political mechanisms share the characteristics of positive feedback mechanisms: Sometimes institutional change is rapid and dramatic when new institutions are created or redesigned. At other times, issues and institutions co-evolve in a more gradual manner.

Negative feedback systems may affect political science and public policy. When policymakers enact policies that are too liberal from the perspective of the general public, the public becomes more conservative. When a policy is too conservative, public opinion reacts by becoming more liberal. The self-correcting genius of American democracy was in effect a negative feedback system: Any strong push in one direction may be balanced by an equal and opposite push. Negative feedback is central to understanding policy change as well. (Wlezien, 1995)

THIRD CHAPTER
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE POLITI-CAL CHANGES

Different dynamics has been effective in changing the political systems through the history. The leaders, religions, scientific innovations, ideologies, and globalism have had profound effects. But, the emergence of the world capitalist system can be seen as the most important dynamic among the others, because of its effects over all the political systems in the world.

3.1. The Main Dynamics of Political Changes in History

The main dynamics of the political changes throughout the history can be classified as follows:

a. Emergence of the empires
b. Religions
c. Leaders
d. Philosophers
e. Geographic Explorations
f. Enlightenment and Reasoning
g. Scientific innovations
h. Emergence of Capitalist System
i. Industrial Revolution
j. Colonialism
k. Grand Theories (Liberalism, Realism, Radicalism)
l. Globalism

Roman Empire became one of the most powerful political systems of the world during the ancient times of

history. As a World State, ıt occupied a great geography with a great army. It became the symbol of the political power and stability, by establishing the law and order with the strong central authority of the city of Rome. But the attacks of the nomad peoples coming from the north and east weakened the empire. First, it was separated into two parts as the West and East Roman Empire. West Roman Empire collapsed at the end of the fourth century, but The Eastern Roman Empire continued to sustain itself until the collapse by the Ottoman Turks.

In Europe and Middle East, three monolithic religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam have been influential in shaping the political systems. Particularly, Christianity and Islam are accepted as the main dynamics, in the formation of the common beliefs, cultures and political norms and institutions.

The disintegration of the West Roman Empire, together with the effect of the religious culture of Christianity helped to the birth of small feudal states in Europe. In the meanwhile, Islam world reached the highest level of civilization, because of the new dynamics of the Islam faith in society.

The rise of the Islam civilization as an economic and political power was not only connected to the religious dynamics. Islam showed great tolerance during its golden age of the Science and Reasoning. In this era, Ibn-I Sina (Avicenna) had a great contribution to the development of the Medicine. Ibn-I Rushd (Averroes) had great studies on Philosophy by his research and reassessment of the former Hellenistic literature. An-

other important dynamics empowering the Islam state in the Middle East was the revitalization of the trade routes between China, India, and Europe through the Silk Road and the Spice Road.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, with the help of the Andalus scholars, the Greek thought was transferred to the Western World. A new dynamic emerged, first in the Italian states, then the rest of Europe and resulted in the birth of Renaissance and Reform movements in Europe. Together with the new approaches in Christianity, the European peoples freed from the prohibitive pressures of the religion and the road to the scientific thought and reasoning had been opened in the front of the European scholars.

The conquest of Istanbul had a profound effect on the emergence of new dynamics on the European continent. The expansion of the Ottoman Empire toward the west created a significant pressure for the European states to find a way out. These pressures inevitably forced the European powers to the high seas.

Portugal and Spain became the pioneers of the geographic explorations. The exploration of the America by Christopher Colombo has been followed by the exploration of new trade routes to the south of Africa by Vasca de Gama and from the south of America by Magellan. In the following decades, the newly explored territories had been easily colonized by the European states.

The geographic explorations created a strong initiative to the European adventurers to start new voyages to the

unknown. In fact, iıt became one of the most important turning points in the World history. It contributed to the development of global political economy at that time.

3.2. Emergence of the Global Political Economy

The term of global refers to the inter-regional transactions. Inter-regional transactions have been going on for many thousands of years. About 500 years ago, Western Europe started to become increasingly central to the global political economy. Some of the current system's principal processes began to emerge at the end of the fifteenth and the early seventeenth centuries. Nevertheless, a 1000-year review can be assumed, in terms of the emergence of modern economic growth.

There are many questions about the emergence of global political economy, such as;
- Why and how did this happen?
- What is the sequence of leadership and challenge that has become a hallmark of transitional changes in the global political economy?
- What are the structural changes in the global political economy?
- Why do the states and their associated political orders, rise and fall?
- Why are some types of economic activity more critical than the others?
- Why do some parts of the world economy seem more central to economic operations than the others?
- Why is economic growth intermittent rather than continuous, and what difference does it make?
- What relationships link intermittent processes of economic growth to the political phenomena as war, do-

mestic stability and state-making?

These questions are also closely related to the rise and fall dynamics, the shifting centrality of the world economy and the evolutionary process of long-run economic growth and the structural change. World-system analysis concentrates on macro structures and their impact on micro-processes. The main focus is primarily toward the processes of capital accumulation, capitalism, and core-periphery divisions of labor.

The political processes of the leadership in the long cycle have coevolved with the economic processes. There are three reasons for this process:
a. Economic fluctuations are likely to influence the exercise of political leadership.
b. The world economy's activities are dependent on a minimal level of stability and security.
c. To emerge as the world's political- military leader requires technological leadership.

Throughout the past 500 years, the global power elite has remained as a small group, such as China (1000-1500), Ottoman (1517-1918), Portugal (1494–1580), Spain (1494–1808), England/Britain (1494–1945), France (1494–1945), the Netherlands (1579–1810), Russia (1714 to the present), the US (1816 to the present), Germany (1871–1945), and Japan (1875-1945).

The naval capability leadership requires economic leadership. Global powers need to demonstrate sea power activity in more than one regional sea and control over the other global seas. Ottoman Empire had a special value in this sense. It had a unique central stra-

tegic position located at the center of the continents of Asia, Africa, and Europe. Its central position provided the advantage of easily reach the high waters except the Atlantic Ocean.

In the European continent, the leading regional powers rose on the basis of large armies and bureaucracies. They followed expansionist foreign policies. In this context, Spain, France and Germany became powerful states through coercive expansion within the region.

Global powers were more oriented toward long-distance trade than territorial expansion close to the homeland. Global powers had trusted to the navies over the armies. They also led the movement away from command bureaucracies toward more representative regimes for resource mobilization.

3.2.1. The 1490s and the European Miracle

The 1490s are the years of beginning of discoveries, the emergence of capitalism, and the birth of the European state system. In 1490s, Columbus sailed the wrong way and established European contact with the American continent. Vasco de Gama sailed the right way around Africa and pioneered a new European trade path to the Indian Ocean, which is the maritime heart of the Afro-Eurasian world economy. These discoveries also associated with an upsurge in capitalistic economic practices that gradually diffused throughout the rest of the world. In one decade, Western Europe was annexed to the new world and captured the center of the old world. It also became free of the feudalism and initiated the diffusion of capitalism throughout the world, and de-

veloped a distinctive system of international relations.

The exploitation of silver mines of South America was critical in acquiring increasing control over the Afro-Eurasian political economy. Europeans were in the right place at the right time and took advantage of their chance against the rest of the world.

After establishing naval supremacy for a hundred years, China had retreated into isolation before the arrival of the Portuguese. The Europeans, thus, stumbled into an Indian Ocean-based trading system taken over by force. In the 1490s and the next century, Europeans met with little resistance. If they had come earlier or later, everything might have been different. A mixture of military technology and capitalist institutions were used to bring about European hegemony. Later, the form of coercive capitalism became the predominant style of the world economy thanks to the European expansion. (Thompson, 2000)

3.2.2. Afro-Euro Asian Long Distance Trade

The long-distance trade entailed the exchange of luxury items for consumption by an extremely restricted number of elites. Trade over long distances, because of the transportation problems and protection costs, specialized in items low in weight and high in profit.

The Afro-Eurasian long-distance trade initially concentrated in the Middle East, primarily along an east-west axis, involving towns and cities in Mesopotamia and Egypt. Trade between India and China, and China and Mesopotamia is traceable to the fourth-century BC. But

the most familiar pattern began to develop concurrently with the rise of the Han Empire (206 BC-220 CE) in northern China and the Roman Empire (202 BC-476) in the Mediterranean. Both empires rose and declined at about the same time. They traded with one another even though their borders were not directly adjacent.

Long-distance trade slumped until the rise of the Sui (589–618) and Tang (618–907) dynasties in China and the Abbasids (750–1258) in the Middle East. The restless nomads in Central Eurasia were pushing west, east, and south. Unlike their predecessors, the Tang and Abbasid empires clashed but they also traded with one another, building on the existing Persian-Chinese trade network. Each empire also developed extensive ancillary markets from Korea to Indonesia and Africa and throughout the Mediterranean and the Baltic through Russia. The rise of the Abbasids had turned the Mediterranean into a Muslim lake, reorienting the trade of the southern Mediterranean populations toward the Indian Ocean. The decline of the Tangs and the Abbasids depressed long-distance trade. (Hodges and Whitehouse, 1983)

The spectacular economic expansion of Sung China was unparalleled in the Muslim or Christian west. But the West was not mired in economic depression. The Byzantines hung on, even though more and more precariously. The Abbasıdes, Fatimids, Ayyubids, and Mamluks did not attempt to reunify the Islamic geography before the development of the Ottoman Empire. Western Europe was trying to expand to the east and the south, with the Crusades. Long-distance trade on land and sea was able to expand with Byzantine to the Black

Sea, Persia, and Egypt. Focusing initially on the Black Sea route and later on the southern routes through the Persian Gulf and Red Sea, Italian city states were critical in linking Western Europe to the well-established Afro-Eurasian networks.

The replacement of the Sung by the Mongols increased the volume of east-west trade, thanks to the order imposed on Central Eurasia and the land routes of the Silk Road by the Pax Mongola. The Mongols reestablished the Asian overland routes for a century. But the superiority of the maritime routes of the Indian Ocean preceded the arrival of the Portuguese, in terms of lower transportation and protection costs. Eurasian economic integration in the mid-fourteenth century caused a plague extended from China to the Central Asia and the Black Sea, the Mediterranean, and the North Sea following the routes of the long-distance trade networks. Long-distance trade had never disappeared, and it began to increase again in the second half of the fifteenth century. The 1490s constituted an initial period of this resurgence in long-distance east-west trade.

3.2.3. The Divergent Co-evolution of Two Eurasian Regions

If we think the Afro-Eurasia as a whole, each of the regional subsystems has experienced some degree of internal evolution at varying paces. In fact, each subsystem's evolutionary path influenced the processes of the other regions resulting the co-evolution.
Western Europe and Eastern Asia had experienced the similar dynamic of regional growth, through the synergistic exploitation of frontier land, population growth,

agrarian productivity increases, urbanization and monetization, regional and inter-regional trade.

3.2.3.1. The East Asia

The center of East Asian population density initially started with relatively insular, agrarian communities organized around major river systems in North China. Economic prosperity and population growth via expanded trade associated with the periods of imperial centralization. Periods of central unification brought peace, order infrastructural developments. Population density increased and China led the rest of the world in urbanization.

Grain was replaced by rice as the principal agricultural commodity. An extensive network of canals constructed by the early seventh century provided the better movement of the southern products to the north. Trade with Persia in the seventh century and the Abbasids in the eighth century expanded. China's external maritime contacts and trade volume was beyond the earlier high levels established in the Han-Roman era, and unrivaled anywhere else in the world. While reaching the peak in the eighth century, trade declined in the ninth century as the Tang rule was increasingly dependent on Uighur military coercion. (Adshead, 1988)

The Sung period is an unusual period in Chinese history in which governmental regulation and intervention in the economic market was indirect and highly supportive of commercial interests. The significance of maritime commerce enhanced to compensate for the loss of northern revenues (Lewis, 1988:130). Cut off

from access to the Central Asia, blocked its expansion towards the north and northwest by the great empires, the Chinese world turned resolutely toward the sea. Its center of gravity shifted toward the maritime trade. The sea routes connecting the Abbasid Empire with the Persian Gulf, India, Southeast Asia, and the Chinese coast played an important role in the maritime trade.

The Southern Sung dynasty fell in 1279. The Mongol conquest resulted in economic and demographic losses. In turn, Mongol rule altered some of the constituent components of Chinese economic growth. Iron production, for instance, never returned to its peak output. Alternatively, the Mongols encouraged the foreign trade. But unlike their Sung predecessors, Mongol rule extended throughout Central Asia, which encouraged an expansion in the volume of overland traffic on the Silk Roads. Coupled with the ongoing maritime commercial expansion, the economic significance of Chinese trade reached the highest levels between the twelfth and early fourteenth centuries (Abu-Lughod, 1989).

The Sung and Mongol regimes had also attempted to monopolize trade. (Elvin, 1973) However, Mongol restrictions had been resumed at the expense of Chinese merchant participation in trade. The Ming took this process one step further. Through a chain of prohibitions between 1371 and 1452, they managed to eliminate totally legal coastal shipping while also increasing the volume of smuggling. Ironically, the Ming dynasty is remembered in particular for the dramatic expansion of Chinese naval power throughout the Indian Ocean in the first third of the fifteenth century. Between 1405 and 1433, seven large fleets were sent as far west as

East Africa. But these were governmental fleets operating as part of an initial Ming strategy of military-political expansion. The fleets supported Ming military expansion in Indochina. They may also have been intended to assist the establishment of greater control over Chinese trading communities scattered throughout the Southeast Asia. Ming naval activity ended abruptly after military reversals and the severe economic crisis at home. In effect, the expansion strategy was replaced by withdrawal and isolation. Any possibility of Chinese maritime hegemony throughout the Indian Ocean ended. (Thompson, 2000)

The nomadic tribes and the successive dynastic authorities in China were more or less in tandem. The reasons for this interdependence were primarily a mixture of strategy and political economy. The two groups preferred entirely different approaches in both areas. Nomads specialized in cavalry, mobility, and hit-and-run campaigns. Chinese dynasties defended the settlements with large armies of infantry to respond quickly to frontier attacks. Neither side found it easy to destroy their opponents. The nomads could always withdraw and retreat from infantry attacks. More importantly, nomadic raids constituted a form of economic extraction that was essential to the steppe economy and its inhabitants.

Mongol conquest had been so unprecedented and dramatic. The fear was that history might repeat itself with the re-imposition of Mongol rule if the threat was not contained and deterred at the border. First the Northern Sung and then the Southern Sung had eventually been overwhelmed by the Mongol attacks. Ming dynasty made its frontier problems even worse by moving its

capital north to Beijing, near the border to better symbolize its commitment to the destruction of the nomadic threat. Unfortunately, this move only increased their vulnerability to border raids and the expenses to counter the raiding.

The naval expansion had been part of a concerted expansionist effort of the Ming in different theaters. It was motivated initially, by an attempt to counter the land threat posed by Timur in the early fifteenth century. The turmoil in Central Asia brought by Timur disrupted the Silk Routes and increased the appreciation for the southern maritime routes. Timur's death in 1405 ended the major military threat as a source of trade disruption (Eberhard, 1977)

The eastern coast was under attack by Chinese and Japanese pirates who were responding to Ming attempts to impose governmental control over Chinese trade. The Ming response to the maritime raids was to impose further restrictions on Chinese participation in foreign trade. They moved some portion of the coastal population inland causing to abandon the coastal areas as a way of the grand strategy of defensive withdrawal from zones of conflict. Eight million people between 1437 and 1491 moved to inland areas. Trade within China had returned to the routes established by the canal system that had been reopened around 1415, making the maritime routes along the eastern seaboard less important. (Swanson, 1982)

3.2.3.2. The Western Europe

The evolution of the western European region is also

a distinctive process. After the instability of the Dark Ages, due to imperial disintegration, plague and nomadic invasions over several centuries, long-term economic growth resumed. Population growth could be sustained by incorporating new land and by the adoption of new crop rotation techniques and agricultural technological innovation. For example, the development of plows became more suitable to the northwest European soil. Urbanization at scattered points throughout the region encouraged the growth of intra-regional trade and specialization. Inter-regional trade and a revolution in maritime commerce were also encouraged by growing demand, technological change, and by taste changes influenced by the Crusades. Monetization of the economy spread and brought new incentives and opportunities for state-building as the older feudal arrangements became increasingly obsolete. Feudal levies gave way to standing armies and the need to expand state revenues.

The factors were similar to the processes of the economic growth in Sung China. Population and economic growth have reciprocal effects. The more numerous Chinese enjoyed access to larger markets at home and abroad and better technology, such as paper/printing, junks with rudders, compasses, gunpowder. But, the Chinese momentum was not maintained. The European momentum also stopped in the fourteenth century but fostered up again in the second half of the fifteenth century. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, economic depression, disease, famine spread. But, at the second half of the fifteenth century, a new phase of European expansion in population growth, urbanization, and commerce led directly to the dramatic events of the 1490s.

Serious efforts reunited Western Europe coercively. A high degree of multi-polarity prevailed in European international relations with two consequences. One was an increasingly intensive dynamic of military competition among the units that led to the development of increasingly powerful states (Tilly, 1990).

A second consequence was that the winners of wars and clever royal marriages expanded the extent of their territorial control. The major qualification to this trend was the survival of small sea powers and merchant republics around the Mediterranean, Atlantic, and Baltic coasts. If they had emerged in another region, the probability of their survival would have been much lower. In other regions, the existence of the great empires didn't allow this probability. In Western Europe, not only they survived, but also thrived.

Moreover, their success had important implications to reverse Europe's longtime peripheral and dependent position within the Afro-Eurasia economy. Land versus sea powers led to a distinctive type of regional power balance in European regional geopolitics. The balancing dynamic emerging in 1494 facilitated the European multi-polarity for about 500 years.

3.2.3.3. Comparing the two regions and their co-evolution

Four interrelated factors help explain why the Chinese lost their leadership to the West Europeans and why the West Europeans gained the leadership:
a. Mongols,
b. The development of a relatively unusual type of ag-

gressive trading state in the Mediterranean,
c. The different international dynamics of West Europe and East Asia,
d. The choices made by successive Ming rulers.

The Mongol conquests were spectacular in their scope. Their impacts were different in various parts of Eurasia. The area around Baghdad was devastated, thereby ensuring the unlikelihood of a resurgence of the Fertile Crescent area. In East Asia and especially in China, the devastation and loss of life were severe but not so great that the losses could not be made up.

But unlike the other parts of Eurasia, the decline of the Mongol regime did not mean the end of the Mongol problem for Chinese rulers. Ming grand strategy fixated on resolving the Mongol threat. The fifteenth-century Ming isolationist tendencies evolved because of the failure to solve the problems of reestablishing dynastic control after the Mongols forced out of China. Ironically, they had increased the probability of Sung China developing its maritime commercial potential, but the impact of the dramatic successes of nomadic groups increased the probability of China turning inward.

In the West, the Mongol impact was threefold. First, the Mongols failed to extend their rule farther west than Hungary. Most of the Europe rescued from the direct impact of Mongol rule. It was possible for small trading states not only survive but also flourish. Venice, Genoa, Portugal and later, the United Provinces of the Netherlands were able to establish and maintain niches for a longer period than anywhere else in Afro-Eurasia.

These states were not overrun by adjacent land powers before they were able to provide a powerful European link to the Afro-Eurasian long-distance trade network. In this process, they were aided initially by the Mongol conquests that enabled the overland Silk Roads to function unusually well for about a century.

Venice and Genoa were able to transport the commodities via the Black Sea, for distribution throughout the European region. Western Europe was able to benefit directly from the impact of Chinese prosperity. They were able to control the southern maritime routes to the Indian Ocean via the Crusader enclaves in Palestine and by arrangement with the Mamluks in Cairo.

Through the long-distance trade, critical technological innovations were also taken. There is too much coincidence in the timing of Chinese innovations and their subsequent appearance in the Mediterranean.

The Portuguese were beneficiaries of Genoese investment and knowledge as a consequence of the Genoese turn towards the Western Mediterranean, as a result of the Venetian victory over Genoa for trading hegemony in the Eastern Mediterranean. Portugal imitated the Venetian-Genoese model of coercive trade monopolies. When they found a new route to the Indian Ocean, they introduced the coercive Venetian-Genoese model to the maritime commerce in the Afro-Eurasia economy. At the end of the fifteenth century, there was no real competition for maritime dominance in the Indian Ocean. The traditional Asian land powers declined and disintegrated while the Europeans grew even more capable of penetrating beyond the coasts, thanks to the technolog-

ical innovation. Ottomans, Safavids, and Mongols built their empires by applying gunpowder to the territorial conquest purposes. Then, they turned their backs on the Indian Ocean and long-distance trade.

The most critical significance of the development of the European trading states is that they were political units controlled by commercial interests. On the other side, the Ming era in China was unusually successful at stopping economic growth.

Other Asian ports, for instance, Malacca, enjoyed some degree of autonomy, but their rulers were comparatively passive. They did not use force to improve their competitive position because they did not have the much naval capability to apply to such undertakings. (Pearson, 1987)

A prominent example of the problems encountered by merchants is the story of the Karamis, a society of Muslim merchants who dominated much of the trade in the western Indian Ocean. Mamluks destroyed Karami network to control the pepper trade in 1429. (Bouchon and Lombard, 1987)

Mongol Empire had a large area, population, and resources so that the rulers didn`t interested in a long-distance trade. For the Mongol emperors, prestige was a matter of controlling vast areas. The sea was not an arena to gain the power and glory. Consequently, Indian and other Asian port cities were dominated by European merchants.

Europe created a world market by discovering the new

sea routes. Without the capitalist mode of production in the European periphery, Europe (Spain, Portugal, Holland, England, France) would have remained peripheral to other economic practices throughout the world. (Palin, 1992)

The rise of Western Europe is also interrelated with the fundamental conflict axis of maritime powers opposing regional unification by the land powers. The development of the maritime powers provided the Europe with the essential linkage to the center of the Afro-Eurasian world economy and enabled to seize the leadership of the economic growth of the world in the long-term.

3.2.4. The Military Superiority Thesis

The West had the power to conquer the rest of the world primarily with the help of its military technology. The military superiority thesis explains the coercive advantage. Western Europeans utilized their military advantages against non-Europeans to compensate for their inferiority in relative population size and natural resources. In this regard, Ottoman expansion was resisted successfully in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

European gradually controlled over the Americas between sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. They also seized the control of Indonesia in the seventeenth century, and much of India and parts of coastal Africa in the eighteenth century.

The improvement of the weapon industry and steamships during the nineteenth century enabled the Europeans to overcome the resistance in East Asia. China

and Japan had been especially attentive and receptive to European military innovations when the Europeans had first arrived. European dominance was primarily a function of Western innovations in military technology and the failure of non-westerners to adopt that technology quickly enough to establish the military balance.

In fact, Europeans had considerable trouble in their Mediterranean backyard with the Ottomans. Between fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, the European-Ottoman confrontation had resulted in the draw of Europeans from the Mediterranean.

The main instrument of the military superiority thesis is the development of naval superiority. Without this advantage, some Western Europeans were not been able to reach the America, southern and eastern Eurasia or could not survive after they had reached these regions. But, the naval superiority facilitated the development of local allies. Modern European military revolutions also enhanced the coercive capabilities of both land and maritime powers. (Thompson, 1999)

3.2.5. The Emergence of a Challenge Process

Towards to the end of the fifteenth century, European access to Asian goods became more difficult. Venice lost its Black Sea position when the Ottomans captured Istanbul in 1453. The Persian Gulf route was problematic because of the Ottoman-Persian conflict. The Red Sea route became more expensive as the Mamluks increased their trade levies in anticipation of the Turkish threat.

The Portuguese obliged to find a way around the African continent, up the east coast of Africa and arriving in Calicut in 1498. Muslim traders were a significant group in this theater, but they did not function as a monolithic group. Egyptians and Arabs dominated in the Arabian Sea connections between India and the Middle East. Muslim Gujaratis was the principal maritime merchants connecting western and eastern India. There was no history of these groups acting in concert before the Portuguese arrived. Muslim merchants attempted to make more difficult for the new arrivals to engage in the Indian trade.

The Portuguese constructed a second network between Cape Town, Bandar Abbas, Ceylon, Jakarta, and Taiwan. The Dutch plan for dominating Eurasian trade was even more ambitious than their Portuguese predecessors. The Dutch supplanted the Portuguese only to give way to their English rivals, as the British were forced to surrender their position of economic preeminence to the US. The leadership challenge sequence continued, the geographical scope expanded, and eventually, the economic leadership returned to the emphasis on production.

Three Anglo-Dutch occurred in the seventeenth century. If the Dutch were damaged too greatly in a war with the English, their alliance value and their willingness to cooperate would be diminished significantly.

A classical mercantilist, Richelieu believed that regaining control was necessary to transport French products in French ships. A state's relative strength depended on its financial base to a large degree on tax collections.

In this respect, the Colbert reform plan introduced the following principles. (Ames, 1996)

a. Minimize imports by increasing national self-sufficiency,

b. Support the expansion of all existing industries,

c. Develop industries, especially those capable of bringing money from other countries,

d. Carry imports only on French ships and merchants as much as possible so that profits not be kept by foreign middlemen,

e. Prohibit the export of bullion,

f. Reduce duties on exports and increase duties prohibitively on imports,

g. Exclude foreign traders from colonial commerce,

h. Create monopolistic companies to expand French trade to the West Indies, Baltic, North Africa, Levant, West Africa, and East Indies,

i. Expand the size of the royal navy for the defense of French interests.

England and the Netherlands recognized the extent of the commercial threat and responded by increasing their tariffs. British and the French had become the principal European powers in India and China. They had access to more capital. They had more troops and ships. A military force had become increasingly critical in the eighteenth century India. The general pattern of Anglo-French rivalry after the defeat of the first French challenge in the 1689-1713 wars was a result of continuous rivalry and. The French intervention and the success in the US War of Independence turned out to the loss. Britain lost its important colonies but retained them as trading partners. French military expenditure

increased its debt level substantially. The added pressure on the financial system led directly to the overthrow of the French monarchy in 1789.

French Revolution occurred as a consequence of France's defeat in the struggle with the British Empire for hegemony. (Wallerstein, 1989) While 1815 settlement regulated the transfer of colonial territories, the British government was in a position, in many parts of the world, to take its choice. It determined to safeguard its position by appropriate acquisitions. The leadership challenge did not end in the early nineteenth century. It has continued up to today.

The initial control of major economic innovations in commerce and industry maintained the global leadership. These innovations are crucial for long-term economic growth. One example is the Industrial Revolution for producing cotton and iron products that also gave way to steam power and railroads in the mid-nineteenth century. Britain led to these two technological waves. But, Germany and the US took the lead in the subsequent technologies on electricity, chemicals, and automobiles in the late nineteenth century. When the world power loses its monopoly on economic innovations and its leading sea power position, its position is challenged by other global powers seeking the leadership.

Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century, Britain's challenges were France and Russia. At different times, Austria and Germany acted as Britain's continental allies to contain the threat of French and Russian expansion. Britain was not wanted to go to war

in 1914 on balancing against German expansion. Rather, it was based on a fear that a Franco-Russian victory would lead to their shared domination of Eurasia and global supremacy. But, Britain had no choice but to participate in the side that was likely to win. World War I was a triumph for Britain. In the 20 years following the war, Britain was as stronger than it had been in the preceding 150–200 years.

The real sources of the demise of the British Empire were colonial agitation for independence after World War II and the pernicious policies aiming at decolonization and the destruction of the Empire by Britain's American ally. (Ingram, 1997, 1999)

The US never played a role within the nineteenth-century European regional system. It was an actor of some importance on North, Central and South American issues throughout the nineteenth century. Throughout the nineteenth century, Britain's principal rivals were France, Russia, and the United States. The US always seemed to remain in the third place. Formally, the international relationship between the US and Britain began in a hostility way.

Another important aspect of the Anglo-American rivalry was the British commitment to the containment of American continental expansion. Nevertheless, when it came time to fight over the possession of a specific territory, British decision-makers were often conciliatory. British decision-makers were always conscious of their vulnerability in North America. Neither British maritime trade nor Canada and the West Indies would be easy to defend from the US attacks. The US

was a difficult target to attack and defeat permanently. (Maslowski, 1994)

On the other side, an attack on the US might also encourage a European attack on some part of the British Empire. On the other side, economic interdependence was fairly high throughout the history of the Anglo-American rivalry. Most of the time, the two states were the best customer of the other. (Campbell, 1974)

The nineteenth century was the era of Pax Britannica while the second half of the twentieth century is the US century. Much of the early economic development of the US had been facilitated by the infusion of British labor and capital, as a result of resource transfers from the old leader to the new.

3.3. Ideological Confrontations

Communist Revolution in Russia in October 1917 became the starting point for the constant ideological confrontation until the fall of Berlin Wall in 1989. World War II helped to this confrontation because of the expansion of communism in the Central and Eastern Europe. Communism versus Capitalism became the main issue of the political struggles throughout the Cold War period.

Independence wars played a significant role to end colonialism. They also became a part of the ideological confrontation the two blocs. After the collapse of communism ideological struggle ended and the Cold War with the victory of the liberalism and the capitalist practices throughout the world. (Gaddis, 2005)

The rise of liberalism increased the world trade and strengthened the dominant position of the US in the world political-economic system. The countries transforming their institutions and norms according to the liberal and democratic principles in an earlier time had gained the advantage in comparison with the states that were late to realize the same transformation. Chinese economic transformation to liberalism was the most important phenomenon for the future of the global economic system. The effect of the globalism had the significant consequences that are not only economic, but also political, social and cultural.

China seems to reach the former leading position 1000 years ago, as a new economic power. In this context, the old economic order of the middle ages is likely to emerge. The only gap for the rebirth of the ancient global powers is the regional integration of the Middle East. If this region could manage to participate successfully in the globalization process, the establishment of a fair and equally distributed welfare and economic development would maintain the stability and global peace. In the future, a global balance and development can be accomplished through the regional economic integrations.

3.4. Contemporary Changes in the Westphalian Nation State Order

In the last three or four hundred years, a single world order has developed. The Treaty of Westphalia signed in 1648 established a concept for the international political order. It gradually extended other parts of the world to encompass the most of the world. It was a con-

ception of the sovereign state around a particular type of political actor. At the beginning of the twentieth century, a world geography defined by national boundaries had evolved to a position of conceptual dominance and principles of international relations built upon it. (Hall, 1996)

The Westphalian nation-state order has a strong institutional capacity and strong collective identities. The state imposes unity and coherence of domestic society, based on national identity that suppresses competing identities and belongings, with the elaborate set of rules. On the other side, international politics is characterized by a lack of strong institutions.

"National identity and other political identities are fundamental to structuring the rules of appropriate behavior and institutions associated with those identities." (Habermas, 1996)

International political life is less institutionalized and more anarchic. Norms and institutions are weaker, less shared, and less granted than those of individual Sates. The international political order is defined primarily in terms of negotiated connections among externally autonomous and internally integrated sovereign nation states.

The disintegration of some states and the reintegration of others changed the borders of some states. Many contemporary states seem to be affected by increasing fragmentation and disintegration. Ethnic, religious, linguistic, regional, and class identities have created solidarities that do not coincide with nation-state bound-

aries. Besides, sub-state and supra-national identities have renewed interest in concepts like culture and identity as to understand international relations. (Lapid, 1997)

Institutional barriers have been weakened and made integration easier based on voluntary exchange. Numerous economic, cultural and intellectual trans-national networks have been formed to link individuals, with the ease of communication and travel across the borders. (Deutsch, 1957)

The non-intervention principle into the internal affairs has also eroded by interventions for dispute resolution, economic stability, and human rights. Inter-governmental and supra-national institutions, such as the international courts, parliaments, and special committees, are creating their systems of rules and identities. Institutional complexity and the co-existence of different orders seem to become a permanent feature of the international environment. (Mayer, Rittberger and Zurn, 1995)

FOURTH CHAPTER
THE EFFECT OF POLITICAL LEADERSHIP
ON THE DECISION MAKING

4.1 Main Features of the Political System

A presidential system is a system where an executive branch presides separately from the legislature, and it is not accountable to it. The president has special privileges in the enactment of legislation, with the power of veto over legislation of statutes. The legislature and the president are expected to serve as checks and balances on each other's powers.

4.1.1. The Presidential System

The origin of the presidential system goes to the medieval monarchies of France and England that the executive authority vested in the Crown. Later, the concept of separate spheres of influence of the executive and legislature was emulated in the Constitution of the US, with the creation of the Office of President.

The presidential system is not exclusive to republics and applied in the semi-constitutional monarchies. The executive branch of government, together a parliament is often associated with the republican systems.

Almost all presidential systems share the following features; (Szilagyi, 2009)

a. The president does not propose laws but has the power to veto acts of the legislature. An act of parliament

cannot enter into force without the approval of the monarch. But, a supermajority of legislators may act to override the veto.

b. The presidents come to power for a fixed period to at the office, through he elections scheduled periodically. The removal of a president may require exceptional rule in some countries if they break the law.

c. Members of the cabinet serve to the president and carry out the policies of the executive branch. Presidential systems frequently require legislative approval of the cabinet. A president has the power to direct members of the cabinet, military or any officer or employee of the executive branch but has no power to dismiss or give orders to judges.

d. The presidents have the power to pardon or commute the sentences of some convicted criminals.

Some national presidents are figurehead heads of state, like constitutional monarchs and not active executive heads of government. In contrast, in a full presidential system, a president elected by the people is the head of the executive branch.

In the presidential systems, presidents hold the positions of head of state and head of government. But, many parliamentary governments have a symbolic head of state in the form of a monarch who handles the formalities of state functions as the figurehead. In fact, the constitutional prerogatives of head of government are exercised by the prime minister.

A few nations, such as Ireland, have a popularly elected ceremonial president. Some countries may have powerful presidents elected by the legislature, in the same way of prime ministers. They are the heads of both state and government. They are titled "president", but in practice, act like as prime ministers.

4.1.1.1. Advantages of Presidential Systems

Supporters claim four basic advantages for the presidential systems: Direct mandate, separation of powers, speed and decisiveness and stability. (Wikipedia, 2009)

a. Direct Mandate: The president is often elected directly by the people. Thus, the president's power is more legitimate than a leader appointed indirectly. A popularly elected leadership is more democratic to rule than a leadership chosen by a legislative body. The direct mandate of the presidents makes them more accountable. The critics of this view note that presidents cannot be removed from power when their policies do not reflect the wishes of the citizens. For example; in the US, presidents can only be removed by an impeachment trial for "High Crimes and Misdemeanors". On the other side, prime ministers can be removed if they fail to get confidence in their government.

b. Separation of Powers: This principle requires the establishment of the presidency and the legislature as two parallel structures allowing each structure to supervise the other to prevent abuses. A presidential system separates the executive from the legislature. The advantage is that each branch may check the other. In a parliamentary system, the executive body is taken from

the legislature. The legislature has the power to vote of no confidence in the executive policies.

The supporters of the presidential system claim that the lack of checks and balances may result in discovering the misconduct by a prime minister. If a presidential system's legislature is controlled by the president's party, the same situation exists. The president is immune to the effects of no-confidence voting. In parliamentary systems, party discipline is much more strictly enforced. If a parliament member publicly criticizes the executive or its policies, he/she may face of losing the nomination, or expelling from the party.

In a parliamentary system, if he majority of the members of parliament rejects a legislation proposed by the prime minister, the vote of no-confidence. In this case, the government either resigns or calls for elections. Therefore, no-confidence vote in some parliamentary countries, like Britain, only occurs a few times in a century. In fact, parliament has not a real control over the executive.

c. Speed and Decisiveness: A president with strong powers can usually enact changes quickly. However, the separation of powers may slow the system down. On the other side, the supporters of presidential systems claim that presidential systems can respond more rapidly to emerging situations than parliamentary systems. The constraints of a president are often less than a prime minister. But, in case of divided government, where the presidency and the legislature are controlled by different parties, restrain the excesses of both parties, and guarantee bipartisan input into legislation.

d. Stability: A president with a fixed term, may provide more stability than a prime minister who can dismiss any time. The parliamentary systems have multiple parties and allow the establishment of coalition governments. But, the extremist parties can use the threat of leaving a coalition.

Many people support the presidential systems because of the ability to survive during emergencies. A country under enormous stress may be led better by a president with a fixed term than rotating premierships. The elections are fixed in a presidential system and considered to be a welcome check on the powers of the executive.

In parliamentary systems, the prime minister might call elections if the vote of no confidence triggers an election. The presidential model discourages this type of opportunism and forces the executive to operate within the confines of his term. Theoretically, if a president's actions have a positive impact in the country, re-election of the party's candidate for another term will be possible.

4.1.1.2. Criticism of Presidential System

Critics claim three basic disadvantages for presidential systems: Tendency towards authoritarianism, separation of powers, and the impediments to leadership change.

a. The tendency toward authoritarianism: A presidential system may fall into authoritarianism in every country. (Nelson, 2008) A president can marginalize the influence of other parties, and exclude the rival factions

in his party as well. The President can manage to rule for multiple terms by creating a worrisome situation for many interest groups. The losers must wait for another term without any access to executive power.

Some political scientists argue that presidential systems have difficulty sustaining democratic practices, noting that the presidential system may shift into authoritarianism in many countries. Militaries tend to play a prominent role in most of these countries. The authoritarian tendency is often seen in unitary states having presidential systems. Federal states, with multiple state governments that are semi-sovereign, provide additional checks on authoritarian tendencies. In the United States, the different 50 states have their three branches of elected government, police, emergency response system and military force.

b. Separation of Powers: The establishment of the presidency and the legislature as two parallel structures, may create undesirable gridlock, and reduces accountability by allowing the president and the legislature to shift blame to each other. Power and strict accountability are the essential constituents of good government. The only fruit of dividing power is to make it irresponsible.

4.1.1.3. Impediments to Leadership Change

To remove a president from the office is difficult earlier than the fixed term. Even if a president becomes inefficient and unpopular, his policies must be endured until a new election. To remove an unpopular president from the office is not legally possible. Thus, many presi-

dential states experienced military coups to remove a leader.

In parliamentary systems, unpopular leaders can be removed by a vote of no confidence in a short period. It is easier to achieve in minority governments. Even an unpopular leader of a majority government is not in a secure position.

Removing a president through impeachment is a very difficult process. Besides, removing a party leader requires less formal rules. Nearly all parties have a relatively simple process for removing their leaders. Therefore, other party members may have a strong incentive to initiate a leadership challenge.

Finally, many criticize presidential systems for their slowness in responding to the citizens' needs, because the system of checks and balances make action extremely difficult.

4.1.2. Parliamentary System

In a parliamentary system, the ministers of government are accountable to the parliament. The head of government is the chief of the executive. In the parliamentary systems, there is no clear separation of powers between the executive and legislative branches. Thu, a different set of checks and balances need to be established compared to presidential systems.

Many parliamentary countries have governments composed of one party. But, parliamentary systems in continental Europe use the methods of proportional rep-

resentation in the elections. Consequently, the election results tend to result in coalition government because any political party cannot obtain the majority of seats in the parliament.

4.1.2.1. Advantages of Parliamentary System

The main advantage of a parliamentary system is that it is faster and easier to pass legislation. (Bates, 1986) The executive branch is dependent on the legislative branch and mot of cabinet members are the members of the parliament.

In a presidential system, the executive body is often chosen independently from the parliament. Accordingly, the executive within a presidential system might not be able to implement its manifesto. Therefore, the will of the people is more effectively instituted within a parliamentary system.

4.1.2.2. Criticism of the Parliamentarian System

The main criticism of parliamentary systems is that the head of government is not directly elected. Instead, the prime minister elected by the parliament. Thus, they are strongly affected by the party leadership. The party's candidate for the head of government is usually decided before the election, to make clear the political party behind.

Another major criticism is that there is no substantial check on legislative power. The lack of an effective principle of the separation of powers, a parliamentary system can result in great power in the executive body.

The legislature or judiciary has little scope to administer checks or balances effectively on the executive.

4.1.3. Differences between Presidential and Parliamentary Systems

Some key theoretical differences exist between a presidential and a cabinet system:

In the presidential systems, the legislative and executive branches of government should be separated from each other. A separate election of the president scheduled for a fixed term. But, in a parliamentary system, the prime minister is chosen by the members of parliament chairs the executive power and is directly responsible to the parliament.

In the presidential systems, the legislature is set for a fixed term and cannot be dissolved earlier. By contrast, in parliamentary systems, the legislative body can be dissolved at any stage by the President himself, or on the advice of Prime Minister, or by the cabinet.

The president usually has special privileges in the enactment of legislation, namely the possession of a power of veto over legislation of statutes. In some cases, this can be subject to the power of the legislature by weighed majority to override the veto. The president rarely proposes the laws. The legislature and the president are expected to serve as checks and balances on each other's powers.

Presidents may also have a great deal of constitutional authority in the exercise of the office of Commander in

Chief. In many states, the presidents have this constitutional title. Besides, the presidents receive ambassadors as head of state as a way of conducting foreign policy. (Wikipedia, 2009)

4.2. Control of the Political Leadership Over Agencies

Without checks and balances, the power of any branch will expand until stopped. The control power of the political leaders, such as presidents and prime ministers, without legislative or judicial constraints, may exceed the bounds of the separation of powers that balances the system of government.
When unchecked by any of the other branches of government, the door is open to leadership or partisan control over agency decisions.

One of the checks on the Executive Branch is the Supreme Court or the Constitutional Court. The courts should have the ability to review legislation as well as executive decisions, including those of administrative agencies.

Parliament may delegate authority to administrative agencies so that they can make rules. The Congress of the US uses the legislative veto to regulate agency activities. The legislative veto requires that any legislative action first go before the Senate and the House of Congress, and if it passes it may go to the President for approval.

In the US, presidents have an important executive tool that affects domestic policy: The executive order has the

force of law in the same way as legislative rules. These orders allow presidential legislation without congressional or public knowledge. When the majority of the Congress belongs to the same party of the President, there is a little congressional check on the Executive. On the other side, when the majority of parliament belongs to the party of the prime minister, the same result occurs in the parliamentary systems. (Gaziano, 2001)

The prime ministers in the parliamentary systems can use a similar tool. For example, in Turkey, "decree with the authority of law" is used for this purpose.

4.3. The Effect of Public Opinion on the Leadership Power

Public opinion can guide the political leaders for the actions to take or not to take to find solutions to the public problems. It may directly contribute to the policy agenda of a president or prime minister. If public opinion is supportive, his policy agenda will be more aggressive, than if public support is weak.

The reliance on the leadership of public opinion has positives and negatives. The public tends to judge policies, based on the perceived costs and benefits to individuals, their friends, family, and to the nation. Public opinion is something that elected officials must keep in mind when making policy decisions.

If the opposition party controls the parliament, public opinion may not help the success of president or prime minister, due to the conflicting messages sent to the public by the opposition party. Members of the op-

posing party will combat to the government proposals because they have a little gain from supporting them. They will be less inclined to support a popular president or prime minister because they are more threatened by his popularity.

When the government party controls the parliament or Congress, the positive public opinion could increase the success of the leadership before the members of his party at a quicker pace.

4.4. Leadership Power in National Security

In case of an emergency situation, the executive officers may urgently take action in the absence of law, if there is no time to call the Parliament for meeting. Sometimes, they can even decide against the law for the public good. During a crisis, parliamentary action may require following the unilateral presidential or governmental measures. Constitutional order necessitates that the executive prerogative is subject to two conditions:

a. The president or prime minister must acknowledge that the emergency actions are not legal or constitutional.
b. He should come to the parliament or congress and explain the actions taken, the reasons for the actions, and ask to pass a bill making the illegal actions legal.

Those steps were followed by President Abraham Lincoln after the Civil War began. In ordering the actions, Lincoln never claimed to be acting legally or constitutionally and exceeded the constitutional limits of his office. Therefore, he told Congress that his actions

had been the result of a public necessity and Congress should ratify them. Understanding that Lincoln's actions were illegal, Congress passed legislation retroactively approving and making valid all of his acts and orders.

After the attacks of September 2001, President Bush initially came to Congress to seek the authorization for the use of military force and demanded the adoption of the USA Patriot Act. Bush acted unilaterally increasingly and secretly by relying on powers of the presidency.

The constitutional system requires that the executive officers must express the reasons for their actions reasonably, and respect for the duties of other branches and the rights and liberties of the individuals.

Presidents in the US have a preeminent authority in the field of national security and foreign policy. Moreover, as the Commander in Chief, the president can order to deploy the military forces to start a war.

The monarchs may start war only for the purposes of military glory, revenge for personal affronts, ambition, or private compacts to support their particular families or partisans. These and a variety of other motives often lead monarch to engage in wars not sanctified by justice or the interests of his people. Only Congress or Parliament should be authorized to decide whether to initiate war.

Army is always subordinate to the civil power. Military commitments are not in the hands of admirals and generals but are exercised by civilian leaders, including

members of Parliament.

Secret policies are unknown to the citizens or even to the members of Parliament or Congress. But, a society cannot rely on the rule of law in the case of governance by secret law and uncontrolled power. In the US, a form of secret law had been used in a signing statement by President Bush on December 30, 2005. Because of harsh criticism of abusive interrogations of detainees, Congress responded by passing a new law prohibiting inhuman or degrading treatment of the prisoners held in US custody. (Fisher, 2006)

A privilege exerted by the executive branch should not be used to conceal corruption, criminal or unethical conduct, or wrongdoing by executive officials. A privilege should not also be used to shield government officials who violate the law.

4.5. The Effects of Electoral Concerns on Foreign Policy: Ronald Reagan Case

Although previous scholarship indicates that foreign policy has only a minimal impact on voter behavior, contemporary research suggests that voters may use their votes by their foreign policy preferences. In this sense, political leaders often modify their foreign policy positions, taking into account the voters' concerns,

Ronald Reagan's policies is a good example for such a shift. Reagan maintained hawkish positions toward Central America and the Soviet Union during his first term. But, after seeing the public concern over such policies, he followed more conciliatory approaches on foreign policy, to reduce potential vulnerabilities in

preparation for his 1984 reelection campaign. He did not return to more aggressive policies after his reelection.

Reagan's foreign policy shift demonstrates the impact of public opinion and domestic politics on foreign policy. Ronald Reagan's policies showed how government leaders modify their positions in line with the public opinion and also to counter the attacks from political rivals.

Public opinion plays a considerable role decision making in parliamentarian or presidential systems. A president or prime minister must avoid alienating the public to maintain popular support for policy initiatives and to help ensure reelection. In this context, public opinion constrains executive decision making.

Normally, public opinion may exert less influence on foreign policies than domestic policies since international concerns are not so familiar to the electorate. Foreign policy slightly affects election outcomes.

However, scholars have challenged this widely accepted view and suggested that foreign policy can exert a significant impact on political campaigns and elections. They assume a more psychological approach to determining the influence of foreign policy on election outcomes. Voters may partially base their evaluations on the methods of the president or the prime minister to accomplish foreign policy objectives. (Hurwitz and Peffley, 1987)

Domestic issues are more important to the voters than

foreign policy issues. So, the political leaders of the executive power prefer to maintain focus on domestic concerns during peacetime elections.

In the US, several instances can be noted when presidents altered their foreign policy positions to satisfy the electorate or undermine the political attacks. Incumbent presidents may also modify their stance on foreign policy issues in response to their challengers' positions. A president may adopt less conciliatory foreign policies to subdue political criticisms. For example, presidents Ford and Carter adopted a strong stand toward the Soviets in response to Ronald Reagan's criticism. (Nincic, 1990)

In contrast, the presidents who faced liberal opposition sometimes minimized their anti-Soviet rhetoric to win more support from moderates. Nixon used his efforts on the SALT I treaty to help establish his image as a peacemaker. (Miller, 1984)

FIFTH CHAPTER
ELECTION SYSTEMS AND THE DYNAMICS
OF ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

In democratic countries, elections are the essential part of the political system, for deciding which political party takes the power to govern the country for a specific period. Different election systems may have different models in determining the winner. Until the date of the election, election campaigns may have an important role to effect or to change the opinions of the electorate.

5.1. Election Systems

Elections enable the peaceful transfer of the authority by the will of the voters. The voting systems determine the election results and specify how voting power distributes the votes among the political parties.

In some situations, the voting power of a group may change the result of a vote. Groups may form coalitions to maximize their voting power. Sometimes, a super majority vote is required to change the status quo. In this sense, unanimous consent requires the support of every voting member to change the status quo.

Basic voting systems are majority rule, proportional representation or plurality voting, with some variations and methods. (Reeve and Ware, 2013)

5.1.1. Majority rule

The majority rule determines the winner on the basis of

the majority of electorate votes. If there are two choices to determine the winner, it would be easier and effective rule. However, when there are more than two options, there may not be possible to reach a majority. In some election systems, voters may give numeric ratings to each candidate. In this case, the option with the highest total score wins.

Ranked voting methods are also called preferential voting methods. Each voter ranks the candidates in order of preference. The candidates unranked are accepted equally for the last place. Some ranked voting methods allow voters to give multiple candidates the same ranking.

5.1.2. Proportional Methods

In approval voting, voters may vote for as many candidates as they like. It can be a type of range voting where the allowable ratings are 0 and 1. Voters may also vote for the same candidate multiple times. Some voting systems include additional choices on the ballot, such as write-in candidates, none of the above option or no confidence in that candidate option.

Proportional voting methods can guarantee of proportionality by making each winning option equal to the specific number of the votes. For this purpose, a quota might be decided by the Election Board at the nation level or the election district level. For example, if the total number of the voters in an election district is 100.000 and the total number of the seats in the Parliament is 5 for this district, the quota is 20.000.

Most of the proportional systems rely on the party-list representation, in which voters vote for parties instead of individual candidates. For each time a party receives the number of votes more than the quota, one of their candidates wins a seat in the Parliament.

There are two methods of seat allocation: The highest average method and the largest remainder method. The largest remainder method set a particular quota based on the number of voters. The highest average method set the quota indirectly by dividing the number of votes the parties receive, by a sequence of numbers. The parliamentary democracies usually prefer thed'Hondt method to provide a fair distribution of the seats in the Parliament.

Party-list systems may have open or closed list of the candidates. In the open list system, the voters can decide the candidates from the party list. In the closed list system, the candidates are in a fixed order that the party chooses. The voters have no chance to make a choice among them.

The Single Transferable Vote (STV) system is a proportional representation system in which the voters rank the candidates, according to their preferences. This system does not affect the candidates being grouped into political parties. Also, the excess votes can be transferred from candidates who already have a quota.

Although the proportional system associates to danger for greater fragmentation of the legislative parties, the political presentation could be increased through these elections.

Cumulative voting is another system in which the voters have unequal voting power. For example, in the corporate governance, "one share, one vote" rule exists. As a simple a form of limited voting, Single Non-Transferable Vote (SNTV) is a special variation of cumulative voting. In this system, a full vote cannot be divided among more than one candidate.

5.2. Elections as a Major Cultural and Political Restructuring

The following table lists the issues, by their importance. The table shows that each issue, with the percentage of people in the US, choosing that issue voted for Bush and Kerry respectively. (Xenakis, 2010)

Table 2: The Proportionality of Issues for the Voters in the US

Issue and % of voters	Voted for Bush	Voted for Kerry
Moral values (22%)	80%	18%
Economy/Jobs (20%)	18%	80%
Terrorism (19%)	86%	14%
Iraq (15%)	26%	73%
Health Care (8%)	23%	77%
Taxes (5%)	57%	43%
Education (4%)	26%	73%

Table 2 shows that the individual rights of health care and education were low on the list, but the national security issues of moral values, the terrorism and Iraq are high on the list.

As the US entered the generational crisis period in the late 1990s and early 2000s, the mood changed away from individual rights toward preservation of the nation

and the way of life. As national security becomes more important than individual rights, more people feel the need to vote and a record of 120 million people voted in 2004. The results of a public search showed that 22% of the electorate supported the moral values. The key issue for 20% of the voters was the economy, for 19% terrorism, and just for 15% Iraq.

Generational dynamics predicts that America will go through some major crises in the future. Deep financial crises and a "clash of civilizations" will challenge America's continued existence. These crises may force Republicans and Democrats to unite to save their country and their way of life, and will redefine the understandings of the two parties.

5.3. Election Campaigns

A campaign is a period before citizens make a real political choice. A campaign typically heightens citizens' attention to politics in direct relation to the proximity of the event. If the date of elections and the identity of candidates were announced, the candidates are available to organize certain actions to win the elections. The election campaign activity is more likely to have a place in the voters' minds as the Election Day comes near.

Campaigns are usually characterized by heightened intensity. The evidence of this intensity is media attentiveness, campaign interest, political discussion, knowledge about candidates and the strength of voting intention. Another indicator of intensity is the effort of the parties and candidates, which usually increases as

the campaign progresses. The increase may come with television advertising or in a different effort that seems more intense to the voters and the media. Especially, the increasing travels to the different towns and cities for advertising attract the people attention. Campaign efforts require time and money, for the fundamental events, such as conventions, debates, appearances, voter mobilization and television advertising.

Without media attention, a campaign couldn't be effective. Media coverage reflects what will attract an audience. Media attention increases toward the end of a campaign and becomes more focused. Media coverage might focus on the front-runners. If the winner seems clear early, media coverage might shift to who will finish second or other minor players.

5.3.1. Campaign Effects

The campaign aims to inform voters about the fundamental issues and their importance. The prevailing scholarly consensus on campaigns is that they have minimal effects. Campaigns rarely change the minds of voters, because of the existing information and prejudices that voters have.

The voters respond according to the popular tendency. The more likely it seems that a candidate will win, the more voters gravitate to that candidate.

American presidential campaigns by and large have predictable effects, because of several systematic conditions. The election-year economy strongly influences the election results. (Campbell, 2000)

First and necessary component of an election campaign is persuasion. Campaigns change some voters' minds. Indeed, campaign operations ignore the un-convincible voters and focus only on so-called swing voters. They know their limited power to persuade. A successful strategy is to select the types of voters you can most easily persuade instead of appealing everyone. Beside the economic and political conditions, one's social background and party identifications clearly influence the individual vote choices and election outcomes.

A second kind of campaign effect is priming. Campaigns can shape public opinion by making certain issues or considerations salient to voters. Priming can occur even as many people's vote preferences remain constant. As voters learn about the candidates and focus on certain considerations, the underlying structure of these preferences may change.

Priming can affect the balance of partisan forces and ultimately the election as a whole. Priming will solidify the support of the partisans and potentially lure swing voters into their camp as well.

Campaigns obviously affect voters by informing and mobilizing them. Voters begin the campaign in a state of comparative ignorance. From a normative perspective, we hope that the campaign will capture their attention and inspire them to learn about the choice before them. Studies showed that campaign educate voters about the candidates and in particular about their stands on certain issues.

Informing grows interest and attention to campaign

news. But, perhaps the most important of these effects is to help mobilize voters. For this, it is necessary to maintain direct contact with voters, by a phone call or a knock at the door. On the other side, negative campaigning alienates voters so much that they dislike both candidates, and therefore they stay at home on the Election Day.

Campaigns provide voters an opportunity to update their expectations for each candidate's or party's chances of success. Voters prefer candidates who seem to win. (Johnston and Brady, 2009)

5.3.2. Campaign Advertising

Monitoring the behaviors of voters requires the use of an adaptive learning model. To illustrate the effect of political messages and to determine how voters forecast, react, learn and adjust to a new set of information. (McKelvey and Ordeshook, 1985a,b) Voters have rational expectations when an outcome equals voters' expectations. (Sargent, 1999:136)

5.3.2.1. Learning and Expectations in Political Campaigns

Voters have long-lasting partisan commitments, and these commitments may contribute to the certain political predispositions. The flexibility of the voters presents opportunities for campaign strategists to influence voter perceptions and voter support. Voters not only associate a candidate with a particular party and its policies, but also assess the character and competence of a candidate. (Miller and Shanks, 1996)

Voter assessments of candidates are dynamic. The speed of voters to make judgments about candidates varies, given new and old information they receive, but it is clear that voters learn and update their assessments during a campaign. These reassessments include expectations about candidate viability as well as uncertainty about candidate character and policy stances. Voters can make assessments on policy issues and can change opinions in reasonable ways. (Page and Shapiro, 1992)

Campaign strategists can motivate voters to get knowledge about the candidates by constructing political advertisements that appeal to emotion or raise anxiety. (Marcus and Mc Quen, 1993) Strategists can not only motivate the voters, but also use issue framing to shape candidate popularity against an opponent. (Shafer and Claggett, 1995)

The effect of advertising may be different from different voters. The voters can observe the record for candidates and can identify the issue position of candidates. Voters also receive campaign messages in the form of political advertisements and can either use or ignore these advertisements. Finally, voters can forecast a candidate's policy positions and competence. If voters have rational expectations, they understand a candidate's personal and policy qualities and can accurately anticipate the campaign strategy.

There are many ways to measure total campaign advertising, including the total money spent, the ratio of money for the rival candidates, the content, the timing and the geographic location.

Political advertising effectiveness depends on voter expectations and their ability to discern the true policy views and personal character of a candidate and the candidate's campaign strategy. This learning process is influenced by the expectations of others. The duration of advertisement effectiveness also depends on the degree of voter interest or ignorance to the campaigns. Campaign strategists may also adopt a strategy that maximizes the influence of the political advertisement.

5.3.2.2. Issue Advertising in Political Campaigns

In the 1920s, candidates used the radio to broadcast political messages. The first television political spots appeared during the 1952 presidential elections. Subsequent research has shown that issues used in ads during that election and has become a big part of most television political advertising campaigns. (Johnston and Kaid, 2002)

During the campaigns in the 1990s, the highest percentage belonged to the issue ads. Given this historical evolution, the next question should be how effective these ads are in terms of educating the public and helping the candidate win elections.

Through commercials, presidential candidates inform the electorate. In fact, the contribution of advertising campaigns to voter knowledge is truly impressive. One study concluded that voters are more likely to remember a candidate's issue positions by watching political commercials than by watching television news (Brians and Wattenberg, 1996).

Advertisements containing issue discussions are likely to convince voters that a candidate was competent on the issue raised in the commercial. (Kahn and Geer, 1994) For example, respondents who saw a commercial promoting a candidate's concern for education viewed that candidate as qualified to deal with education. Voters are more tolerant of negative advertisements when those ads are supported by evidence.

5.3.2.3. The Role of Media in Advertising

Debates involving candidates in media help to the predictions of election results. By perceptions of the candidate who projected the strongest personal image, the greatest credibility, the most logical arguments, and the strongest emotional appeals is likely to win. The voters' preferences expressed after a first debate are strong predictors of eventual candidate choice. (Keyton, 1989)

Men and women may show different reactions to the political debates. A study showed that females took less extreme views of candidates after viewing post-debate analysis. (Engstrom, 1989)

Media influence the public awareness of elections. Television appears to affect political attitudes of the future voters. A study examined the political views of 10 to 17-year-old young people and the parents before and after the 1988 election. This research showed that parents' attitudes had a great influence on the political socialization of the young people. Television appeared to be the greatest influence on the older ones. (Sears and Weber, 1988)

5.3.2.4. The Use of Internet in Political Campaigns

The internet may be an effective way to reach electorate to address their concerns, and raise the funds necessary to win an election. The web provides them with broader information on the issues and seeks for support.

The last surveys show that the role of internet is increasing in the political campaign process. Some political parties are more willing and assertive to use the internet to take the attention of the people or the interest groups.

5.4. Conditions for the Manipulation of the Voters

The competitiveness of the political race is affected by the fundamental economic and political conditions. Candidates and voters always act in characteristically different ways in different areas. If candidates express the fresh and new ideas, voters listen and learn. Campaigns can affect what voters know, whether they will vote, whom they will vote for, why they will vote for that person, ultimately who wins the election.

Manipulation entails two things. A candidate must take seemingly true statements, and voters must believe it. Two conditions may occur against manipulation. First, voters do not believe everything that they heard. They filtered them with their existing partisan views. Second, new information will not be unchallenged. The claims of a party may contradict with the claims of another. Furthermore, media scrutinizes and evaluates the claims of parties.

SIXTH CHAPTER
DYNAMICS OF POLITICAL POLARIZATION
AND PARTISANSHIP

Political parties are the most crucial factors of the democratic political systems and play an important role in the system legitimacy. Parties try to reach their supporters, to motivate them to adopt the party's position. The democratic theory requires that the representatives respect to the preferences of the electorate.

Scholars intensify on the political polarization. They search the empirical facts of the tendencies of political elites and party activists who increasingly polarized. Ordinary citizens do not involve in political polarization as elites or party members. In fact, the evidence suggests that variance have not increased for most attitudes. Likewise, attitudes are not more constrained by categorical group memberships. The attitudes of high school and college graduates, men and women, the old and the young are not increasingly dissimilar.

Political participation as a concept refers to any activity done to influence politics. There are many possibilities to shape that these dynamic relationships.

The patterns of interaction may shape the political network structure. Besides, political structure evolves over time. Empirical studies suggest that actors learn about other actors' attitudes through interaction. These actors can define their ideological distance with respect to others. Actors then adjust their future interactions to

reduce conflict and maximize exposure to actors more similar to themselves.

The likelihood of actors getting into a discussion with others depends both on their personal level of political commitment and on the level of ideological affinity with other people. First, the more one is committed to a cause; the more likely one is to start a conversation. Second, actors tend to interact with others who are ideologically similar to them. Third, actors have some degree of freedom in deciding with whom they discuss their ideas. Fourth, through interaction, actors acquire information about the ideological positions of others and adjust their future behavior accordingly.

Discussion with others may amplify, reinforce, or reduce commitment to one's beliefs. In fact, most empirical studies of group dynamics and persuasive communication suggest that while interaction with similar others reduces distance, interaction with dissimilar others may increase distance, leading to group polarization. Through interaction, individuals may become aware of the fact that their attitude is shared by a larger group of people than expected, thereby enhancing commitment. (Myers and Lamm, 1976)

6.1. Partisan and Ideological Trends: Causality and Sophistication in the Electorate

The political elites believe that there is an intimate connection between partisanship and ideology. Politicians try to benefit from favorable ideological trends, to accommodate public opinion and attract supporters to their party. (Stimson, Mc Kean and Erikson, 1995)

Surveys show that the majority of Americans identify the Democrats as more liberal and the Republicans as more conservative. Individual Americans have the capacity to understand the connection between ideology and the parties. (Luttbeg and Gant, 1985) Parties should represent the ideological preferences of their membership.

Ideological trends reflect popular feelings about the proper direction of government, and the parties should respond the preferences of the electorate. Politicians aim to attract adherents their issue positions. They must try to garner support by informing the public about their positions. In this regard, popular elites, particularly presidents may win personal and partisan supporters.

Politically sophisticated respondents relate their ideological and partisan identifications over time. In this sense, the ideological dimension is meaningful for a small part of the electorate. In American society, only a very small percentage of respondents could be classified as ideologues, and the political knowledge of many respondents was devoid of any issue content. In contrast to sophisticated respondents, theory and evidence suggest that less sophisticated respondents are more responsive, both in their partisanship and ideology. (De Boef, 1994)

Liberal and conservative thoughts are symbolic, non-issue concepts in the public at large. Politically sophisticated respondents are more likely to attribute correct meanings to the terms liberal and conservative. They mostly associate conservatism with Republicans and liberalism with Democrats.

6.2. The Effect of the Level of Education

Typically, respondents who are interested and involved in politics, educated, and older are most likely to have politically sophisticated belief systems (Zaller, 1992). We can assess the effects of political sophistication by looking at the relationship between macro- partisanship and macro- ideology for all respondents who state both their ideological and partisan preferences, by varying levels of education.

More educated respondents are willing or able to provide interviewers with their ideological preferences. About 50% of them have attended school after receiving their high school diploma. Income levels are considerably higher among those who state their ideological identifications. Respondents who do not answer the partisanship question are less educated and less wealthy.

There is a stronger relationship between partisanship and ideology for more educated respondents. Less educated respondents are less likely to understand the liberal and conservative terms. Buy they may have difficulty to make a connection between ideology and partisanship. Less sophisticated respondents are less likely to receive political messages and, therefore, may look less responsive.

Liberal macro- ideology and democratic macro-partisanship classify the education levels into four subgroups:

     a. The adults who have not completed high school,

b. The adults who have a high school diploma,

c. The adults attending a college, business, or trade school,

d. The adults who have a college degree or further education.

In the US, it seems that about 55% of the people without having a high school diploma correctly identifies as both Republican and conservative or democratic and liberal. For those with a college degree, the figure is almost 79%. The more educated respondents better understand the language of political debate and the ties between ideology and partisanship. (De Boef, 1996)

6.3. Partisan Legitimacy: Parties and Partisanship

The politics of industrial societies depends on optimal functioning of democratic institutions and citizen attitudes. Scholars have assumed that low levels of citizen support can pose serious problems for democracies because their functioning and maintenance affect the thought of people about the political system. Positive public attitudes toward the political regime may foster citizens' compliance with the law. Citizen support is vitally important for the quality, stability and legitimacy of democratic regimes. (Anderson and Paskeviciute, 2009)

The legitimacy of political systems is a function of two main sets of factors, rooted at the macro level and the micro-level. The macro level is related to what political systems are, and involve the institutions, processes, and performance. The Micro level is related to how people form their beliefs on politics, that is, individuals' expe-

riences, perceptions and beliefs about the system.

There are three basic propositions about the formation of party identification. First, attachment to a political party grows with the cumulative effect of experience. Second, partisanship contributes to politics more than voting. It can define a frame for politics. Parties may generate motivations for citizens to become partisans. Third, partisanship is based on rational evaluations between the individual and the party. But partisanship may bot be a rational evaluation.

Several factors can help to the formation of partisan identities. These include parental partisanship, political engagement, and the habituation of attachment that often comes with age.

Political parties play an important role for system legitimacy.The partisans of more positive positions toward the system have high levels of political support than the partisans with negative positions. The citizens in countries whose economies perform better also have more positive views about the political system.

Citizen attitudes toward the political system involve two important elements connected via partisanship; political parties and their partisan supporters.

Parties may have different positions about the efficiency of existing political institutions and communicate their views with their supporters. Political parties can be policy-seeking parties or office-seeking parties, or a mix of them.

Office-seeking parties are more likely to be electorally competitive to maximize reelection and implement their preferred policies. In fact, parties in government have the power to write the rules of the game and enforce them more effectively than the parties outside the government or parliament. They are also more likely to benefit from the status quo and thus take more positive positions to the existing political system.

The success and survival of political parties require access to predictable sources of revenue from the state and privileged access to mass media, including television. Some democratic countries, such as Turkey, can allocate subsidies from the government budget to support the political parties to maintain equal opportunity to compete for the elections.

Office-seeking parties are more likely to express positive positions about the political, institutional status quo. Policy-seeking parties are more dependent on party membership, and less likely to compromise their views. As a consequence, they are less likely to gain elective office or enter governments.

If a political party takes a positive position toward the system, its supporters will also have a positive attitude toward the current system. Besides, the political parties taking negative positions about the political regime are more likely to produce cynicism among their supporters.

Most of the citizens develop partisan attachments at the earlier periods of their life, and they usually show resistance to change. Party identification may not have

a direct effect on issue attitudes. Partisan attachment supports the voters to rely on the party for guiding political orientations. The strong attachment to a political party and using normative political standards enhances the power of persuasion of the parties over their supporters.

Larger parties may be more satisfied with the political system than smaller parties. Radical views usually associated with dissatisfaction with the status quo and have a willingness to mobilize for change. On the other hand, the citizens who endorsed parties in government have are more satisfied with the political system than the supporters of the opposition parties.

Party positions influence public support for the political regime. Supporters of political parties with more positive views about the political system tend to be more satisfied with democracy than the supporters of parties with pessimistic attitudes.

Party identification can conceptualize the effective attachment of the individuals to a political party. Partisans do not require official membership in a political party or other behavioral acts, such as voting for a particular party.

Once acquired, partisanship subsequently shapes the interpretation of the new political information. Party identification constitutes the crucial link between parties, voters, and legitimacy beliefs. Party identification also allows parties to communicate their positions to partisan supporters effectively.

Partisanship is a major factor in shaping the attitudes of society about politics and understanding the political behaviors. Compared to non-partisans, partisans support the party system and the political order more effectively. In a healthy democratic political system, weakening partisan attachments might erode the beliefs of the necessity of the political parties. The decline in partisan attachments could turn out a disengagement from politics among voters and a decline in support for party-based democracy.

Partisanship has a direct and positive effect on democratic satisfaction. Thus, supporting the government and having positive evaluations of economic performance clearly increase citizen satisfaction with democracy. The higher income and education contribute positively to public support for the political system, and wealthier societies tend to enjoy higher levels of political legitimacy.

Modern democracies are party democracies. They actively shape the beliefs of the citizens about the political system. Also, partisanship provides an important link between party leaders and party supporters in communicating views about the political system.

A weak connection between political parties and citizens may undermine mass support for the democratic governance. The lack of partisanship will weaken the citizen attachment to a political system generally.

Public tends to have a better judgment on the policies taking into account the costs and benefits of the policy. Unemployment, inflation, economic growth, violations

of public trust, international crises will also affect the president's standing with the public at large. (Krosnick and Kinder, 1990)

But we can never be sure if mass opinion shapes the government policy, or government policy shapes mass opinion. Elections, parties, and interest groups institutionalize channel of communications and interactions between mass public and the political decision-makers.

6.4. Mobilization of Partisans

The key characteristics of political parties related to the goals of politics and the inter-party competition. Political goals and conflicts deal with the distribution of privileges and the parties compete on the basis of the status of their adherents. The political parties compete in terms of their representative capacity. By the time, politics has become a profession that requires specific skills, on the basis of competing claims for effective management. Patterns of electoral competition also started to change. Elite parties effectively managed and controlled the competition. The emergence of mass parties radically undermined this pattern, by the extension of the suffrage.

Elite parties derived much of their resources through personal contacts and paid little attention to the election campaigns. On the other hand, mass parties financed their activities with membership fees and developed independent channels of communication. New parties spent more efforts in competing for access to non-partisan communication networks and devoted more resources to the employment of professional media ex-

perts. (Panebianco, 1988)

All of these attempts affected the party membership and the relations between the party members and the party leadership. While members enjoy some rights and privileges within the party, membership also entails substantial duties and obligations. Leaders are no longer primarily accountable to the members, but rather to the wider electorate. The members in this sense are like cheerleaders, and the pattern of authority is top-down. The distinction between members and nonmembers may become blurred, because of inviting all supporters to participate in party activities and decisions.

Parties still need local office-holders to advocate strategies that counter to those of the party leadership. Local leaders might be discouraged from intervening in national affairs by the national leadership. On the other hand, local autonomy should be encouraged for the local issues. Then, the party will be more attractive to potential members and supporters.

Parties are partnerships of professionals and the citizens. Participation in the electoral process motivates the voters. Elections are the main channel for political activity. Democracy is a means of achieving social stability rather than social change. In this context, elections might provide a peaceful change.

Political leadership needs to be renewable to find new solutions to the societal problems. The change of party leadership or the establishment of a new political party will provide new opportunities to the young people to participate in politics. (Poguntke and Scarrow, 1994)

This possibility may instigate the hopes and encourage the people to involve in political competition. Recognition of party politics entails acceptance and encouragement. Political participation is a powerful means to foster self-respect of the citizens and helps them recognize their personal values and qualifications. In this regard, crises times may offer new chances to the new emerging intellectual young people. They can be volunteers to mobilize the masses for a new political campaign. One of the best examples of this type of electorate mobilization is the successful election campaign of Justice and Development Party (JDP) before the 2002 Parliamentary Elections in Turkey.

6.4.1. Case Study: Justice and Development Party Movement in Turkey

In 2001, Turkey had experienced its worst economic crisis since the end of the Second World War, and the ruling coalition government weakened by corruption scandals. JDP received 34% of the national vote, but it gained 66% of the parliamentary seats in the 2002 elections. High electoral threshold eliminated the parties receiving less than 10% of the total number of the votes. JDP easily won national elections in 2007 and 2011 and gained control of most municipalities in local elections in 2004 and 2009.

The constitutional changes adopted by a public referendum on 12 September 2010 provided the legislative and executive branches with more power over judicial appointments. Constitutional changes undermined the historic alliance between the Republican People's Par-

ty, the military, and the high judiciary. JDP consolidated its power over the presidency, the high judiciary, and the armed forces.

The parliamentary elections on 12 June 2011 confirmed the JDP's undisputed hegemony in Turkish politics and declined the role of the Turkish Armed Forces (TAF) as an autonomous political body. In fact, since 2007, a series of criminal investigations has been started against a large number of high-ranking officers because of conspiracies against the JDP. In September 2011, many generals were sent to prison.

JDP's popular support in Turkey is the result of its economic performance. A new political economy approach that combined neoliberal economic requirements with welfare state elements such as public housing, education and healthcare promoted better living conditions for the great parts of society. In turn, the electorate support increased a lot.

Since 2002, JDP government has promoted the EU membership process as the main engine behind Turkey's democratization drive. Erdogan presented Western integration as an alliance of civilizations. JDP has also claimed greater integration with the Islamic world. Its concept of civilization is also employed to prevent sectarian polarization and conflict in the Middle East. Claiming ownership of the Palestinian cause and by strongly criticizing Israel, JDP's foreign policy legitimizes its Islamic solidarity politics. This political strategy has received positive feedback at the regional level.

Turkey presents itself as a central country that assumes

a constructive role in its surrounding regions. Aware of its leading position, Turkey promises to become one of the most important global actors.

In the beginning, JDP focused on alliances with the West. It simultaneously constructed a critique of the international order, by drawing attention to the international system's injustice toward Muslim countries. Later, JDP has demanded a new international order.

This new approach is the main reason for the Islamic world to view the JDP as a model. JDP foreign policy became an instrument of transforming the country's political system. Turkish society's support for the EU membership process helped the party to overcome legitimacy issues in domestic politics.(Duran, 2006)

The success of JDP is closely related to the following policies.

     a. Strong leadership and effective rhetoric ability, reliable image, courage and being closer to the ordinary citizens,

     b. Lessons learned from the failures of the former politicians and were patient to wait to start correct policies at correct time,

     c. Relying and respecting to the majority of the nation,

     d. Respecting all ethnic and religious groups in society,

     e. Full mobilization of the party members to reach all parts of the society, particularly by using female power very effectively,

     f. Nominating correct candidates who are well qualified and well known by the people,

g. Helping to the poor people sincerely and be equal to all classes,

h. Challenging the status quo and the elite circles and informing people correctly,

i. Proposing alternative and effective policies.

Politics of patience is the key concept to describe the JDP's strategy during its first term in power between 2002 and 2007. This approach effectively employed the EU membership process and foreign policy to establish a civilian control over the military. In fact, this strategy delayed the demands of the Islamic electorate for a certain time. The politics of patience accomplished two important functions:

First, it managed to legitimize the demands for religious education and the headscarf. With this strategy, JDP accumulated considerable room for maneuver. The social, political and economic opportunities became accessible to the party. The second aspect of the politics of patience was the maturing of religious demands of the people.

2008 closure case against the JDP helped to start a new political strategy, as the politics of controlled tension. This new strategy and the superior performance of Erdogan in manipulating public debate allowed the JDP to take effectively advantage to solidify popular support. This approach also eroded the hegemony of Kemalists. Finally, JDP successfully defeated the crises that the so-called secular Kemalist elite initiated.

Erdogan's strong high speaking ability has contributed to shaping new Turkey's identity. Also to the JDP's

centralization of political power, strong leadership became an instrument to manage the expectations for a more productive and bigger Turkish economy.

SEVENTH CHAPTER
INTEREST GROUPS

Interest groups, try to realize their self-interest in the political marketplace. Interest groups dramatize and publicize their cause, to attract members and contributions. Public policies do not reflect the demands of masses but rather the prevailing values of the elite people or the powerful interest groups.

7.1. The Effect of Interest Groups on the Political Decision-making

In a society, there are two classes of people: A class that rules and another at is the ruled. The first class performs all political functions, monopolizes power and enjoys the advantages that power brings. The second class is the much more crowded, but they are directed and controlled by the first class.

Political elites achieve their positions, through revolutionary overthrow, military conquest, the control of water power and the command of economic resources. In a modern state, the position of elites is related to the development of large-scale organizations in many areas of life. Therefore, there are different kinds of the elite, not just holding formal political power.

Political elite include;
  a. The members of the government and the high administration,
  b. The military leaders,

     c. Politically influential families of an aristocracy or royal house,

     d. The leaders of powerful economic enterprises,

On the other side, political class comprises the political elite but also;

     a. The leaders of political parties in opposition,

     b. Trade union leaders,

     c. Businessmen,

     d. Politically active intellectuals.

Oligarchic leadership underlines the significance of organizational control and institutional position as key political resources. In this context, the particular importance was given to the creation of bureaucratic systems of administration, to carry out the increasing responsibilities, taken by the state since the 19th century.

According to Weber, bureaucracies have both positive and negative aspects. Competition between elites protects the democratic government. Different elites operate in different issue areas. In fact, this way of acting by the elite groups provides a protection against the possibility of domination by one group.

Miliband suggests three reasons, about "why the state is an instrument of bourgeoisie domination in capitalist society."(Hill and Varone, 2014:40)

a. There is the similarity in the social background of the bourgeoisie and members of the state elite, who occupy senior positions in government, the civil service, the military, the judiciary and other state institutions.

b. There is the power that the bourgeoisie can exercise as a pressure group through personal contacts and networks, and through the associations representing business and industry.

c. There is the constraint placed on the state by the objective power of capital.

Individuals with common interests come together formally or informally to press their demands on government. In this context, they form the interest groups.

An interest group is a shared attitude group that makes certain claims upon other groups in society. Individuals might have a significant role in politics, only when they act as a part of, or on behalf of the group interests. The group becomes the essential bridge between the individual and the government.

Politics is the struggle and reconciliation among different interest groups having influence over public policies. The political system should establish the rules of the game to direct the conflicts in the group struggle. In this sense, the system should arrange compromises by balancing the interests, in the form of public policy and by enforcing these compromises.

Politics at any given time is the equilibrium reached in the group struggle. The relative influence of the interest groups may help to maintain this equilibrium. Changes in the relative influence of any interest groups can be expected to result in changes in public policy. The policy will move in the direction desired by the interest groups gaining influence and away from the desires of

group losing influence.

Public policy is the equilibrium reached in the group struggle at any given moment, and it represents a balance that the contending factions or groups constantly strive to tip in their favor. The numbers, the wealth, the leadership, access to decision makers, and internal cohesion and the organizational strength determine the power of the groups.

Politicians attempt to form a majority of the coalition of groups. The coalitions of different groups positively contribute to the success of the parties can be viewed as coalitions of groups. The whole interest group system is held together in equilibrium by several forces;

a. There is a large group supporting the constitutional system and prevailing rules of the game.

b. Overlapping membership helps to prevent any one group from moving too far from prevailing values.

c. The system of checks and balances, as a result of group competition also helps to maintain equilibrium in the system.

Interest groups must dramatize and publicize their cause, to attract members and contributions. Even when governments meet the original demands, interest groups must generate new demands with new warnings of danger.

In short, they try to obtain specific benefits for themselves, such as business subsidies or welfare services at the expense of the taxpayers paying the costs.

7.2. Elitist Approach to the Political System

A small number of elite persons can obtain the power to allocate values for society. The masses do not decide public policy. The movement of non-elite individuals to the elite positions needs to be slow and continual to maintain stability and avoid revolution. Only the individuals accepting the basic values of the elite class can be allowed to enter into the governing circles. Elites share a consensus on behalf of basic norms and values of the political and social system. Elite influence masses more than masses influence elites.

The elitist approach implies that politics does not reflect the demands of the ordinary people so much. Besides, the interests, values and preferences of elites have enormous effects on political decisions and public policies. Because of the general conservatism of elites, the change in politics gradually happens, not in a revolutionary way. Public policies may frequently need to be modified but seldom replaced. The political system may change when some events threaten the system. The elites support the institutional reforms to preserve the system and their place in it. The values of elites may help to protect the rights and interests of the mass public. The welfare of the society rests on the shoulders of elites, not masses. (Hill and Varone, 2014)

The elites view the masses, passive, apathetic and wrong informed. Mass sentiments are often manipulated by elites. A consensus prevails among the elite groups about fundamental norms underlying the social system and agreeing to the basic rules of the game, as well as the continuation of the social system.

The stability and survival of the system depend on elite consensus on behalf of the fundamental values of the system. The competition among the elite groups comprises of a narrow range of issues. Many scholars believe that the interest group system is the key to understanding how issues are identified, solutions proposed, and policies adopted. Political elites respond well to large-scale, well-organized, wealthy, active interest groups, having good access to government officials.

7.3. International Cooperation of the Interest Groups

In a bargaining two-level game, interest groups determine the potential for intergovernmental cooperation by influencing the bargaining space. There are three stages in this process.

In the first stage, the interest group entrepreneur is the central actor who uses a set of ideas to try to persuade negotiators and tries to mobilize other societal interests to support her ideas.

In the second stage, the role of the entrepreneur is diminished when other domestic interests start persuading their governments and when societal interests start mobilizing their international counterparts.

At the third stage, the idea is no longer handled by one single actor, and will start to modify existing beliefs. After these three stages, the uncertainty disappears over the negotiations and the actors return to a logic of bargaining, based on their potentially changed preferences. In fact, these stages will occur together.

As a consensus grew on the benefits of liberalization, it became easier to cooperate with the international interest groups for economic gains. They do not need to convince only the state actors but also mobilize a coalition of companies. These ideas can easily reach the decision makers if they are promoted by powerful business actors who have access to different parts of the government and an efficient international network. (Diels, 2010)

Multinational corporations (MNCs) have immense influence in the international system, participating in the majority of economic activity and growth. The corporations can take the advantage of uncertainty in the world events and enhance their wealth. The change of the production costs will shift the production from high costs states to low cost states. MNCs can manipulate the states, by forcing them to compete in the secure investment environment, providing MNCs with a significant power to dictate to the countries what they want. If a country does not respond favorably, a corporation can leave and invest in another state with the next lowest opportunity cost. (Kapfer, 2006)

Domestic suppliers can immediately feel the effects of foreign direct investment as MNCs demand to produce their products. Many MNCs rely on domestic suppliers for inputs depending on the quality of products domestic suppliers can produce (Moran, 2005:283-309). MNCs often prefers to help potential domestic suppliers to meet quality requirements to increase efficiency and profits.

Some countries have a valid concern that foreign direct

investment will result in a loss of economic development and independence. However, in the long-run, domestic competitors can reach economies of scale and thereby produce quality inputs at a low price. (Blonigen and Wang, 2005)

The primary objective for MNCs is to maximize their profits. This may create significant challenges to the sovereignty of states. The influence of MNCs on the global and national economies is greater than many policymakers may realize.

Governments can be persuaded through negotiations, lobbying or even bribes to legitimize an MNC's investment in a state. MNCs can also use social groups to defeat any opposition to investment. For many MNCs, political means must be chosen because they are superior or complementary to traditional economic ones. (Boddewyn, 1988)

MNCs can influence governments through special interest groups and lobbyists, thereby keeping their influence within the legal frame. Governments may divide the workload among different agencies. They can consult to the private advisors to formulate policy. These are often special interest groups and lobbyists with their agenda. Thus, the interests of the interest groups and lobbyists are reflected in policy creation. Additionally, many governments rely on the feedback coming from the same special interest groups to determine if the policies are working well. The electorate is usually never consulted during this process. (Hammarlund, 2005)

Usually, there is the no sufficient discussion about the

risks because of the mega projects because some powerful interest groups block all other views. The lack of accountability may prevail in a project's decision-making process. Powerful interest groups often argue that investing in large infrastructure projects will help economic growth, but post-analysis of many mega projects leads to a different conclusion. (Flyvbjerg, 2003)

MNCs must ensure that both the parent company and the subsidiary company investing in a new state gain legitimacy in the law, society and culture. If MNCs fail to accomplish this, they will face difficulties to operate within the host state. Despite the erosion of state power by MNCs, states still have some power over MNCs. MNCs may be able to act independently of states, to avoid taxes. They can also shift production without notice and engage in private diplomacy with other states. But, states still retain some power over the corporation. After all, states still have the right to give legitimacy and to take it away. (Sampson 1973)

For example, MNCs may continually demand the free trade in the name of efficiency. They may threaten to not invest in states that do not agree to the terms of the MNC, but once the MNC begins to invest in a state, the most valuable bargaining power is gone. After investment, MNCs are locked into a state to some degree. (Stopford, 1998)

Most MNCs operate within the limits of the law. However, they continue lobbying governments to change policies and legislation to increase profits. In fact, all these activities can only be achieved with the help and contribution of the domestic interest groups. Most of

the economic interest groups in developing countries are usually natural partners of the MNCs. To protect their economic interests and increase their profits, they act together and do what the MNCs dictate. To convince the governments and people, they use media power and even some illegal organizations to create chaos and anarchy or mobilize some groups that are against the government. Therefore, MNCs may become an increasing threat to states' sovereignty.

7.4. Cooperation between Political Parties and Interest Groups

Public interest groups may be more successful than seemingly more powerful, better-financed opponents. Some public interest groups may lack a strong political organization. Rather, they can be supported by thousands of members supporting with periodic financial contributions. This structure is in contrast to earlier forms of mass political organization. Their members rarely meet face to face.

An interest group would be in a powerful position politically if it could effectively mobilize people through its local members.It is necessary to develop a steady membership base to have effective channels of communication. The main political parties in a country should achieve to get the support of the public interest groups to take the attention of mass people and to mobilize them to support their causes and policies. This approach can make them successful in the next parliamentary elections.

To reach every part of the nation requires a wide net-

work of communication maintaining with the help of interest groups having a great number of members throughout the country. However, there are some obstacles to this initiative. A large amount of money can be necessary to support local organizing campaigns.

EIGHTH CHAPTER
PUBLIC OPINION, POLICY AND RESPONSIVENESS

Public opinion has substantial effects on policy making. It may guide the government on what actions it should take or not take. Public opinion is very unstable, and the leaders may not have a clear perception of mass opinion. Media has a profound effect in shaping the public opinion. Greater public attentiveness is likely to constrain political decision making. Public awareness will inevitably decline after the policy is announced.

8.1. Influence of the Public Opinion on Government Policies

Public opinion serves as the indicator of the public mood towards a specific policy. It may guide the government on what actions it should take or not take. It directly contributes to the President's policy agenda. When the public opinion supports the decisions of the President, his policy agenda will be aggressive. (Burstein, 2003)

Some scholars argue that democracy works as it was intended to do, with public officials constantly responding to the shifts in public opinion. Furthermore, there is significant evidence that indicates public opinion has substantial proximate effects upon policy making. (Page, Shapiro, and Dempsey, 1987)

The politicians learned how to avoid from the accountability of the voters. If the president or prime minister

does not reflect the public's needs, they may not respect to the politicians. If the politicians fail to understand the people, they have less impact on the public. The public opinion provides the government with the political leeway that is needed for action on their policies. The reliance of the government on public opinion has positives and negatives.

Decision makers are mostly affected from other elites, such as news persons, interest group leaders, and other influential persons, but also affected from ordinary citizens. Public opinion polls frequently create opinions by asking questions that people never thought. Few people accept they have no opinion. Public opinion tends to be unstable. Many people fail to remember their earlier answers, and they can give the opposite answers. Differently worded questions on the same issue can produce contradictory results.

Public opinion is very unstable, and the leaders may not have a clear perception of mass opinion. Decision makers receive most of the communications from the newspersons, organized group leaders, influential constituents, wealthy political contributors, and personal friends who share the same views. The persons who initiate communication with decision makers are more educated and wealthy than the ordinary citizens.

The modern governments pursue their agendas in an environment of continuous scrutiny and evaluation from the public. Presidents or Prime Ministers, rather than leading the public, may choose to take positions or make policy that responds to public preferences.

Public concern can disappear rapidly as other problems and crises emerge. The presidents or prime ministers can impact public opinion. They can affect the society positively or negatively, through the issue salience, news media, citizen knowledge, political parties, presidential popularity and political drama. (Cohen, 1995)

8.1.1. Issue Salience

When an issue is highly salient, a government response to that issue will be high. The more salient an issue, the more public opinion will have an impact on the government response. (Burstein, 2003)

8.1.2. News Media

The power of the media is very effective to form public opinion. It sets the agenda for public discussion and determines what people will think. A small number of people are in the position to control the media power. The editors, producers, reporters and columnists of the leading television networks and prestigious press do use their weight on behalf of the owners of the media. News making involves all important decisions about what is news, and who is newsworthy.

Media attention can create issues and personalities. Politicians, professional public relations people, interest group spokespersons know that the decisions of the media are vital to the success of their issue, their organization and themselves.

More dramatic and sensational news are more likely to attract the attention. Media executives must rely on

their political values and economic interests as guidelines. Race, sex, violent and corruption in government are favorite topics because of popular interest. More complex problems, such as inflation, government spending, and foreign policy must either be simplified and dramatized or ignored.

Media effects focus on the following points;

      a. Identifying issues and setting the agenda for policy makers,

      b. Influencing attitudes and values towards policy issues,

      c. Changing the behaviors of the voters and decision makers.

The media can create new opinions more easily, than changing existing ones. Especially, the power of television lies in setting the agenda for decision making, to decide what issues will be given attention.

Media may impact on the information given to the public by presenting information or news that undercuts the government's aims, or by emphasizing different issues. In bringing certain issues to the public's attention and downplaying others, is called priming. Media can change the public opinion concerning the government and public policies. The relationship between priming and public opinion is most distinct when news coverage includes political experts and elites. (Krosnick and Kinder, 1990) If the media has attention to a particular news source and the more they are primed by the news media, the more citizens will be attracted.

8.1.3. Citizen Knowledge

There are inherent limitations in the cognitive capabilities of individuals and the organizational capabilities of government. Voters without preexisting attitudes can be persuaded easier than the others.

Politics is rarely a daily concern for most people because private and personal concerns constrain the role of politics in people's lives (Cohen, 1995). The change in political power over the time depends on the members of the public who are the least informed. The individuals having less information respond most to the media and leadership priming. (Krosnick and Kinder, 1990)

The popularity of the presidents or prime ministers will increase if they accurately communicate their preferences to the citizens, resulting in favorable changes in public opinion. Some people can counter-argue against messages aimed at changing their preferences. People with more political knowledge are more consistent in their preferences than those who have lower awareness. (Zaller, 1992)

8.1.4. Political Parties

Public opinion is something that elected officials must keep in mind when making policy decisions. High approval for the performance of presidents or prime ministers will influence parliamentary or congressional support for policy initiatives.

If the opposition party controls the Congress or the Par-

liament, a positive public opinion may not help the success of president or prime minister, because of the different messages sent by the opposition party. Members of the opposing party will prefer to combat against the government proposals because they have a little gain from supporting him.

Opposition party members may be less inclined to support a popular president or prime minister for two reasons;

a. Popularity with the public may cause presidents or prime ministers to be less compromising in their dealings with Congress or Parliament.

b. Members of the opposition party may feel a high threat by a popular president or prime minister because they can use the party credit for those policies popular with the public.

When the political party of the president or prime minister controls the Congress or Parliament, a positive public opinion could increase the government success rate. Because president or prime minister gain support from the members of their party quicker than they lose support from the opposition party. Opposition party members are likely not to receive the credit even if they support the president or prime minister. (Burstein, 2003)

8.1.5. Leadership Popularity

When confronted with a popular president or prime minister, Congress or Parliament, the private sector and bureaucracy become more accommodating to presidential initiatives. (Kinder, 1981) As their popularity

increases, they will likely receive more support from their party. When popular, the president's party benefits from being associated with him. The positive impact that presidential popularity has over his partisans is greater than the negative impact it has on the members of the opposition party. However, when unpopular, voters will punish not only the president or prime minister but members of his party.

Presidents prime ministers with greater public support, have greater success in shaping the nation's political agenda than those without public support. They will likely have a greater impact on public opinion than unpopular ones. This popularity can give credence and weight to what they say and increase their leverage in public opinion. (Cohen, 1995)

Popularity is one of the most important power resources of the president or prime minister. The political leaders and public opinion mutually influence each other. If they represent the values and goals of the public, the popular leaders can affect the public opinion about the public policies. The objective information taken from the media may play a crucial role in the evolution of public opinion to determine if they are popular or unpopular. (Page, Shapiro, and Dempsey, 1987)

8.1.6. Travel and Speeches of the Political Leaders

The presidents or prime ministers can use travel and television to gain public support. This type of access to the public has led to an increase in presidential speeches and travel because of the positive impact on public support. They are mostly used as approval enhancing

133

events to increase the public support for their political ambitions.

Although travels and speeches are helpful in swaying public standing, they are not the only weapon used to gain public support. Presidents and prime ministers have been appearing with increasing frequency on television to explain their policies, mobilize support, and to speak directly to the people for their cause.

Televised speeches give the president or prime minister the opportunity to promote their policies uninterrupted by the media or opposition party. Directly informing the public gives an important advantage for the public's attention. The speeches on TV have a positive impact on public support. Televised speech also gives the president and prime minister, the ability to gain or get back public support that he has lost. (Simon and Ostrom, 1989)

8.2. Opinion Leadership

The leadership of public opinion is difficult to manage. Many scholars agree that political leadership is necessary for the advancement of public policy and democratic norms. The persuasion power of the president or prime minister is central to their accomplishments, and the public expect to see the head of government making speeches routinely. (Edwards, 2003)

The transmission and reception of the messages given by the president or prime minister are important elements in political leadership. Their popularity will increase if they accurately communicate their prefer-

ences to the citizens, resulting in favorable changes on public opinion. Some people can counter-argue against messages aimed at changing their preferences. People with more political knowledge are more consistent in their preferences than those who have lower awareness. (Zaller, 1992)

The direct communication with the public via television is crucial to the modern political leadership. These speeches allow for the president or prime minister to bypass the media and speak directly to the people. They can use the major addresses strategically, especially about the economic decline, and during reelection years. These speeches are most effective to get the public support when accompanied on a trip and an approval-enhancing event.

The president or prime minister has a symbiotic relationship with the media, to engage in their jobs. News organizations often prefer press conference format, because it allows for direct access to the president or prime minister. They could persuasively convey his thoughts to the public via press conferences.

In terms of leading public opinion, presidents or prime ministers have less ability to relate their message unimpeded by the reporters. As a result, they prefer formal press conferences. (Kumar, 2005)

Political leaders can maximize their ability to motivate public attitudes on policy issues. They can strategically lead public opinion and have some capacity to facilitate their leadership success. These effects are conditional on the nature of public opinion, the period and the mode of communications.

8.3. Public Opinion and Foreign Policy

The foreign policy is highly attentive to the crisis situations that involve military force, but paying little mind to non-crisis issues like foreign trade or foreign aid. Moreover, the public is unusually dependent on elites and the mass media for the information and interpretations to base their opinions. The influence process is often top-down; from the government to the public. Public opinion may also affect the national leaders in their foreign policy choices.

Greater public attentiveness is likely to constrain policy decision making. During a crisis, public opinion may not influence the decision of the president or prime minister. Using force as a means of policy might play a great role about the use of military forces. By contrast, the context of non-crisis decision making typically features a public that is attentive to the decision but not to its implementation. Presidents or Prime Ministers may be compelled to make popular decisions to please an attentive public. Public awareness will inevitably decline after the policy is announced.

Realists view the justification of foreign policy, only on a conception of the national interest, rather than the preferences of the mass public. The rational requirements of the good foreign policy are not linked with the support of the public opinion because their preferences are emotional rather than rational. (Morgenthau, 1978)

The empirical research found only a weak congruence between elites' foreign policy decisions and public opinion. (Miller and Stokes 1963) Moreover, the

elite-centric approach assumes that public opinion related to foreign policy follows the leadership of the executive branch. Besides, presidents or prime ministers have significant control over the dissemination of information and hence considerable latitude in policy selection. (Herman and Chomsky, 1988)

Realists share the belief that the states failing to respond to the pressures of the international system will be punished. The international system can reward them for the behaviors that are responsible for structural pressures and punish for behaviors that are not. (Waltz, 1997) The realists do not argue that public opinion is irrelevant in the construction of foreign policy. But, they believe that the involvement of the domestic political considerations in foreign policy can lead to suboptimal policies.

Unpopular foreign policies can quickly erode political centers and weaken the prospects for the administration's foreign and domestic agendas. Politicians have quite good information about the popularity of particular policies. Public opinion polls provide reliable information about popularity. Politicians can learn from historical experience. (Jacobs and Shapiro, 1995)

8.3.1. Crisis and Non-crisis Decisions

The distinction between crisis and non-crisis situations is essential to understand the character of the external situation to predict how the presidents or prime ministers mobilize the decision-making system. Crises are the situations of three conditions, deriving from a change in a state's external or internal environment. (Brecher and Wilkenfeld, 1996)

These conditions are;

      a. A threat to basic values,

      b. An awareness of finite time for response,

      c. A high probability of involvement in military hostilities.

By contrast, non-crises are situations in which the option of using military force is extremely unlikely for both making a decision and implementing. Relevant non-crises include international economic agreements, nuclear arms control, international environmental issues and foreign aid.

From the perspective of public opinion, the principal distinction between crises and non-crises is the duration and intensity of the public's interest. Crises are brief and bounded, and the public tends to be highly attentive. The crises naturally arouse interest and stimulate media coverage. (Graber, 1997) But, non-crisis issues seldom gain the public's attention immediately. Non-crises tend to be longer in duration than crises and often have no definitive conclusion. They often involve complex subjects such as international economic policy. The people recognize that a problem exists but they lack the capacity to develop an opinion. (Graber,1984)

Much of the literature assumes that while crisis situations produce a highly attentive public, the public is ambivalent and ignorant of most non-crisis issues. (Foyle, 1999) This is frequently correct, but it is not universally true. Some non-crisis issues, such as the discussions on Worl Trade Organization and the Kyoto Protocol may take public attention.

8.3.2. Mapping Public Attentiveness

Foreign policy may involve a series of interrelated decisions. At each stage, we must ask: How influential was public opinion on a president's decision?

a. Agenda setting and problem representation that refers to constructing the list of subjects to which government officials are affected by media attention to all the issues.

b. Option generation that requires the options to choose, develop and staff out.

c. Policy decision made in a given foreign policy case.

d. Implementation of the strategy and tactics to carry out a policy decision.

e. Policy review that refers to the choice, to continue, to modify or abandon a policy.

While network news broadcasts constitute a proxy for public attentiveness, there are some disadvantages. The public can get foreign policy information from other sources, most likely from national newspapers or local news. (Cohen, 1963)

There is evidence showing that national news coverage heavily influences citizens' perceived salience of political issues. In sum, the media play an important role to inform people about international affairs. The media coverage is the appropriate indicator of public attentiveness. As a result, presidents and prime ministers tend to use media news as a proxy for public attentiveness.

Democratic leaders are expected to engage the electorate in a dialog. They educate or enlighten the public's

conception of the national interest. From a normative perspective, democracy is an on-going process of mutual consultation and learning between leaders and the public.

NINETH CHAPTER
ETHNIC IDENTITY AND IMMIGRATION

Ethnicity, migration and notions of cultural diversity are key social issues and lead to a proliferation of theoretical and empirical studies in the social sciences. No nation can control globalization process that challenge old boundaries. A new framework shapes the identities around diaspora, transnationalism, and hybridity. These developments produce uncertainty because they challenge existing frames of reference, including people's sense of who they are.

Many nations hotly debate the questions of ethnicity, international migration, integration, and multi culturalism. There is growing popular attention and concern about the meanings, experiences, and politics surrounding ethnic identity.

Ethnicity is a main axis of differentiation and identification among the people. It structures relationships at the global, national, and local level, in institutions and everyday interactions, and it has become centrally important to many people's senses of themselves.

Politicians, institutions, and ordinary people struggle with the associated questions and problems, such as increasing xenophobia and racism, multicultural programs and anti-racism initiatives. Immigration and the presence of ethnic minority groups can be conceived as a valuable addition to society, leading to multicultural notions. On the other side, it may pose threats to the

majority group, hampering the upward social mobility of minorities, and leading to assimilation thinking.

9.1. Ethnicity and Social Psychology

Scholars in sociology, anthropology, and cultural studies have stressed the close relationship between ethnicity and group beliefs. Also, there is the often important role of emotions and the sense of belonging that tends to give ethnic groups a primordial character.

Ethnic identities are seen typically as part of the realm of sentiments, passions and belonging. It is unclear whether identities are as multiple, mixed and fragmented as they are claimed to be in some discussions. The diversity within social psychology allows us to examine ethnic identity from different perspectives and various methods.

Attention to structural and cultural conditions that define particular subject positions and identify options is critically important for understanding the issues of ethnic identity. Through social interactions; beliefs, images, and definitions are produced and changed, validated and challenged, and a sense of identity develops.

A focus on interaction is necessary to understand how ethnicity structures people's lives and which minority groups and individuals can assert and negotiate their desired ethnic identities. Social processes of identity maintenance and negotiation comprimise the psychological processes of identity development. A difference might lead to a sense of ethnic identity that is disrupted, insecure, and negative.

Psychologically, one's ethnicity can become a central issue. Race can be one of the potential characteristics of ethnicity, similar to the potential role of religion. The race is a specific instance of ethnicity, defined by the membership based on what are assumed to be inherited typical physical characteristics.

Socially, one can face the problem of establishing and affirming an acceptable ethnic identity. Ethnic identity is socially defined and negotiated but also provides the horizon for self-understanding, a source for positive and negative self-feelings and an interior substance to engage with the world.

It is often difficult to determine which particular aspects of interpretations affect people's reactions. Different ideological notions may affect the ethnic identification. Obviously, experiments have their limits and restrictions. However, they do allow for controlled studies that are not far from social reality.

Ethnic and immigration issues can be framed by politicians or others, in a variety of ways, and it is possible to examine the effects of this in a controlled way. (Verkuyten, 2005) Social psychologists focus on the basic cognitive mechanisms and motivations that act upon ethnicity, or on common strategies of identity management and negotiation.

Anthropology has a strong interest in ethnicity. A close relationship exists between anthropology and social psychology. The former can make a valuable contribution to social psychological thinking. Ethnic studies can give a useful impetus to this development. Anthro-

pologists have shown that historical notions and ideas about common ancestry as well as cultural characteristics play a central role in the ethnic identity and interethnic relations in particular settings.

People negotiate their ethnic identities in relation to both out-group and in-group members, outsiders and insiders, in a multitude of contexts. A further problem is implicitly on the nation state. There is often no adequate basis for analyzing and understanding particular localities and places, such as inner-city areas, but also no room for the transnational spaces in which many immigrant groups operate. Social identities typically tend to be taken as pure categories that make people think and act in homogeneous ways.

9.2. Ethnicity and Nationalism

Nations and nationalism are among the most contested concepts in the social sciences. The use of different terms, such as nationalism, ethnicity, tribalism or chauvinism created terminological confusion. For some, a nation is a self-aware ethnic group. The ethnic group is an objective reality whereas the nation has a subjective quality. (Walker Connor, 1990)

The objective definition links nationhood to the existence of specific cultural, racial, economic or institutional features. From this perspective, a nation is a group that meets a certain number of requirements, for example, a distinct language, culture, religion, ancestry and economic system (or institutional framework. The subjective definition suggests that a nation is the product of a collective act of will. (Hutchinson and Smith, 1996)

Nationalism refers to an ideology of statehood. Territorial claims are designed to justify existing nation- states or to provide rationales for calls to create new nation states or to recover the lost ones. (Hobsbawm, 1990)

According to Calhoun, there are some characteristic features of the nationality.

     a. The definition of boundaries (territorial, population or both),

     b. The notions of national integrity and indivisibility,

     c. A concept of self-sufficiency, autonomy, and sovereignty,

     d. A sense of a common culture (including language, values, beliefs),

     f. Beliefs about the roots of the nation's identity being located in the distant past,

     g. A conviction that the members of the nation share a common descent, history, and right to be involved in the national affairs. (Calhoun, 1997)

A nation combines both objective and subjective aspects. Members of a nation exhibit a solidarity that against the outsiders and renders secondary emphasis to the internal cleavages of class or gender. There is a generalloyalty among their members. From this perspective, nationality refers to a politicized form of ethnicity. This type of solidarity and loyalty is often observed when most members of a group share a belief in a common past and history.

The construction and expression of national identity at the sub-state level have typically featured on the basis of a distinct culture and history. Cultural distinctiveness

can serve as a strong criterion to describe the national community. Furthermore, culture acts as a powerful reference for national identity because it has symbolic meanings offering binding ties to a community. For example, nationalist leaders can trace the history of a cultural or linguistic group in such a way, to emphasize its continuity, resilience and dynamism.

They create myths and symbols, such as flags, hymns, and holidays recalling the history. They serve as the continual reminders of the existence of the nation. This has traditionally been at the center of its process of identity production. Nationalist Mobilization is often centered on cultural distinctiveness. In order to reinvent the history, nationalist leaders try to describe an enemy as a threat to the cultural integrity of the group.

We can describe the nationalism as an ideology, but it is also a form of politics. From a historical perspective, nation building has been associated mainly with national education systems, bureaucratization, and internationalconflicts. Fostering nationhood through cultural assimilation can be a problematic because a state should conform to the national and international standards on minority rights.

9.2.1. Dualistic Thinking

Most theories about ethnic identity have a basis for the opposition in two sides presented as the adequate one. Ethnic identity is a question of interests or enduring emotions, change or continuity, similarities or differences, society or the individual. (Banks, 1996)

Identity phenomena are said to be contradictory and constantly undergoing a transformation; therefore, the fixation of meanings in definitions should be avoided. However, for the same reasons, a clear understanding of specific contents is often imperative.

Cultural features are identified and used to explain social psychological phenomena among and between ethnic minority groups. The culture, as a system approach, attempts to describe relatively enduring patterns of meaning. Inconsistencies and changes are not denied or ignored, but a more structural and long-term perspective is taken. (Kashima, 2000)

The second view on culture is practice-oriented and tends to examine concrete, short-term interactions. This view is concerned with everyday processes in which cultural meanings are defined, challenged and negotiated. The dynamic nature of culture is an ongoing process.

The people are not just culture-bearers. They can also change the meanings. Furthermore, it is also possible to investigate how the notion of culture help people talk and argue about ethnicity and ethnic relations. It is possible to show how culture defines and explains interethnic conflicts and the assumed lack of integration and social disadvantage of minority groups. (Verkuyten, 1997b)

These different understandings of culture have their pros and cons. The norms and practices of a culture are adjusted and confirmed in everyday interactions. People are not merely passive carriers of culture. They also

involve in the continuous construction of new meanings. There are ongoing changes in which cultural characteristics are used, mixed and transformed about the circumstances in which people live.

Furthermore, cultures have many rules and values with conflicting interpretations. Cultural meanings are the objects of debate and negotiation. Cultures had structural and continuous characteristics for the institutions and practices and expressed in central values, norms, symbols, and language. Culture is a norm of socialization of the people.

There is a distinction between ethnicity and culture. Culture is a way of life and a lifestyle. The notion of culture as a way of life refers to the body of beliefs, values, and knowledge at the level of the collectivity that is internalized by the individual. In this sense, we are all products of our culture.

We tend to perceive the world from the lens or point of view that this culture offers. Culture is what we carry with us, even when we want to get rid of it. In contrast, culture as a lifestyle involves the use or creation of images, symbols and stories to distinguish ourselves from others. Here, culture is a tool used in interaction for asserting and constructing difference and identity. The focus can be on the unique characteristics of identities and the particular cultural, historical, political and local circumstances that give rise to them. (Vermeulen, 2001)

9.2.2. Engagement and Reconciliation

In the concept of "togetherness in difference" or "mul-

ticulturalism", differences are considered instructive and useful for a creative rhetorical engagement. (Potter, 2002) Instead of dominating or ignoring others, diversity is used as a basis to challenge and revise notions and assumptions.

Cultural bias and ethnocentrism are never far away, particularly not when addressing questions of ethnicity. For example, studies may implicitly play a role in sustaining ethnic categorizations and understandings by taking ethnic categories for granted. They may render ethnicity natural and suggest that ethnicity inevitably characterizes social formations. (Reicher, 2001)

A conceptualization of ethnic identity in terms of basic human needs defines the recognition of identity as central to human well-being. (Taylor, 1992) However, by using intergroup theories, the potential divisive and antagonistic consequences of multiculturalism can also be emphasized. It has been argued that critical discourse analysis has a one-sided perspective on ethnic relations because it tends to assume that there is a dominant discourse through which ethnic minority positions are confirmed rather than changed. (Jacobs, 2000)

Such perspective may neglect the political negotiation and alliance building in debates about belonging and identity, as well as the existence of majority discourses that aim to improve the position of migrants and minorities.

Also, there is a potential tension between scholarly and political uses of ethnic identity, essentialism, and social constructions. For quite some time, social scien-

tists have been struggling for whether there is a way to talk about making a culture or becoming ethnic, without making or becoming enemies of the people studied. (Jackson, 1989)

The status of American Indians was uncertain as they were neither citizens nor aliens. From about the middle of the nineteenth century until the 1930s the establishment of the reservation system shaped Indian relations with the US government. (Cornell, 1988)

Reservations were established the as a means of achieving political containment and control, ensuring the physical and social separation of the indigenous population from the societal core. In this system, tribes entered into a dependency relationship with the agents of the federal government. In fact, this system can be seen as a powerful policy of genocide as the continuation of mass killings in the past. American Indians were not permitted to be assimilated, even by using the effective assimilation techniques.

Given the economic and social problems on reservations, increasing numbers of people have left them for cities in the 1950s it has increased during the past two decades. Sizeable enclaves exist in such cities as Los Angeles, Chicago, Denver, San Francisco, Phoenix, and Minneapolis-St. Paul. Urban Indians are more likely to intermarry. Moreover, they had opportunities for economic improvement. For urban Indians, ethnic identity becomes a matter of choice more than counterparts on reservations. As a result, it appears that the future of the urban American Indians will likely be quite different-from that of reservation dwellers. (Kivisto, 2002)

People may think of their attachment to a particular ethnic identity as pervasive and ineffable, grounded in their blood, whereas researchers are bound to think otherwise. They will point out that cultures and ethnic identities change, are never fixed, and can be manipulated by outsiders and ethnic entrepreneurs. The tension between academic and political commitments and responsibilities is not always easy to resolve.

The general trend in the modern societies is the incorporation of ethnic groups. Equal citizenship of different ethnic identities may contribute the national solidarity. In fact, the most important basis of inclusion in the societal community is citizenship, developing through democratic process.

9.2.3. Case 1: French Canadians and Quebec

French Canadian leaders promoted federalism and opposed the model of a unitary state. The federation ensured French-Canadians that they would be a majority in 'their' province and that they could use political and legal tools to regulate their society. Despite the guarantees of political autonomy offered by the federal model, French-Canadian politicians did not overwhelmingly support participation in the new state for fear of Anglo-Protestant domination. Despite the pressures of French-Canadians for extensive political autonomy, Canada was created as a relatively centralized federation. (Stevenson, 2004)

The Catholic Church was its central institution in the definition of the nation. French-Canadians were not only Francophones, but also Catholics. In this respect,

the language and religion form the basis of moral and spiritual community for the French-Canadians.

9.2.4. Case 2: Scotland and the British State

The construction of the British state is the story of the political union of various territories and populations with England: Wales in 1536; Scotland in 1707; and Ireland in 1801. The political union of England and Scotland created Great Britain. Formally, the Act of Union abolished the English and Scottish parliaments British Parliament was established. For Scottish parliamentarians who decided in favor of the union, economic imperatives were the main reason in the 1690s. (Harvie, 2001)

Scotland's autonomy after the Union went beyond the distinct legal, religious, and educational system. Despite the absence of a Scottish parliament, Scotland's autonomy within the United Kingdom greatly contributed to the consolidation of a sense of nationhood. Britishness also became a reality in Scotland. This may seem paradoxical, but it is completely congruent with the structuring and the philosophy of the British union-state. Political parties operating in Scotland were all unionist.

The British Empire represented for many Scots a source of great pride as well as political and economic opportunities. From this perspective, Britishness was attractive by the prestige of the Empire, and loyalty to the state was fostered by the opportunity to rule new lands and access new markets were particularly crucial for the Scottish bourgeoisie.(Brown, Mc Crone and Paterson, 1996)

Scottish nationalism remained weak until the 1980s. The welfare state became a symbol of shared identity and social citizenship in the post-war United Kingdom. On the issue of independence, the argument could be made that Scotland taking is full control of all its resources, especially oil, could offer more economicbenefitsto the population. However, it is unclear if independence would bring major economic gains to Scotland.

The 1998 Scotland Act has created a Scottish Parliament and a Scottish Executive, but it did not formally divide sovereignty. United Kingdom Parliament retains exclusive responsibility including defense, foreign affairs, immigration, national security, economic competition, broadcasting and Social Security, like old-age pensions and unemployment benefits. Taxation powers are also within the powers of the United Kingdom Parliament.

The independence referendumtook place in Scotland on 18 September 2014. Itresulted in "No" side won, with the 55.3 % of the total votes against the 44.7% of "Yes" voting in favor of independence. But, just six months later on 8 May 2015, the parliamentary elections in UK had a surprise success for the Scottish National Party. They got 56 seats in British Parliament. In assessing the referendum results and election results together, it can be assumed that Scottish people favor for the union but insist on protecting their cultural and ethnic features. (The Telegraph, 09 May 2015)

9.3. Encouraging Political Conflicts through Ethnic Separatism: Ethnic Separation in Balkans

Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) was often described as the Yugoslavia in miniature since it was the most multi-ethnic and multi- faith republic of former Yugoslavia. For centuries, Bosnian Muslims, Catholic Croats and, Orthodox Serbs used to live peacefully next to each other. (Marko, 2000)

Consequently, Bosnia and Herzegovina was widely seen as the melting pot of Yugoslavia with the highest number of ethnically mixed marriages and harmonic overall inter-ethnic relations. However, between April 1992 and December 1995, immediately after its declaration of independence, BiH was torn by the most destructive war of Europe since World War II that killed some 200,000 people.

The war was characterized by extreme nationalism, violence and, ethnic cleansing. While the Dayton Agreement in 1995 stopped the bloodshed, it also essentially justified ethnic cleansing and the boundaries formed by armed violence. Most importantly, it did not bring long-term stability and development to the country.

The Dayton Agreement set up two separate entities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. A Bosniak Croat Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina with 51 per cent of the territory, and the Bosnian Serb Republic (RS) with 49 per cent of the territory, each with its own president, government, parliament, police and other bodies.

Although highly decentralized in its entities, BiH re-

tained a central government, with a rotating State Presidency, a central bank, and a constitutional court. Also, it was divided into ten cantons as the second-level units of local autonomy and federal units of the Federation of Bosnia and Hercegovina. On the other hand, Republika Srpska has a centralized government and is divided directly into 63 municipalities. The Office of the High-Representative (OHR) got the task of civil implementation.

Sarajevo daily newspaper "Dnevni Avaz" published in January 2014 preliminary but unofficial results on the ethnic composition - 48.4 percent Bosniaks, 32.7 percent Serbs, and 14,6 percent Croats. The census turned into highly a controversial game of numbers that could upset the existing quota-based power-sharing system between the previously warring Bosniacs, Serbs, and Croats. (Hopkins, 2013)

Therefore, though the war ended almost two decades ago, the inter-ethnic relations in modern day Bosnia remain rather problematic. Since the end of the war, there have been endless acts by Serbs and Croats that challenge the state's territorial integrity and undermine the functioning of the BiH as a joint state. Leaders of RS have repeatedly threatened with the referendum on independence whenever they were dissatisfied with decisions of the BiH state or the OHR. BiH's chief problem vis-à-vis interethnic relations is that every instance of inter-ethnic dialog occurs in a framework where only one ethnic group functions as a majority and legal constituent, and the other functions as other.

After the disintegration of Yugoslavia in 1991, Kosovo

Albanians organized a referendum and opted for independence. On the other hand, the Serbian authorities insisted on Kosovo's constitutional status as an integral part of Serbia. Despite warnings by numerous scholars and political observers about potential escalation of the violence, the international community proved unable to prevent it. Consequently, after February 1998, an armed conflict started between the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) on one side and the Serbian special police force as well as regular units of the Yugoslav military on the other. To stop ethnic cleansing in Kosovo and end the humanitarian disaster, NATO launched air military attacks targeting military forces and Serbia's infrastructure. The consequences of the war were tragic. At least 10.000 people were killed, some 800.000 became refugees or displaced persons, and large parts of the country were devastated. (Calic, 2000)

Kosovo Parliament declared its independence on 17 February 2008. It declared Kosovo to be a democratic, secular and multi-ethnic republic. Currently, Kosovo recognizes seven ethnic groups as official minorities: Serbs (1.5 %), Bosniaks (1.6 %), Turks (1.1 %), Ashkali (0.9 %), Gorani (0.6 %), Egyptians (0.6 %) and Roma (0.5 %). The relations between Albanians and Serbs are still the main inter-ethnic tension in the country.

On 19 April 2013, under the auspices of the European Union, Kosovo and Serbia signed "The First Agreement of Principles governing Normalization of Relations." The agreement was opposed in both Serbia and Kosovo, but it was approved by the parliaments in Belgrade and Prishtina. Undoubtedly, the normalization of relations between Kosovo and Serbia may have a

great impact on the integration of the Serb community into Kosovo society. The agreement has shown certain positive signs in the North as well. Serbs of the North Kosovo participated in great numbers in the last parliamentary elections in June 2014.

Macedonia is the only republic of former Yugoslavia that gained its independence in 1991 without warfare in its territory. However, its independence was followed by enormous external and internal challenges. Albania recognized the Macedonian state and nation, but made it clear that its goodwill would depend on the status of the Albanian minority in Macedonia. Serbia recognized the state de facto by setting up a new Yugoslavia without Macedonia, but Serbia has failed to recognize the separate existence of the Macedonian Orthodox Church. Bulgaria recognized the state, but has refused to acknowledge that there is a legitimate Macedonian nation for fear of encouraging secessionist tendencies among the inhabitants of the Bulgarian Macedonia, many of whom have rejected a Bulgarian identity in favor of a Macedonian one. Moreover, Greece opposed Macedonia's constitutional name and refused to accept that its citizens could legitimately be called Macedonians. (Glenny, 1996)

The new constitution of the Republic of Macedonia promised Albanians and other nationalities "full equality as citizens and permanent co-existence with the Macedonian people". But, the structural inequalities between the ethnic groups have remained to exist. (Petroska-Beska and Najcevska, 2004)

Consequently, an armed conflict between ethnic Al-

banian rebels and government forces erupted in 2001. Luckily, the conflict was quickly ended through an EU- and US-mediated agreement, signed in August 2001. The Ohrid Framework Agreement (OFA) ended the armed conflict and provided legislative measures to ensure equality and minority protection. This decentralized power gave official status to a minority language in the areas where they are at least 20 % of the population.

Besides, the principle of proportional representation in the elections was adopted. It also improved the participation and employment of minority peoples in public life and state institutions. Double majority rule requires that any parliamentary decision affecting the rights of communities is necessary to be passed by a majority of all MPs and a majority of the total number of votes by MPs from the minority community.

However, more than ten years after, inter-ethnic relations in Macedonia remain burdened by prejudice and stereotypes, rather than cooperation and mutual prosperity. Moreover, ethnic tensions between Macedonians and Albanians in Macedonia have further increased during last several years.

Sparked initially by ethnically charged incidents at sports matches, the ethnic tensions between the two communities had soon deteriorated into violence when in February 2012 an off-duty police officer killed two ethnic Albanians in the town of Gostivar and when five ethnic Macedonians were killed in April 2012. Both incidents have triggered massive protests of ethnic Albanians and Macedonians respectively, ending in vio-

lence and serious damage to civilian properties.

The second factor that spurs ethnic disputes between Macedonians and Albanians comes from differing perceptions about Albanian claims deriving from the Ohrid Agreement. While Albanians regard the overall process as an issue of collective and human rights, Macedonians believe that the dispute is actually about territory. Moreover, Albanians view the agreement as a starting point, a dynamic platform from which their overall position will additionally improve. Consequently, they view the Ohrid Agreement as a starting point rather than ceiling of their collective rights. (Aziri, 2011)

Although Ohrid Agreement has preserved the unitary character of the country, Macedonians remain mistrustful of the Albanians' true intentions, and suspect their claims for more rights as designs for a greater Albania. (Fraenkel, 2013)

Ethnic Macedonians have argued that the independence of Kosovo may go towards the political unification of all Albanians, Including the Albanians of the Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro, and southern Serbia. (Batt, 2008). Macedonia's membership to NATO and EU has been seriously halted in recent years. Moreover, support for membership in these two organizations has seriously dropped in recent years by both Macedonian politicians and ethnic Macedonians in general. On the other hands, ethnic Albanians in Macedonia strongly support the Euro-Atlantic integration of the country.

Endemic corruption running vertically at all level of public administration constitutes an important collid-

ing factor for politics, crime and conflict. Moreover, it constitutes the vehicle used by all elites that antagonize the State's monopoly over the use of force such as extremists and criminal groups. In the process of curtailing corruption, penalties should be toughened, and laws, as well as controls over hubs of corruption such as the security services, the customs, and the judiciary, should be inaugurated.

However, a generalized change of perception is essential. The role of civil society and the media is vital. The public should be thoroughly informed not only about the damage caused by their implication in corrupt practices but also the importance of an effective policy against it. Through that process, breaking existing corrupt political ties must be effectively recognized and cherished by the public. Political determination is important but, as long as fighting corruption is not promoted as an integrating and politically beneficial task, little progress can be guaranteed. In that process, it is important that the fight against corruption is effectively interlinked to EU accession, which is indeed a popular, unifying and attractive vision for both the people and the elites.

Institutional discriminatory policies were only sharpened during the Milosevic's totalitarian regime. Consequently, in a referendum organized by the Albanian political parties in 1992, an overwhelming majority of Albanians in Preshevo Valley voted to join Kosovo. (ICG Europe Report, 2007)

More than ten years later, despite considerable infrastructure investments, Albanians in the region still feel like second-hand citizens and continue to complain

about their overall political and economic position within the country. Their grievances are related to the lack of equal opportunities and economic prosperity, unemployment, but also to discrimination, repression, violence and arbitrary imprisonment. (Matic, 2012)

The majority of more than 145,000 ethnic Bosniaks in Serbia are concentrated in the Sandzak region. Similarly to Albanians, during early years of former-Yugoslavia, Bosniaks were often exposed to repressive measures by Rankovic and were therefore steadily migrating to Turkey. During the Milosevic regime, Bosniaks was exposed to official state terror that included ethnic cleansing of entire villages, murders, kidnappings, arbitrary arrests and dismissal from jobs. (ICG Europe Report, 2005)

On 25-27 October 1991, Bosniaks organized a referendum on the Sandzak autonomy. The turnout was almost 70 percent, out of which 98 percent of SandzakBosniaks voted for the "complete political and territorial autonomy with the right to join one of the republics."(Biserko, 2000)

However, the referendum was not recognized either by the Serbian authorities or by the international community. Instead, Yugoslav army forces and Serbian and Montenegrin paramilitary forces started a campaign of ethnic cleansing of SandzakBosniaks both in Serbia and Montenegro. During this period, due to immense repression and state terror, some 60,000 Bosniaks were forced to flee their homes and search safety in Turkey, Macedonia and Western countries. (Dimitrovova, 2001)

Bosnia and Sandzak are currently very often seen as the main centers of Islamic population in Serbia. If Serbia does not seriously engage in addressing existing grievances of SandzakBosniaks, existing tense of inter-ethnic relations might be overshadowed by harsher inter-religious relations between the Serb majority and Bosniak minority in the country.

Xenophobia and religious intolerance continue to characterize Serbian society, and persons belonging to national minorities are still a target of racist attacks. Also, national minorities continue to be significantly under-represented in state-level public administrations and public enterprises

9.4. Effects of Globalization on Ethnic Communities

In recent years, an increasing number of societies have embraced pluralism in welcoming immigrants, and the citizenship has become less restrictive than they had been earlier. The globalization of economic and other transactions has led to a general diffusion of literature, languages, and lifestyles and contributed to a homogenization of cultures.

The memories of immigrants replicate the aspects of homeland culture in the host lands. For others, such homeland memories are disappearing because of economic and cultural pressures of the host land. To maintain its diasporic identity, an ethnic or religious community must have an elite group that is committed to the maintenance of a diasporic culture and ideology. Unfortunately, it is difficult to generalize about the attitudes and behaviors of such elite in the host land.

The persistence of diasporic identity is related to a country's policies. They have selective approaches to immigration and citizenship. Many countries are reluctant to admit immigrants who are not easily assimilated and who are likely to remain Diasporas. Because they contribute to the fragmentation of a society, and their loyalty is often suspect. However, Diasporas may have a certain utility for the host country. They may be providers of cheap labor and an instrument for influencing the policies of the home country. Diaspora identity also depends on the sort of relationship the homeland wishes to maintain with its expatriates.

Occasionally, homelands use their Diasporas for diplomatic and economic help. For many decades from 1960s to the 2000s, the Turkish diaspora in the European States, particularly in Germany became the main source of balance for the foreign trade deficits.

The double orientation toward two cultures and two states may characterizes the diasporas. In fact, many immigrants remains others, regardless of the fact that that their cultural ties to the homeland weakens, and their culture develops in an independent direction. On the other hand, interethnic marriages would eventually lead to a loss of identity and assimilation. (Kokot, Tololyan and Alfonso, 2004) With the effects of the economic and technological processes of globalization, the states increasingly permit dual nationality. Therefore, members of diasporas may sustain such alternative transnational identities to a greater extent.

The combination of international migration and advances in transportation and communications technol-

ogy fosters a globalization of the domestic politics of many States. Migration can foster the process of economic globalization. Moreover, it has political implications for foreign direct investment, and transnational financial flows can provide the resources for influencing homeland politics.

Should emigrants be entitled to make decisions regarding the fate of people living in the homeland? From the standpoint of nationalist ideology, the legitimate exercise of power is based on the national identity and the national interest, rather than democratic procedures. Emigrants and their descendants supporting the homeland with extensive economic contributions should deserve the right to participate in home land politics. (Koslovski, 2004) Democratic theory does not provide a good answer to the question of whether or not emigrants should be able to participate in the homeland's elections, campaign financing, and other activities of democratic rule. (Whelen, 1977; Dahl, 1989).

9.5. Effects of Ethnicity over Immigration Issues

When two groups interact due to the migration, the relations between these groups proceed through a four-stage cycle: Contact, Conflict, accommodation and assimilation. The change would occur gradually, progressively and inevitably (Kivisto, 1990).

Seven types of assimilation may occur: (Gordon, 1964: 71)
  a. Cultural or behavioral assimilation,
  b. Structural assimilation, through the organizations and institutions of the host society,

c. Marital Assimilation or amalgamation,

d. Identification assimilation, which means the creation of a shared sense at the societal level,

e. Attitude reception assimilation, which refers to the absence of prejudice,

f. Behavioral reception assimilation, which refers to the absence of discrimination,

g. Civic assimilation, where interethnic conflicts over values and power are overcome by the shared identity of citizenship.

Migration is one of the most important issues in the relations between host nations and sending nations, particularly the EU and the South Mediterranean countries. Statistical data shows the presence of approximately 5.8 million migrants in the EU from the Mediterranean countries without including unrecorded migrants. It is estimated that 100.000 to 120.000 irregular migrants cross the Mediterranean area every year. Although the history of migration from the southern Mediterranean to Europe goes as back as to the 1950s, the securitization of the issue in the EU started in the 1990s. Due to this securitization question, the issue has been perceived as a threatening factor, especially for the public order, cultural identity and the domestic and socio-economic stability in the EU. (Eylemer and Şemşit, 2007)

Securitization of migration leads to a process of impeding the integration of immigrants into the societies of the host nation. The securitization may also prevent a balanced and comprehensive assessment of the issue.

In Europe, many people prefer to ignore the fact that immigrants are necessary economically for Europe

because of the demographic decline. Besides, the increasing security measures at borders have a negative effect on the issue. In fact, strict controls have caused an increase in irregular migration, increasing the need for more controls.

EU needs to regulate migration in the Mediterranean in a more cooperative approach, rather than the over-emphasis of restrictive migration policies. Cooperation with Mediterranean countries is very significant for the EU's migration management. In this regard, European Neighborhood Policy can provide the necessary impetus for effective cooperation. However, the tendency of the EU to securitize migration issues might be an impediment to the success of cooperation with Mediterranean countries.

Turkish-origin communities in Germany and the Netherlands have suffered discrimination due to the Islamic heritage in the late 1990s. Turkish governments increasingly criticized Germany and the Netherlands after a series of arson attacks killing more than a dozen Turkish residents in those countries. These governments took considerable investigative measures.

Air and ground links between host and sending countries have a substantial role in the globalization of domestic politics. If immigrants and their children keep strong links to the sending country, they are will keep interest in the politics of the home land state. The number of daily flights determines the strength of such networks.

German citizenship law previously had the principle

of ancestral linkage, whereby children born in Germany to Turkish nationals could not receive German citizenship. In 1999, Germany's Social Democratic and Green's Coalition government adopted citizenship legislation based on the principle of birthplace. Dual nationality is tolerated only temporarily for children of Turks who become German and Turkish citizens at birth. But, those who obtain German and another citizenship by birth have to give up one of citizenship between ages 18 and 23. In contrast, the Netherlands permitted foreigners born on its soil or to the children one of their parents was born within its territory, without proving that they have given up their old citizenship. (Ogelman, 2004)

Informal discrimination prevented the Turkish-origin inhabitants of Germany from becoming absorbed by the host country. During the 1980s, Turkish-origin people were one of the least liked communities in Germany. Incidents of racist violence, such as the arson attacks in Solingen and Molln in the early 1990s contributed to the maintenance of homeland identity.

The expression of ethnic, linguistic and cultural traits provides a foundation for developing community ties and awareness. Germany allowed the expression of otherness, as long as the means are in line with German laws on associations and public manifestations. This made it possible for Turkish citizens to discover and, more importantly, express their identity.

The formation of cultural associations in host countries which were prohibited in the homeland further led to the consolidation of Kurdish identity in Germany. The

expressing of the Kurdish identity can be observed in the dramatic proliferation of Kurdish cultural organizations in Western Europe as well as an increase in their publications. Unfortunately, the activities of PKK terrorist organization were financed through the contributions of members and donations.

9.6. Future Challenges

A further challenge in the future is considering particular meanings, similarities and experiences related to specific groups and situations. Studies in various countries showed that different minority groups enjoy varying degrees of social acceptability. (Hagendoorn, 1995)

Ethnic hierarchies indicate that groups are located differently within the ethnic landscape and that minority groups are also in the process of distancing themselves from lower-status positions. In this case, interethnic tensions are unavoidable between these groups. (Celious and Oyserman, 2001)

There is the question of what extent social psychological theories are useful and adequate for understanding situations of fierce and violent ethnic conflicts, including ethnic cleansing and genocide. In the past, there have been several conflicts and ethnic violence as a distressing global phenomenon. Inter-ethnic and inter-religious violence raises important questions for social psychologists.

The capacity to live with the difference is the coming question of the 21st century. (Hall,1993:361) Social psychologists should try to make a contribution by find-

ing viable and productive ways of living with diversity, by improving inter-ethnic relations and by bettering the situation of minority groups and immigrants.

TENTH CHAPTER
DYNAMICS OF REGIONAL INTEGRATIONS:
A PROJECTION FOR THE MIDDLE EAST

Today, the international institutional arrangements do not seem capable of the global economic governance. There is a necessity for a new framework to address the new challenges. Taking a greater responsibility and power in the regional institutions can be an effective antidote against the global financial and economic crises. Through the regional economic and political integrations, developing states may reach the ability to counter the negative consequences of the liberalization.

The current global governance system serves to the interests of the rich industrialized nations. The objectivity and impartiality of Bretton Woods Institutions (BWIs) have weakened to a significant extent. International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB) and World Trade Organization (WTO) are currently very centralized, unaccountable and nontransparent.

Decentralization and creation of a pluralistic system of institutions and organizations, interacting with the flexible agreements, could provide a more objective system. The further development of the regional integrations can help this process. (Adaba, Caliari, Foster, Hanfstaengl, Shroeder, 2003).

10.1. Regionalism and Regional Integrations

Regionalism entails the creation of a new entity, as a

regional unit. It comprises a recognized framework among the member states on several issues, such as exchange of goods, services, capital or persons. (Smith, 1992) This concept can be analyzed in terms of social, political, organizational and economic cohesiveness. (Hurrell, 1995:331)

Regionalism can be seen as a step toward global free trade, contributing to the progress in the context of the multilateral trade liberalization. Removal of trade barriers enlarges the domestic markets because separate national markets move toward integration in a single regional market. Changes in trade flows may induce changes in the location of production between member states. These relocations are determined by the comparative advantages of the member states and through the possible technology transfers. Relocations can also be effective for the convergence of income levels of the different nations. Labor-intensive production activities can move toward lower-wage countries and can raise the wages there. As a positive factor raising the general standard of living, it makes closer the peoples and develop a common sense of community. Deep integration between member states also involves the harmonization of product standards and the fiscal system to realize the economic scale and competition gains.

The preconditions for a successful regional integration are; (Linn, 2006)
- facilitating the growth of trade,
- creating attractive investment claim,
- overcoming regulatory and administrative constraints,
- guaranteeing the physical security of trade

routes,

     - strengthening physical and institutional infrastructure,

     - promoting economic diversification to create vibrant sectors.

The recent years have witnessed qualitative and quantitative changes in regional integrations. There have been three major developments. (Kalaycioglu, 1996)

First, an effective integration requires more than the reducing tariffs and quotas. Many other barriers have the effect of segmenting markets and impeding the free flow of goods, services, investments and ideas. A wide range of policy measures is needed to remove these barriers. In this sense, the Single Market Program of EU has actively pursued a kind of deep integration. This program can be used by the other regional agreements.

The second development is the move from closed regionalism to a more open model. Many of the trading blocs between developing countries in the 1960s and 1970s were based on a model of "import-substituting development" with high external trade barriers. The new wave of regional agreements more committed to boosting, rather than controlling the international trade.

The third is the advent of trade blocs in which high-income industrial countries and developing countries are equal partners in the agreements designed to support their economies. The most important example of these trade blocks is the North American Free Trade Area formed in 1994, with the extension of Canada-US Free Trade Agreement to Mexico.

Any regional co-operation can provide positive impacts offering the spill-over benefits to the rest of the world. The regional agreements have scale and competition effects. Economic partnerships may enlarge its imports from the rest of the world and may create favorable conditions for the peoples outside the region. First, international trade will expand because of the liberalization in a broad range of service sectors. Secondly, the establishment of a legal framework governing the rights and obligations of governments and investors could further improve the investing environment and facilitate the flow of investment.

The global financial and economic crisis highlighted the importance of establishing effective regional integrations so that the regional economies can respond more effectively to the needs of the states in the region. In this respect, strengthening regional financial systems should be one of the critical pillars of the free trade agreements (FTAs) in the region.

Under FTAs, mobility of people and liberalization of professional services could contribute significantly to the benefits of the partners. The harmonization and convergence of rules, standards, procedures and business practices through the creation of FTAs may provide a greater convenience and certainty to the private sector.

FTAs could also promote the human capital development, through linkages between educational institutions and professional government agencies and the mutual recognition of degrees and credits. They could further promote business partnerships, especially between the small and medium sized enterprises. (Miyagawa, 2009)

In the past, the pressures of the BWIs to facilitate financial market liberalization had some negative effects on the growth of developing states. Through the regional economic and political integrations, developing states could reach the ability to counter the negative consequences of the liberalization. Taking a greater role and responsibility in the regional institutions can be an effective antidote against the global financial and economic crises. Because, as it is in the EU example, regional integrations could help to make more rational decisions in advance. Today, EU accomplished the economic and monetary union and instituted a great inter-dependency among the European nations. This inter-dependency is a guarantee of the peace, prosperity and well-distributed welfare.

A global recovery requires a strong sense of cooperation and improved financial regulation and supervision, through revitalizing domestic investment and consumption and maintaining steady economic growth, would contribute to the global recovery. The participation of the regional integrations in the decision-making structures of the BWIs could provide the establishment of a fair and equitable free trade system. The success of regional integrations would help to establish an effective and fair global governance system.

One of the obstacles to a regional integration is the interests of the global powers. Thus, at the beginning of the process, it should be clearly explained that such initiative should be started in coordination with the developed states.

10.2. Regional Integrations in the World

Table 3 shows the main parameters of the regional integrations and great economies in the world. NAFTA and EU take the first and second ranks, because of their economic scales. If the Middle East Union (MEU) could be established, it would be the fourth largest regional economy.

Table 3: Regional Integrations and Great Economies in the World (2013)

Regional Integrations / Great Economies	Population (Million)	GDP (Billion $)	GDP Per cap.
1. NAFTA (North America Free Trade Agreement - US, Canada, Mexico)	478	20.300	41.000
2. EU (European Union - 29 member)	508	18.000	36.000
3. CHINA	1.370	16.200	11.800
6. INDIA	1.272	6.800	5.150
5.USAN (Union of South American Nations)	400	8.000	20.000
7. ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations - Thailand, Malezya, Indomesia, Vietnam, Philipinness, Cambodia, Laos)	625	5.940	9.500
4. JAPAN	127	4.600	34.100
8. CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States - Russia, Belorussia, Armenia, Azerbaycan, Kazakistan, Uzbekistan, Tacikistan, Kyrgizistan)	280	4.600	16.500
9. AU (Africa Union)	1.050	2.400	2.350

Source: http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/GDP-PPP-based-table (31 May 2015)

The current regional integrations in the world are shown on the map below. Middle East is the only region in the world that couldn't manage to reach a regional economic integration. The weight of the each regional integration in the decision-making bodies of the international organisations should be proportionally determined according to their population and economic scale. Restructuring of the BWIs in this line, would help to create a better functioning system to regulate

the international free trade

Map: Regional Integrations in the World

Regional Integrations in the World
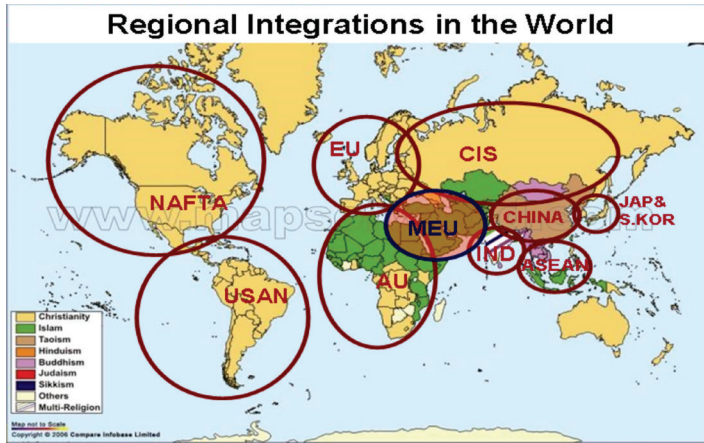
10.3. A Projection for the Middle East Union

10.3.1.The Necessity of the Regional Integration in the Middle East

The establishment of an effective regional integration in the Middle East may contribute to the economic and political stability of the world. This integration could also help to establish global economic balance. Developed states should encourage and support the initiatives for regional integration, especially in theMiddle East.

 The peace and economic welfare in the Middle East would bring peace and prosperity to the world. The dynamics of a new regional integration in the Middle East may create a new wave to increase the international trade and foster the economic development. There is a

great amount of financial and economic potential in the region for the economic development. It could be possible to create one of the greatest markets of the world.

The potential of the region would also contribute to the global economic balance. The global central position of the Middle East region may provide a regulatory role for trade, communications, transportation and energy transfers, for the benefits of the world. (Agca, 2013)

Without the participation of the African nations into the globalization route of the world, it couldn't be possible to establish a fair and equitable world. A new regional economic initiative in the Middle East may also contribute to the economic development of the African nations and to make easier their participation in the globalization process.

10.3.2. The Conditions of the Regional Integration in the Middle East

The Middle East is less integrated than much of the rest of world in terms of trade and capital flows. Middle East nations are also less integrated within the region, in comparison with the other regions. Despite the great importance of the Middle East's oil reserves to the world economy, many of the states of the regions have not yet been able to integrate themselves successfully into the global economy. Therefore, they couldn't have achieved to maintain sufficient level of prosperity, stability and security. (Momani, 2007)

One of the main reasons for the lack of integration is the external pressures. Because of the region's geopolitical

importance, external hegemonic influences prevail over the weak state systems that are governed largely by the authoritarian regimes.

The absence of efforts for regional integration building may come partly from the reality of general insecurity, because of the unresolved issues of democratic nation and state-building. (Kuhnhardt, 2003) The region needs to be empowered by socio-economic change. But it takes time and money. However, the speed of globalization, transportation, and communication techniques could help to accelerate this process. Besides, material sources needed for the change already exist in the region.

EU can be seen as a security community as explained by Karl Deutsch. It refers to such an entity where a sense of community prevailed, and the institutions and practices are strong and widespread enough to assure dependable expectation of peaceful change among the population. (Deutch, 1957)

In its 2003 Security Strategy report, EU highlighted the connection between the spread of neoliberal economic and political values for the achievement of EU security. According to security approach of the EU, the best protection of the security is a world of well-governed democratic states. Spreading good governance is related to supporting social and political reform, and dealing with corruption and abuse of power. Besides, the rule of law and protecting human rights are accepted as the best means of strengthening the international order and security.

In this respect, an effective regional integration in the Middle East may provide the security in the region. Different mechanisms drive the security arguments. The regular political contacts can build trust and facilitate other forms of cross-border cooperation which help to create a sense of community and peaceful feelings among the nations.

To create "a sense of community" in the Middle East can be speeded up. The peoples of Middle East have no reason to conflict each other. In fact, they are eager to a hub and speak each other. The assertion about the validity of hostile feelings and great conflicts among the nations of the Middle East is questionable. In fact, the borders do not divide the Middle Eastern peoples, but the politics do. All the advantages of the region have been shown as disadvantages so far. There is a strong possibility of manipulation, steering by the global powers, to easily control the region for their interests.

The decisionmakers of the region should not be discouraged by the persisting disputes and differences, but rather should be inspired for the need to solve them through the new structures. The strengthened regional cooperation could help to the disputing states to reduce the antagonism and to create a favorable environment or to provide institutions or mechanisms to settle their conflicts, such as mediation or arbitration.

Improving local communication and cooperation help remove the wrong perceptions among the nations in the region. In this respect, the cancelation of visa regimes between Turkey and some Middle-Eastern states may contribute to developing a suitable environment for the

construction of good relationships among the peoples of the region.

10.3.3. Historical Perspectives of the Regional Integrations in the Middle East

In the Middle East, different ethnic and religious groups had lived together for centuries under the Ottoman rule. Following the First World War, the culture of co-existence was transformed into the ethnic and religious intolerance and civil wars. British and French powers blamed the Ottoman Turks for everything that went bad in the colonized Middle Eastern countries and they tried to create an animosity among the Arabs towards the Turks. Arab nationalists in the nation-state process also supported anti-Turkish policies.

On the other side, the elite groups in Turkey searched for the reasons of the Ottoman collapse in its religious and traditional roots. In this context, they linked the Ottomans' underdevelopment to its Islamic roots. Another reason preventing a powerful link between the Middle East and Turkey was the ignorance of Turkish elite about the region. This ignorance produced prejudice and more ignorance. Turkey's alliance with NATO also prevented it from developing an independent Middle Eastern policy during the Cold War.

Since the end of Second World War, many attempts had been done to improve cooperation and integration among the regional states. The Arab League founded in 1945 was a loose federation between Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen. It helped to create a new common consciousness among the par-

ticipants for economic and financial cooperation. But, it failed. They did not clearly define their economic targets for economic harmonization. Today, Arab League comprises 21 states.

Organization of Regional Co-operation for Development (RCD) was established in 1964, to develop economic cooperation between Iran, Turkey, and Pakistan. It failed to produce concrete results and dissolved in 1979. It was replaced by the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) in 1985. The common goal of ECO is to establish a single market for goods and services. But, it couldn't have reached the sufficient level of cooperation so far.

Ideas about using the oil revenue for the development of the region resulted with the organizational efforts in the late 1970s. The Arab Monetary Fund, the Islamic Development Bank, and the Islam Development Conference became the regional institutional arrangements for economic co-operation to promote trade and investment. Turkey started to play an active role in the Islam Development Conference from 1980s. But, the commitment to the EU prevented Turkey from extending her economic relationship in the Middle East beyond the trade.

The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) was formed in 1981 by six Arab Gulf states to promote cooperation and integration in the areas of the economy, culture and foreign and security policies. The main motivation of the GCC was to develop a shield against the threat of the Iran-Iraq war. But, when that conflict was over, this attempt lost its direction and appeal.

In 1989, Arab-Maghreb Union Treaty was signed between Morocco, Algeria, Mauritania, Tunisia, and Libya to coordinate economic policies. The current aims of the union are re-establishment of market mechanisms, privatization and wider opening to the world.

There are already effective applications of FTAs, such as the bilateral free trade agreement between Saudi Arabia and Egypt, improving the competitiveness in respective markets. However, the attempts are still limited for the bilateral FTAs in the region. (Kalaycioglu, 1996)

10.3.4. The Effect of New Revolutions in the Middle East

The Middle East revolutions happened one after another. These revolutions also affect the lives of people in many countries of the world, especially when the oil price increases to unprecedented levels.

The source of power for the revolutions in the Middle East is the young people linked by technology to one another and the outside world. Their demands are principally economic in nature, anti-colonialist or nationalist. They demand freedom and better standards of living.

Some politicians foresee that if real democracy comes, Middle East may turn into a unified entity against the interventionist policies of the West. It is clear that a democratic political environment would help to establish closer links between people from different states. The important thing is how they will organize them-

selves. The new energy of the young people is less organized; that makes it hard for them to assume state power.

There are three key deficits of the crisis in the region:
        a. Freedom deficit is stifling creativity and true participation.
        b. Woman's empowerment deficit is depriving societies of half of their productive potential.
        c. Knowledge deficit is weighing heavily on the ability to grow and compete. (Hunaidi,2002)

The people of the region routinely exposed to the propaganda of all regional governments. Regional governments have tightly controlled television broadcasting, to attract viewers through entertainment and to shape their thinking through news and information programming. The most important example is Qatar's Al-Jazeera network.

E-learning is spreading literacy and information. The information revolution in the region is happening at a time while these countries are suffering from rapid population growth, economic stagnation and increasing demands for women to integrate them into public life. With the help of progress on ICT, a new class of information workers may emerge in the region. Most of them could be largely female. The role of women in society is largely affected by modern communications.

There is an increasing awareness that the growth of Western-educated personnel and the improving education in some MENA countries are producing a highly educated labor. Through the development of the ICT

sector, technical education, especially computer litera-
cy has improved.

The states of the region have different regimes for the
communication management. Saudi and Iraqi govern-
ments tightly control information dissemination and
alternative voices, while Egypt and Lebanon contin-
ue to disguise their control. Syria, with its urgent need
for economic growth and international acceptance, has
an inclination to join the Information Age, but it is too
cautiously.

In Qatar, women enjoy more freedom and opportunities
than the most Arab nations. At the University of Qa-
tar, 72 percent of students are women. Qatar is one of
the leading nations in the Arab region in access to the
Internet. Experts attribute this fact to a relatively free
press and an open-door policy toward ICT. For wom-
en in a male-dominated society, the Internet provides a
window onto the world in Qatar. Women use e-mail and
Internet services more than men.

In the region, only three countries, Iran, Israel, and
Lebanon, have reasonably democratically elected gov-
ernments, but they are also under pressure. The prin-
cipal challenge comes from the lack of real pluralism.
This characterization is changing as globalization
brings to the region ideas of greater personal freedom
and responsibility, especially with the proliferation of
television.

The responses of the states of the western world to
these revolutions are different. As the most effective
power in the region, the US has some concerns over the

impact of these revolutions for their national security and interest.

10.3.5. Dynamics of the Regional Integration in the Middle East

In the Middle East, Arab integration efforts are usually described as a failure, due to the absence of democratic structures. The kingdoms, emirates or sultans do not share their sovereignty with their people. To improve the democratic culture in these countries could help to start new initiatives for the regional integration.

There are three substantial obstacles for the Arab economic integration. Firstly, markets are small. Secondly, strong comparative advantages in certain products generate export concentration. Thirdly, major Arab states do not have strong incentives to take the lead for the trade-based economic integration while smaller countries have the incentive but do not have the influence to ensure implementation. (Oekman and Messerlin, 2002)

Many of the countries in the region have some internal constraints preventing them from implementing effective policies. First, political fragmentation and conflicts have hampered the development of democratic institutions. Second, the lines between the public and the private sectors are not clear and encourage conflict of interests and corruption. Third, transparency and accountability of governments is poor. Fourth, civil organizations, particularly a free and independent media, are weak and often manipulated by the governments. As a result, citizen participation, and private sector initiative have remained constrained. (Abed, 2003)

In the European example, the development of regional cooperative institutions had been driven by the initiative of major regional powers. France and Germany had been critical actors in the early stages of the EU. To maintain a powerful momentum at the beginning of the integration process, four powers of the Middle East should take the lead. These countries are Turkey, Iran, Egypt and Saudi Arabia. If these states could have the consensus to start a new initiative for a regional economic integration, the chance of success would increase.

Mutual trade relationships did not developed sufficiently to necessitate a movement of regional integration. One of the most important factors that retarded trade relations is the lack of infrastructure facilities for the accession of markets. Lack of sufficient land, air, and maritime transportation routes have adverse effects on trade. Furthermore, there is a lack of marketing institutions and incentive systems among the states of the region.

Nevertheless, economic integration can proceed quite rapidly, as long as trade, transport and transit barriers are canceled, and necessary conditions for security are maintained. The countries of the Middle East need a new opportunity to develop a hopeful future for the large population of their young people who are unemployed. (Linn, 2006)

Greater Middle East Project of the US argues the need for more human rights and liberal values. As a matter of fact, many countries in the region share the similar ideas.

10.3.6. Turkey's Role to Establish a Regional Integration in the Middle East

With the new independent foreign policy approach, Turkey proved to the countries of the region that it intends to establish peaceful and friendly relationships. Turkey's new foreign policy vision rejects the hostilities among the nations and aims to solve all the conflicts and problems in a peaceful way. Its new foreign policy maintained a new momentum, to make closer the nations of the region. The politics of zero problems with the neighbors became an effective step to melt the ices with the former enemies. With the new foreign policy vision, Turkey gained a great confidence and sympathy of the peoples in the region. Consequently, Turkey became one of the most trusted states in the region.

During the 2000s, Turkey became one of the biggest economies in the region, although it has no rich natural gas or oil resources. Turkey's success lies in the economic transformation in the last 25 years which made Turkey the largest economy and the major exporting nation in the Balkans, Middle East, and North Africa. As a growing economy, Turkey needs close markets, for its sustainable development and the closest market is the Middle East. (Laciner, 2009)

Import and export-based economy of Turkey is an advantage. In this respect, Turkey should firstly aim to increase economic cooperation with the Middle East states. A step-by-step economic and social cooperation and integration approach may isolate the security problems and finally may allow a full regional integration.

The efforts of Turkey are not sufficient for the transformation of the region. The issues such as Iraq, Palestine, terror, democratization and stability in the region, the security of energy resources, require the cooperation and support of all humanity. With the help of the regional and non-regional partners, Turkey can lead an integration process in the region. In this context, US-Turkey and EU-Turkey cooperation would be helpful. Besides, any progress in the Turkey-EU integration process could have a constructive contribution to the Christian West-Muslim East friendship.

Turkey needs to build regional integration corridors starting from Turkey: The first integration corridor could be Turkey-Syria-Lebanon-Jordan-Egypt. This corridor may cover Israel and Palestine. The second corridor is the Turkey-Iraq-Basra Gulf line, from the north of Iraq to the Gulf States. The third important corridor could be the Turkey-Iran-Pakistan corridor, as the West-East line. The total population of these three countries is about 300 million, and they have the capacity to affect many other countries in the surrounding areas.

Through these corridors, communication, finance and transportation lines such as electricity, the internet, highways and banking should be integrated to improve cooperation and economic development. In this context, the expansion of the production and transportation systems would reduce the production costs.

The process of industrial growth and transformation is inseparable from the process of regional integration and cooperation. Turkey has the greatest and the most

diversifying mode of production capacity. Relatively larger and more developed Turkish economy could be a good partner for the others. The Turkish industry has the flexibility and the capacity to outsource some of their operations, for the benefits of other regional states.

Restoration of the region could serve to the Turkish security and economic interests. If Iraq, for instance, is not secure, Turkey cannot be a secure country. Therefore, Turkey has the biggest responsibility in the regional integration process of the Middle East. With its democratic institutions, Turkey is capable of undertaking the responsibility to take the lead for the initiative of a regional integration in the Middle East. EU experience provided Turkey with a great advantage in this direction.

10.3. 7. The Future of the Middle-East Union (MEU)

In Table 4, the populations and gross domestic products (GDPs) of the possible candidate states for the MEU can be seen. This table emphasizes the role of the great economies of the region, such as Turkey, Iran, Egypt and Saudi Arabia. They would provide 70 % of total GDP and 56 % of total population of a possible union.

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Table 4. Middle East Union as a New Regional Integration

Country	Popul.	GDP	Per cap	Country	Popul.	GDP	Per cap
1.Turkey	78	1.407	18.000	12.Sudan	38	130	4.000
2.S.Arabia	32	1.546	50.000	13.Libya	6,3	130	20,200
3.Iran	78	1.207	14.000	14.Tunisia	11	121	11.000
4.Egypt	88	910	10.500	15.Oman	4,1	150	37.000
5.UAE	9,6	550	56.000	16.Yemen	26	97	3.800
6.Algeria	40	522	13.100	17.Lebanon	4,1	77	18.000
7.Iraq	36	500	13.800	18.Jordan	6,7	76	10.200
8.Qatar	2,3	296	130.000	19.Bahrain	1,3	58	44.000
9.Quwait	3,3	272	87.000	20.Eritre	6,7	8	1.200
10.Morocco	34	242	7.100	21.Djibuti	0,9	3	3.300
11.Syria	23	103	4.800				
Total					**500**	**8.400**	**16.800**

In Table 5 below, a projection for the years of 2020 and 2030 shows the possible future of the MEU. In this projection, the average economic growth rates of the member states is accepted between 5-10 %. This projection indicates that the MEU may approach to the current level of the living standard of the EU by 2030.

Table 5: A Projection for the Middle East Union for 2020 and 2030

	2015	2020	2030
Population (Million)	500	550	600
GDP (Billion $)	8.4 billion	11 billion	18 billion
GDP Per Capita ($)	16.800	20.000	30.000

New technologies, especially communication and transportation systems can help to realize the integration process earlier than the European integration process. To accomplish the Economic and Monetary Union in Europe took about 42 years, between 1957 and 1999.

It may take about 20 years to complete the economic and monetary union in the Middle East. The MEU may reach 18 billion dollars GDP, and could be the fourth economic power in the world.

Middle East geographically seems to be the heart of the world. If the heart of the world becomes secure, the world could become more secure and peaceful. The development of an effective regional integration would also help to the security of the region.

At the last stage, Israel could be even a member of this union. Such progress could be an important stage for the world peace. MEU is also worth to be supported, because of this possibility.

10.4. Manipulation of Arab Spring

For many years, Arab states have remained behind the contemporary world, in terms of capacity to reach a functional democratic regime and maintain equality in the society. In the beginning, Arab Spring increased the hopes to provide new opportunities and to commence positive trends in democracy and human rights.

Arab revolutions in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya in 2011 showed how the globalization of the norms of civic engagement shaped the protesters' aspirations. The fall of the Egyptian, Tunisian and Libyan regimes has created a domino effect throughout the Middle East. The great majority of Arab people recognized the fact that the only way to benefit from the resources of the country is to replace the dictatorships with the democratic governments. But, the authoritarian regimes in the Middle East

always used oppressive methods to sustain the system.

The Iranian-Syrian alliance had given Iran a significant access to the Arab Middle East and granted Iran a strategic position in the Mediterranean. Iran will make every effort to save the Assad regime, which is the only pro-Iranian Arab regime in the Middle East. They supplied weapon and ammunition. Even, they sent some fighting troops to support the Assad forces. For the Iranians, the downfall of the Syrian regime would mean the collapse of Iran's strategy in the Middle East. A regime change in Syria will completely collapse the Shiite Bloc among Tehran, Bagdad, Damascus and Hizbullah in Lebanon. Consequently, Iran's influence and political weight will dramatically lessen in the region. (Agca, 2013)

Russia's relationship with Damascus is the cornerstone of the Russian strategy in the region since 1950s. Russia has an important naval base on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. The change of Syrian regime means that Moscow would lose an important ally in the Middle East. Thus, Russia opposed any international resolution against Syria. Russia's final goal is probably not to protect the Assad regime. Russia has been striving to impose that Russia's vital interests should be taken into consideration if there would be a change in Syria.

The assurance of protection of the Moscow's strategic interests in the post-Assad period can break the resistance of Russia. In this respect, a bargaining is necessary among the global actors. Russia knows it will not be effective in the Middle East, if it loses Syria. Russia also exports approximately 10% of its defense industry

to Syria. Besides, a potential regime change in Syria might affect its Muslim minorities. (Stepanaova, 2012)

The Gulf States argue that Syria is a new ground for conflict between the Arabs and Iran's expansionist policy in the region. On 26th of November 2011, the Arab League decided to start economic sanctions against the Syria.

From the American and European perspective, any military intervention in Syria may cause great damages to the NATO or American forces, which is not comparable in Libya. Continuing political support by Russia and China and direct military support of Iran to the Syrian regime is another factor preventing the international intervention.

After coming to power in Turkey, JDP government improved economic relations with Syria. The two countries set up a high council for strategic cooperation and lifted visa restrictions. Ankara played a key role in bringing Assad out from the international isolation after the assassination of Lebanese Prime Minister Rafiq al-Hariri in 2005, by increasing economic, cultural, and diplomatic relations with Damascus. Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan established a close personal relationship with the Syrian President Bashar Assad. Turkey also played a crucial role in 2007 and 2008 with its mediation efforts between Israel and Syria.

Ankara's policy completely changed after a large number of Syrian refugees entered in Turkey, in parallel with the intensifying violence and rising death toll in Syria. Bashar Assad also started to give support to the

armed Kurdish group PYD, by providing the group with weapons and ammunition. This policy of Assad regime was enough for Turkey to toughen its policy against the Syrian regime. Besides, Iranians declared that the fall of the Syrian regime is a red line for Iran. Syria became a rivalry arena between Ankara and Tehran, affecting Syria negatively and deepening social and religious differences between Alawites and Sunnis.

Arab revolutions not only altered the balance of power in the Middle East but also emerged as a test for Turkey's claims for regional leadership based on soft power tools. (Kose, 2011)

Following the Assad regime's massacres against the Syrian people and AK Party offered active support to the opposition. Syrian crisis compelled the Turkish government to replace its soft-power-based zero problems with neighbors approach with controlled tensions policy that resorts to some hard power. Against the background of an ongoing struggle between Iran and Saudi Arabia, sectarian competition might drag diverse Muslim groups into a spiral of conflicts. The emergence of a new order in the Middle East based on sectarian polarization, securitization, and factionalism would inevitably lead to outside actors becoming more involved in regional issues.

Arab revolutions made clear the need to develop a political discourse dealing with the Islam-democracy and Islam-secularism relations. AK Party experience, successful in coming to power and exerting power in practice, fails to deliver the same kind of appeal for Islamist groups at a discursive level. It is also possible to claim

that the Sunni-Shia polarization in the region, coupled with Saudi Arabia's sectarian transnational political discourse and activities, make things more challenging.

Without the victory of the opposition groups in Syrian, any attempt for a regional integration in the Middle East has no chance of success. Thanks to the new cooperation policy between Turkey and Saudi Arabia helped to consolidate the powers of the opposition groups, and they started to seize strategic positions in Northern Syria. In this respect, regional integration depends on the resolution of Syria crisis. Syria has a position strategically connecting the Arab states to Turkey.

Integration in the Middle East requires extensive relations and advanced lines of communication among the peoples of the region. In this respect, Syria crisis appears as the main obstacle. If the Assad regime changes, the necessary conditions would be met over a reasonable period and a new initiative for integration will start. (Agca, 2013)

For Arab Islamist intellectuals, Turkey's success is a proof that they can modernize their countries without breaking away from the religious principles and values. (Ghosh, 2011)

2023 and 2071 visions of AK Party represent a quest to invent a new political language and common overarching identity in Turkey and the Middle East. With its various layers bringing together national, regional and universal elements, the civilizational discourse proves to be useful for the country.

However, whether this discourse can respond to the Middle East's sectarian shifts and simultaneously develop a democratic language and practice to help the region integrate with the rest of the world remains the main question. The Islamic element's dominance within this discourse will also play a decisive role in answering this question. (Duran, 2012)

ELEVENTH CHAPTER
DYNAMICS OF COLD WAR AND POST COLD WAR

The Cold War between 1947 and 1991 was the period of political conflict, the military tension between the United States and the Soviet Union. Their military forces ever clashed directly. But, the conflict prevailed through military coalitions. Besides, the development of strategic conventional weapons, nuclear arms race, proxy wars, espionage, propaganda and competitions on the areas of economy and technology contributed to the tension and the conflict.

11. 1. Dynamics of the Cold War

Historians commonly speak of three different approaches to the Cold War: orthodox, revisionism and post-revisionism. The Orthodox approach accounts responsibility for the Cold War on the Soviet Union and its expansion into Eastern Europe. Revisionist writers give the responsibility to the United States, because of the isolation policies against to the Soviet Union. Post-revisionists follow a more balanced approach in determining what occurred during the Cold War. (Calhoun, 2002)

11.1.1. Origins of Cold War

There are three main reasons of the Cold War:
      a. Conflict of Interests
      b. Ideological Incompatibilities
      c. Psychological Factors

Among these, psychological factors had very important role to deepen the conflicts between two blocs of the Cold War. Especially, the negative images on the other side had worsened the relations and made cooperation very difficult. (Blanton, 2007)

Table 6: Psychological Image of the US and Soviets for Each Other

The Soviet Image of the US	The American Image of the USSR
They (the rulers) are bad. The Wall Street bankers, politicians, and militarists want a war because they fear loss of wealth and power in a communist revolution.	They (the rulers) are bad. The men in the Kremlin are aggressive, power-seeking, brutal, in suppressing Hungary, ruthless in dealing with their people.
They are surrounding us with military bases.	They are infiltrating the western hemisphere to attack us.
They send spies (U-2 planes) to destroy the workers' fatherland.	They engage in espionage and sabotage to wreck our country.
They are like the Nazis-rearming the Germans against us.	They are like the Nazis-an aggressive expansionist dictatorship.
They are imperialistic. The capitalist nations dominate colonial areas, keep them in submission.	They are imperialistic. The communists want to dominate the world.
The Latin American regimes (except Cuba) are puppets of the USA.	They rigidly control the satellite puppet governments.
They exploit their own people. All capitalists live in luxury by exploiting workers who suffer insecurity, unemployment etc.	They exploit their own people. They hold down consumer goods, keep standards of living low except for communist bureaucrats.
They are against democracy. Democratic forms are mere pretense; people can vote only for capitalist candidates.	They are against democracy. Democratic forms are a mere pretense; people can vote only for communist candidates.

11.1.2. Evolution of the Cold War

Evolution of the Cold War can be investigated in five stages:

  a. Cold War Confrontation (1947-1962)
  b. Thawing of the Cold War (1962-1969)
  c. Redefinition of Cold War (1969-1977)
  d. Last Gasp of the Cold War (1977-1985)
  e. The End of the Cold War (1985-1989/91)

11.1.2.1. Cold War Confrontation (1947-1962)

Following the Second World War, Joseph Stalin needed to prepare for an inevitable conflict with capitalist powers. In 1947, the US political analyst George Kennan explained this was the result of the Soviet insecurity, and this insecurity would lead to aggressive foreign policy. Taking into account this possibility, the US foreign policy needed to follow a containment policy to counter the aggressive policies of the Soviet Union.

In this context, Truman Doctrine had been developed. Truman believed that the spread of communism undermines the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States. So, it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting subjugation against outside pressures.

The global containment policy of the US got some critics. First of all, it would be expensive for the US. Another critic was related to that containment would militarize the US foreign policy. Lastly, containment would lead the US to support any anti-communist regime, no matter how distasteful it is. (Lippmann, 1947)

When USSR moved into the Eastern Europe, American leaders perceived this as confirmation of Soviet goal of world conquest. It was possible that Soviet Union believed that the US willingly allowed the Soviet domination of the Eastern Europe. In fact, the words of US Secretary of State James Byrnes confirmed this approach. He said that the Soviet Union had a right to friendly governments along its borders.

The US leaders believed that they must continue to be a military nation to maintain leadership among other nations. In 1953, President Eisenhower declared that the nation's military security will take priority. The US and its western allies comprised one pole while the Soviet Union and its allies were a second pole. To balance the power, North Atlantic Treaty Organization and Warsaw Treaty Organization were created.

The main Cold War tensions include the followings:
> a. Communist coup in Czechoslovakia 1948
> b. Soviet blockade of West Berlin in 1948
> c. The victory of communism in China in 1949
> d. The outbreak of the Korean War in 1950
> e. Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1950
> f. Taiwan Straits conflict
> g. Vietnam War
> h. Arab-Israel Wars

11.1.2.2. Thawing of the Cold War (1962-1969)

The second phase of the Cold War may be characterized with Cuban missile crisis, Vietnam War, the arms race, competitive coexistence and multi-polar system. The high tensions and the great probability of a nuclear war between two superpowers resulted in more comprising approaches in the following years.

11.1.2.3. Redefinition of Cold War (1969-1977)

In this regard, a period of detente had been started by the parties. Detente can be characterized by establishing a vested interest between the superpowers to cooperate and restrain each other. The most important result

of the detente policy was starting to the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT).

11.1.2.4. Last Gasp of the Cold War (1977-1985)

Main important events of this period were; Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, US boycott of the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow, US invasion of Grenada in 1983, Soviet boycott of 1984 Olympic Games in Los Angeles and Strategic Defense Initiative of the US.

11.1.2.5. The End of the Cold War (1985-1989/91)

The main developments occurred between 1985 and 1989, prepared the end of Cold War. Soviet Union engaged in domestic reforms and reduced its commitment to the third world countries. Soviets also withdrew troops from Afghanistan. In 1990, they supported US-led opposition to Hussein's invasion of Kuwait. Soviets terminated presence and aid to Cuba. Soviets liberalized emigration policies and allowed greater political and religious freedom.

11.2. Transition from the Cold War to the Post-Cold War

11.2.1. Gorbachev reforms

At the beginning of 1980s, the president Ronald Reagan increased diplomatic and economic pressures on the Soviet Union. In the late 1980s, the President of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev initiated liberal reforms of perestroika (reconstruction, reorganization) and glasnost (openness) in 1985.

The Soviet economy had a big crisis as a result of the reducing oil prices in the 1980s. Gorbachev decided to make structural changes in the system. In June 1987, he announced economic reforms of restructuring, called perestroika. Perestroika allowed private ownership of businesses and paved the way for foreign investment. These measures were intended to direct the country's resources to more profitable areas in the civilian sector. (Gaddis, 2005)

The Soviet Union strongly committed to reverse the deteriorating economic condition instead of continuing the arms race with the West. (La Feber, 2002)
Gorbachev also provided the freedom of the press and the transparency of the public institutions, through glasnost. Glasnost aimed to reduce the corruption in the Communist Party and prevent the abuse of power in the Central Committee. It also enabled an increased contact between Soviet citizens and the western world, particularly with the US, to accelerate detente between the two nations. (Gibbs, 1999)

In response to the Kremlin's military and political concessions, Reagan agreed to renew the talks on economic issues and the arms race. In the first summit, in 1985 in Geneva, they agreed in principle to reduce each country's nuclear arsenal by 50 percent. During Reykjavík Summit, Gorbachev refused to discuss the Strategic Defense Initiative of the US. The third summit in 1987 concluded with the signing of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF). This treaty eliminated all nuclear-armed, ground-launched ballistic and cruise missiles with ranges between 500 and 5,500 kilometers (300 to 3,400 miles) and their infrastructure. (Wikipedia, 2011)

In 1989, Gorbachev and Bush signed the START I arms control treaty. Also, the Soviets officially declared that they would no longer intervene in the affairs of allied states in the Eastern Europe. In 1989, Soviet withdrew its forces from Afghanistan and Gorbachev consented to German reunification in1990. On December 3, 1989, Gorbachev and George H. W. Bush, declared that the Cold War was over at the Malta Summit. One year later, the two former rivals were the partners in the Gulf War against long-time Soviet ally Iraq. (Gaddis, 2005)

The freedom of press allowed by glasnost and the festering nationalities question increasingly led the Soviet republics to declare their autonomy from Moscow. In this sense, first the Baltic States withdrawn from the Union entirely. The 1989 revolutionary wave overthrew the Soviet-style communist states, in the Central and Eastern Europe.

11.2.2. Soviet Dissolution

The Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) was created on December 21, 1991. The USSR was declared officially dissolved on December 25, 1991, with the establishment of the CIS. In fact, it should be accepted as the successor to the Soviet Union. Russia's leaders announced that its purpose was to allow a civilized divorce between the Soviet Republics. (Gaddis, 2005)

Russia suffered a financial crisis and a recession more severe than the US, and Germany had experienced during the Great Depression. The living standards of the Russian people have worsened overall in the post-Cold War years, although the economy has resumed growth

since 1999. (Nolan, 1995)

The breakdown of the state control started new con-
flicts, particularly in the former Yugoslavia. In Eastern
Europe, the end of the Cold War concluded with the es-
tablishment of liberal democracies. But, in other parts
of the world, independence was accompanied by state
failure. (Halliday, 2001)

11.3. The US Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Period

As a whole, communism was the principal justification
for the US policy makers. In this respct, the US foreign
policy has been shaped in the light of following prin-
ciples:

- a. Development of institutions
- b. Development of political beliefs
- c. Policy of containment
- d. Policy of intervention
- e. Preeminence of presidential power

The Cold War institutionalized a global commitment
to huge, permanent peacetime military-industrial com-
plexes and large-scale military funding. Military ex-
penditures of the US during the Cold War years were
estimated as $8 trillion. More than 100.000 Americans
lost their lives in the Korean War and Vietnam War.
Also to the loss of soldiers, millions of civilians died
in the wars around the globe, mostly in Southeast Asia.
(Gaddis, 2005)

11.3.1. Military and Non-military Foreign Tools of the US

Since the end of the Cold War, the US has remained as the only superpower. It became the strongest economy in the world. The US also has the most powerful military in the world.

In its 2002, the National Security Strategy of the US accepted the policy of preventive war. The new policy dictates an offensive strategy when the enemy is gathering the capability to attack, even though the likelihood of its move is unknown.

In general, the US government should be more explicit about the tradeoffs between military and nonmilitary security expenditures. To enhance American prestige in the world, to improve the early warning in case of conflict or terrorist attack, and to secure the cooperation of allies in the fight against terrorism, the US should continue to improve the capacity of the state departments by investing more in personel and improving communications and information systems.

The new policy of preventive war without imminent threat aims taking the war to the enemy. This Pentagon implemented this strategy during the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq in 2001 and 2003. Clearly, the Bush administration embraced the notion that the best defense is a good offense. But in truth, the best defense may be the prevention of conflict around the globe, instead of prevention of attacks on the US. Such a policy should be realized by non-military means and by participating in stability operations in cooperation with its allies.

The tragic events of September 11 and insurgency in Iraq demonstrate that America's huge military may not translate into security at home or leadership on the world stage. US forces today are well equipped to fight traditional wars against powerful regional militaries. On 11 September 2001, the terrorists hijacked four commercial airplanes and accomplished the attacks on New York and Washington.   Reducing the threat of terrorism requires a shift in the nation's investment strategy.

America's military capability could not have pacified Iraq after the US invasion in the spring of 2003. The US forces were not welcomed as liberators, and the Bush administration failed to establish stability. Troops trained for high-intensity conventional warfare were unprepared for post-invasion operations, and the number of troops was insufficient to stabilize a population at the size of Iraq. As a result, the military victory turned into policy failure.

The protection of the US interests requires the use of all the tools of security, including diplomacy, foreign assistance, and intelligence as well as the armed forces. The US devotes a great share of its economy, about 3.5 percent, to the military. NATO members spend about 2 % of their GDPs for defense.

Such international non-military measures can be more effective for preventing politically motivated violence, including terrorist attacks. Prevention through non-military means may also cost less than rebuilding a country after the war. In 2004, Congress appropriated some $20 billion for reconstruction in Iraq, substantially more

than the money spent that on economic assistance to all the other countries of the world.

The international affairs category represents spending for nonmilitary engagement on the global scale. The budget request for international affairs for FY 2006 was $32 billion, only one-fifteenth of the national defense budget. It is not easy to decide how spending should be divided between the two categories.

The US global engagement serves multiple objectives: protecting national sovereignty and territorial integrity and sustaining a suitable level of power in the world, supporting alliances, ensuring the safety of international commerce, keeping citizens and infrastructure safe from the threat, helping other countries become more capable partners in the global economy, and lending to those that need it. In this respect, the US needs both a strong military and robust non-military programs of international engagement.

The US leaders use a wide range of tools to engage into the world without the use of military force. Within the federal budget, there are five categories to allocate spending for these tools;
      a. International development and humanitarian assistance
      b. International security assistance
      c. Conduct of foreign affairs
      d. Foreign information and exchange activities
      e. International financial programs

Foreign assistance programs help to create a positive image of Americans as generous. The US has provided

significant sums to help countries in Central and Eastern Europe to establish democratic institutions and undertake market-based reforms.

Diplomats can cooperate with the allies in identifying and disrupting terrorist networks. Diplomatic staffs may receive early intelligence of terrorist activity, early warning of state failure or internal violence in any place. Also, diplomats can help to the foreign states for the development of market economies and democratic institutions of government. But, compared with the military, the State Department is small, with fewer than 20,000 Americans in the foreign and civil service.

The functions of foreign information and exchange activities are especially valuable because most of the security threats come from the developing world.
The US faces a fairly large cultural confrontation when it deals with the Middle East and Asia, referring to India, China, Malaysia, Vietnam, Iran, Central Asian states, or Africa. Of course, it does not automatically signify a clash of civilizations. But, conflict prevention requires stronger efforts to reach mutual understandings in politics and military affairs, that could help prevent new conflicts from arising.

A better choice to prevent China or other rising powers from becoming enemy is engaging with them economically for the sustainable peace. As the recent events in Iraq have shown, planning for the post-conflict reconstruction is crucial to prevent hostilities after the war. In 2004, Bush administration established a new Office of Stabilization and Reconstruction within the State Department. This office was tasked to prepare for

post-conflict problems and to help reconstruct societies following internal conflicts or wars.

US should also shift some defense funding away from anachronistic war-fighting programs into more preventive forms of military training, operations, doctrine, procurement, stability and post-conflict reconstruction operations, in the post-Cold War period.

11.3.2. The Transformation of the US and Russia Relations

After the fall of the Berlin Wall, the relationship between the US and the Russia based on suspicion and distrust was converted into cooperation in some areas of mutual interest. Bush and Putin agreed that the US-Russian relationship should be based on the issues of trade and investment. The tragedy of September 11 highlighted the counter-terrorism efforts as a natural area for bilateral cooperation. (Cordova, 2009)

On May 1, 2001, Bush declared his vision for a strategic framework for the post-Cold War era. He emphasized that the US and Russia were not the strategic adversaries, despite continuing some conflicts.

He also stated that he sought to transform the nature of the bilateral relationship, based on common responsibilities and interests.

The US and Russia have been working very closely on a wide array of political issues and common challenges, such as to resolve regional conflicts in Abkhazia, Nagorno-Karabakh, the Middle East. The US and Russia

are also cooperating effectively on transnational issues related to terrorism and organized crime. Drug trafficking provides significant financial support for international terrorist organizations. Besides, the complete transition to a market economy and to integrate Russia further into the global economy is important. Moscow's broader economic reform efforts help to prepare Russia for a larger role in the global economy.

The terrorist attacks of 2001 created opportunities for new areas of dialog and cooperation. The most remarkable cooperation with Russia, since the 9/11attacks, was in the Central Asia. The US supported economic and political development and respect for human rights in the region while broaden cooperation on humanitarian issues and counterterrorism and narcotics. Putin has shown noteworthy leadership in coordination with Central Asian leaders to encourage their cooperation with the US in the battle against terrorism.

The degree of cooperation with Russia in Central Asia is unprecedented. Russia has shared intelligence, provided search-and-rescue assistance, supported international humanitarian relief efforts, and did not obstruct the Central Asian states' decision to accept US military presence on their national territories. Russia has provided two military liaison officers to the US Central Command in Florida.

Russia and NATO are also working as partners to counter regional instability. The NATO-Russia Council moves forward on common challenges in future.
NATO and Russia also try to improve coordination in places where they are already working together, such

as the Balkans. They also search for other areas of co-operation, such as missile defense, civil-emergency response and airspace control that can strengthen the security of the US, Russia and all of Europe.

The Joint Declaration on the New Strategic Relationship between the US and Russia specified steps to foster confidence, transparency and cooperation in the area of missile defense. Information exchange on missile defense programs, reciprocal site visits to observe tests, and exchanging early warning data help to improve the cooperation on security.

The US and Russia try to ensure the security of missile technologies, and material. They determined to support all countries in improving export controls, interdicting illegal transfers, prosecuting violators, and strengthening border security to prevent proliferation. President Bush repeatedly declared that the US is committed to strong nonproliferation cooperation with Russia and the Eurasian States.

Russia's democracy and economy may face challenges, and its interests do not always converge with those of the US. The new strategic framework that are developing with Russia provides a strong base to continue the transformation of critical bilateral relations, manage the differences and create opportunities for both countries, in tandem with the allies and friends.

11.4. Ideology and Objectives of Soviet Foreign Policy during the Cold War

The basic character of Soviet foreign policy was pro-

letarian internationalism and peaceful coexistence. It refers to the common interest of the working classes in struggling to overthrow the bourgeoisie and to establish communist regimes. Peaceful coexistence refers to the peaceful relations with the capitalist states.

The general foreign policy goals of the Soviet Union were formalized in by the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in 1986.

According to the program, "the main goals and guidelines of the CPSU's international policy" included;

     a. Ensuring favorable external conditions,

     b. Eliminating the threat of world war,

     c. Disarmament,

     d. Strengthening the world socialist system,

     e. Developing equal and friendly relations with third world countries,

     f. Peaceful coexistence with the capitalist countries,

     g. Solidarity with communist parties, the international workers' movement, and national liberation struggles.

Although the emphasis and ranking of priorities were subject to change, two basic goals of Soviet foreign policy remained constant: national security and influence over Eastern Europe.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the US was considered the foremost threat to the national security of the Soviet Union. The second priority was given to relations with Eastern Europe and Western Europe. The third priority was given to the littoral states along the southern border

of the Soviet Union: Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, China, Mongolia, North Korea and Japan. The fourth priority was assigned on the regions near to, but not bordering the Soviet Union. Last priority was given to sub-Saharan Africa, and strategic naval straits or sea lanes.

Soviet Union emerged from World War II, as one of the two major world powers. It maintained its position through its hegemony in Eastern Europe, military strength, aid to developing countries and scientific research on space technology and weaponry. An economic bloc of communist countries was established in 1949 led by Moscow. Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) provided a framework for cooperation between the Soviet Union and its allies in Eastern Europe and the Third World.

The military counterpart to the COMECON was the Warsaw Pact. Moscow considered EasternEurope as a buffer zone for the forward defense of its western borders. Soviet troops crushed the rebellion in Budapest in 1956 and Prague in 1968. Also to military occupation and intervention, the Soviet Union controlled Eastern European states through its ability to supply natural resources.

The Committee for State Security (KGB) was responsible foreign espionage and internal surveillance. A massive network of informants throughout the Soviet Union was used to monitor dissent from official Soviet politics and morals.

During 1970s, the Cold War gave way to Detente. The world was no longer clearly split into two opposed

blocs. Moscow realized its strategic interests by gaining military footholds in strategically important areas throughout the Third World. Furthermore, it provided military aid to revolutionary movements in the Third World. Although the bureaucracy involved in the formation and execution of Soviet foreign policy, the Politburo of the Communist Party determined the major policy guidelines.

As the General Secretary of the Communist Party in 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev signaled a dramatic change in Soviet foreign policy. He followed conciliatory policies toward the West instead of maintaining the Cold War status quo. The Soviets ended the military occupation of Afghanistan and signed strategic arms reduction treaties with the US. Finally, they allowed its satellite states in Eastern Europe to determine their affairs. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991, Russia claimed to be the legal successor to the Soviet Union.

11.5. Post-Cold War Russian Foreign Policy

Russian politicians and military figures emphasize Russia's role as an independent actor in the international system and a country that has the right and the ability for its engagement with the international system together with other powers.

In terms of Russia's foreign policy, the divergence of Russia from the integration into Western institutions, began around 1993-95. In 1995, the Russia adopted a document called "The Strategic Course towards the Members of the Commonwealth of Independent States." It essentially gave to Moscow, the authority in

the internal affairs of these countries.

Beginning in 1994, the question of NATO expansion was the main conflict between Russia and the West.

When Putin came to power, as a competent and younger man he took the reins of power. He first offered his sympathy for the victims and offered his support in prosecuting the Global War on Terrorism. Russian assistance in terms of getting US forces into Afghanistan, in terms of intelligence sharing was important.

Putin's efforts were to reassert Russia's power, to secure the autonomy on the world stage by its size, history and importance as well as military strength. Throughout the years of Putin's presidency, the Russian economy grew by an average of over seven percent a year. The rising personal incomes of the population also contributed to Putin's popularity.

The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation was redefined by the President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin, on June 28, 2000. According to the new concept, the highest priority of the foreign policy of RF is to protect the interests of the Russian society.

Main objectives are to ensure security, to strengthen its sovereignty and territorial integrity and to achieve prestigious positions of RF as a great power. The aim was forming a stable, democratic order. In this sense, they accepted the norms of international law, including the goals and principles of the UN.

Russia's interests are also directly related to the other

tendencies, such as globalization of the world economy, international institutions and mechanisms in world economics and politics, development of regional and sub-regional integration. In this line, RF is trying to pursue an independent, pragmatist and constructive foreign policy, based on consistency and predictability.

The economic boom of Russia fueled by high oil prices allowed Russia to play a more autonomous geopolitical role. But, Russia enormously suffered from the economic and finance crises in 2008. In 2009, its GDP declined about 10 percent. It was a hamper on the government's ability to continue pursuing assertive and aggressive foreign policy, particularly around its borders.

Building a security system excluding Russia will not allow it to play a constructive role. In 2009, President Medvedev suggested signing a new Euro-Atlantic security treaty that would create an integrated security space encompassing the US and its allies in Europe, and Russia and its former satellites in the former Soviet Union.

Russia's current foreign policy focuses on keeping Russia secure and prestigious. Although no enemies dare to attack or threaten the country militarily, Russia's leaders remain concerned about the country's long-term safety. In this context, Russia must retain its prestige to ensure that it can defend its interests in the future.

Russian government seeks to enlarge its influence internationally. Moscow has worried from the possibility of a political instability that would affect Russia. Russia also fears that political change in some countries

may create instability within its borders. In the light of these concerns, Moscow's willingness to take action to defend its influence in the region was clearly demonstrated in the conflict between Russia and Georgia in August 2008.

Russian foreign policy priorities are also linked to its trade ties. In this context, the Near Abroad is important, but Europe is crucial. Although the Russian government has rejected many aspects of the European democratic model, Russian leaders and Russians still see themselves to a large extent as European. Because relations with the EU have often been tense in recent years, Russia has also focused its efforts on building bilateral ties with key countries, most successfully with Germany and Turkey. (Wikipedia, 2015)

Russia's efforts to turn itself into a respected "great power" have been more successful in some cases than others. Attempts to use supplies of natural gas and oil as a foreign policy lever in particular countries have tended to backfire, as exemplified by Russian relations with Georgia and Ukraine. Moreover, rhetoric invoking the energy lever and cutoff of natural gas has worried Russia's main European customers.

Moscow's willingness to use military force against Georgia in August 2008 has heightened tensions between Russia and many of its partners as well, although the conflict has also demonstrated clearly that Russia is not likely to be swayed by diplomatic pressure and that it now feels it has sufficient prestige to defend and define its interests appropriately.

In the Middle East, Russia has played an important role about efforts to curtail Iran's nuclear weapons program, and Moscow seeks a seat at the table on other key issues.

The Russian government feels that US policies undercut Russia's prestige and power. The US efforts to spread democracy to the countries on Russia's borders have led Russian leaders to conclude that the US has been acting contrary to Russia's interests. From Moscow's point of view, the Orange Revolution in Ukraine and the Rose Revolution in Georgia were not popular responses but the coups, precipitated by Western meddling that replaced the previous governments with pro-Western ones. These coups are seen as part of a Western, and particularly US effort, to undermine Russian influence in states near Russia. Perceptions of US support for Georgia during the August 2008 conflict have further fed distrust and hostility toward the US among Russians. Similarly, Russia's actions during that crisis have led many in the US to distrust and blame Russia.

Russia retains its nuclear arsenal in part to respond to greater threats. The most likely dangers for Russia are the low-level conflicts within the country and small-scale actions nearby. In this respect, internal security forces have been getting a larger share of the budget.

Russia's armed forces today are below the standards that Russia desired. As part of a military reform, the Russian Ministry of Defense is transforming the army from a predominantly conscripted force to professional volunteer soldiers.

Russia is Turkey's largest trade partner and the source of nearly two-thirds of Turkish imports of natural gas. Informal trade in consumer goods between the two countries is substantial and important. The two states have cooperated on energy pipelines and projects. They also agree on some security issues, particularly regarding the Black Sea, where they don't want NATO involvement.

Though a US ally, Turkey shares Russian concerns that certain US policies in the Middle East are destabilizing. The two countries' views on extremism and separatism are also fairly aligned. Although their situations are far from parallel, both states face criticism from outside powers for their domestic policies and are exhorted to allow greater political pluralism.

The relationship is not without problems. Turkey's relationships with the Caucasus and Central Asian states have been a cause of concern in Russia. As China and the US, Turkey is seen as a rival there, although it works hard to balance good relations with those countries with its excellent ties to Russia. One example of Turkey's efforts to do this is its pursuit of a Caucasus "Stability and Cooperation Platform," which involved both Georgia and Russia, just after Georgia - Russia cease-fire in August 2008.

Russia worries that economic relations will become worse if Turkey joins the EU. In this sense, some argue that Russo-Turkish rapprochement driven by such divergent strategic interests is sustainable. The leaders on both sides seem decisive in maintaining the ties closer.

11.6. The Effects of Energy Resources over Euro-Asian Politics

11.6.1. The Energy Strategy of Russia

Russia has the world's largest reserves of natural gas and the second as the oil producer after Saudi Arabia. The country can supply a third of Europe's oil and natural gas. It also started to export more to the East Asia.

The energy is the main pillar of Russia's increasing strength and vital for Russia's national security. Russia can leverage its natural resources to achieve a balance with the great powers beyond its periphery.

Currently, energy revenues are the half of the budget. This capital helps Russia build its military and industrial basis to maintain its status as a global power. However, being dependent on energy is a great vulnerability for the Russian economy. (Goodrich and Lanthemann, 2013)

Russia's physical connectivity with Europe undercut any competitor against the Moscow's relationships in Europe. Moscow's strength lies in its flexibility in managing its energy sector. As a result of energy liberalization, the Russian energy sector was divided between foreign groups and the emerging Russian oligarch class and production fell by half.
During Vladimir Putin rule in 2000s, the government effectively nationalized the majority of the energy sector under three state companies: Gazprom, Rosneft, and Transneft. Then, the Kremlin became more aggressive

while negotiating the supply contracts with the former Soviet states and Europe. They dictated extremely high prices because these customers had no alternative. The Kremlin also began cutting energy supplies to certain markets, blaming transit states such as Ukraine. It seems that this policy was used to shape other political negotiations.

Moscow's energy strategy helped bring about a stronger and more stable Russia. Russian energy revenues increased a lot due to high oil and natural gas prices. Russia used its excess funds for political, social, economic and military sectors. Energy politics also helped Russia to foster its influence in the near abroad. But, the financial crises that swept Europe and Russia in 2008 reminded Russia of its dependency to the European consumers.

Russia is so vulnerable to the fluctuations in the price of energy. The government could be crippled should energy prices fall. Historical experience showed that international crises and fluctuations in global consumption and production had sufficient impact on oil prices could destabilize the Russia. Natural gas export revenues are currently in question. Revenues from European consumers may reduce significantly due to price cuts.

In fact, Russia's energy sector is under strain. With little competition, Gazprom is lagging in technology. Russia's oil giant Rosneft may fall into a similar trap. With future energy projects in Russia requiring more advanced technology and capital.

Corruption is also a major factor, with varying esti-

mates of 20 to 40 percent of Gazprom's revenues lost to either corrupt or inefficient practices. Rosneft has similar problems. This loss will not be sustainable in the future should energy prices fall.

Russian-Ukrainian crises became a strong reminder for European nations because of their dependence on Russian natural gas exports. European countries began to develop strategies to mitigate not only Europe's vulnerability to disputes between Moscow and transit states, but also its dependence on Russia.

The built of new liquefied natural gas import facilities may provide to certain countries with the ability to import natural gas from suppliers around the globe and bypass Russia's traditional lever. The development of a pipeline project that would bring non-Russian Caspian natural gas to the European market is another attempt to decrease European dependence on Russian natural gas.

Additionally, EU-wide policies allow European nations to present a more unified front in challenging the monopolistic practices of Gazprom's pricing strategy in Central Europe. It is increasingly difficult for Russia to use natural gas pricing as a foreign policy tool.

Putin is able to recognize the challenges against the Russian energy sector. The Kremlin has crafted a set of policies to adjust the country to the possible changes soon. Russia is addressing the uncertainty surrounding the key transit states. The construction of an oil terminal on the Baltic Sea allows Russia to largely bypass the Belarus pipeline system. The construction of natural gas pipelines in the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea

will bypass the Ukraine.

Russia pays significant attention to developing connections to the growing East Asian energy markets, in case of continuing challenges in the European market. One important project is for the next decade is the construction of the Eastern Siberia-Pacific Ocean oil pipeline with the cost about $15 billion.

While Russia's dependence on high oil prices continues to worry Moscow, Putin managed to respond proactively to the external shifts in energy consumption and production patterns. However, the long-term sustainability of the Russia is doubtful.

11.6.2. Turkey`s Geostrategic Role for the Transfer of Energy

Because of its location between main global energy suppliers and consumers in Asia and Europe, Turkey has a high potential role in the global energy system. About 70% of the world oil and gas reserves are at the East, North and South of Turkey, and the world's largest energy market lies at West. In this regard, Turkey´s objective of being an energy hub for East-West and North-South energy corridors is a natural result of its geo-strategic position.

Turkey's policies are very crucial within the global energy system for energy supply continuity as well as alternative energy projects. Non-Russian gas supply, particularly for Azerbaijani, Turkmen, Iranian and Iraqi gas via Turkey is becoming more important. Restructuring of alternative energy transportation routes is nec-

essary for European consumers. Also, with its large population and growing economy, Turkey is becoming an important energy consumer.

Currently, Turkey hosts numerous pipelines across the country. Baku - Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) crude oil pipeline has 1100 miles pass within Turkish borders. This is the first transnational pipeline that transports Caspian oil without crossing Russian soil. It carries approximately one million barrels of crude oil per day, about 1.2 % of the world's current daily oil needs. BTC pipeline is crucial for connecting the East-West energy corridor. It creates an interdependent system for regional cooperation and peace. Another important transnational pipeline is the Iraq-Turkey Crude Oil Pipeline (Kirkuk-Ceyhan).

There are several inter-governmental gas pipelines passingthrough Turkey. The Blue Stream gas pipeline between Russia and Turkey is one of the most important of these. The Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum (BTE) and the Tabriz-Ankara gas pipelines are the others in operation. For starting Nabucco Project, Intergovernmental Agreement was signed on 13th of July 2009 in Ankara.

Turkey invited Russia to become a part of the Nabucco project as a part of cooperation policy. Russia, on the other hand, invited Turkey to be a member of the South Stream project, which was initiated to compete against Nabucco. Turkey's pipeline policy reflects Turkey's multi-dimensional foreign policy of Turkey's goal of being East-West as well as North-South energy corridor.

The oil and gas infrastructure is one of the most strategic targets for terrorists. Much of this infrastructure is located on the ground and exposed to terrorist attacks. Besides, political disturbances, economic crises and rising oil prices contribute to attract terrorist activities at energy facilities in these regions.

Another major threat to the pipeline security is illegal tapping. Several illegal tap incidents on the BTC pipeline happened since 2006. The Turkey's security organizations, particularly the Gendarmerie, advanced electronic security systems along the pipeline.

The complicated nature of energy security requires collaboration between governments to set up longer energy security agreements at the international level.

NATO, with its operational land, air and maritime capabilities, has a key role to provide energy security. An effective energy security strategy cannot be developed without considering the capacity of NATO, especially in the Caucasus and Middle East. Turkey should be proactive and take concrete steps to energy security within NATO framework. In addition, EU dimension should not be ignored. More concrete cooperation requires the security of energy infrastructure with related countries, such as Azerbaijan, Georgia, Russia, Iraq, Iran, Kazakhstan, and others.

TWELTH CHAPTER
DYNAMICS OF CHANGE
IN CONTEMPORARY GLOBALIZATION

The political decision-making process of democracies is likely to change rapidly in the coming years. New technologies will contribute to the participation of the citizens and other actors to this process. Policy-makers must take into account these developments to explain and legitimize their foreign policy choices.

12.1. Democracy in the 21st Century

The new millennium has witnessed a warning of a global crisis of democracy, particularly due to the negative political impacts of the rising energy prices. There are many grounds for optimism regarding the global state and prospects for democracy, undoubtedly together with many challenges lying ahead.

The main question is how can be possible to put into practice the new national democratic order-making?

First, each country has to find its way to forward and develop a set of democratic institutions and processes, to meet the demands of its national context.

Secondly, national ownership democracy is critical. A significant part of the world's population views international efforts to support democracy as the imposition of alien interests through the use of force. International assistance to democracy needs to reclaim its multilateral credibility and legitimacy. It needs to respect and

promote national ownership in practice, as much as in theory.

Third, building democracy requires a long-term perspective, engagement and approach. On this point, the international community has failed over and over again.

Fourth, effective democracy assistance focuses on integrating many facets of democracy. It is not only related to institutional architecture, such as elections the constitution, political party regulation, judicial reform, but also enhancing national capacity for dialog and reconciliation.

Lastly, the appeal of democracy as a system of governance depends on its capacity to deliver. The credibility of democracy is being undermined by its failure to deliver, in terms of tangible human security and prosperity.

12.2. The Use of Internet Web to Change Politics

In the future, citizens will exercise permanent influence through constant suggestions, ideas, and contributions, which are organized over the internet. The physical demonstrations may continue, but the real catalysts of political change will be politically ambitious and well-organized networks with professionally managed databases. The organized pressure of the civil society and non-governmental organizations will become one of the new ways to force political change to transform the old political system..

These changes do not signal weakening of representa-

tive democracy. On the contrary, it will move forward and become stronger. The internet offers a solution in novel forms of citizen involvement. In a certain sense, this is a signal to return to the democratic politics, as the citizen demand and receive more direct participation. Political actors feel the pressure to address the concerns of their constituents. Once the people have this creative power, it will be hard to make them give it up. Along with their increased role, citizens will have more responsibility. Politics will move further away from the prior conception of the nation-state.

Internet technology also has the potential to revolutionize political participation. Social communities such as Face Book and MySpace, video portals like YouTube and platforms for direct communication such as Twitter are growing. These websites may significantly change political communication.

In the future, more and more movements of well-connected activists with their agenda will grow around issues that are important to them. Professional political campaigns can use extensive distribution lists to use the power of this phenomenon.

The politicized networks can force the policy process in their way. Transparency and innovation will spread. Politicians will directly engaged in addressing the concerns of their constituents.

In Europe, new and more responsive parties will arise out of the internet networks. The first example of this phenomenon came with the surprising success of the internet-friendly "Pirate Party" in the 2009 European

elections. The website can be a forum for the political concerns and demands on topics from taxes to health care reform or renewable energy.

In Germany, digital society is becoming an important factor in public opinion. A large number of citizens, activists and, aid organizations use Web technologies to exchange ideas, organize campaigns and mobilize people.

Educated and politically concerned citizens have a stronger involvement in the political process. Citizens enjoy the opportunity to contribute directly. The objective is to generate policy recommendations from the collective intelligence of informed citizens.

The transparent and systematic presentation of citizens can ensure effects on the political process. The politicians must be willing to take the suggestions and ideas seriously. The politicians can use the new technologies to see what concerns are important to their constituency and if they received the previous policies. The web will enable actors in all stages of the political process to access reciprocal feedback. Eventually, politics will become more intelligent and more effective.

Web communities are highly suited for the analysis and communication of increasingly complex questions concerning international relations. Experts from think tanks, politicians, and citizens can engage in comprehensive discussions and propose new ideas. Furthermore, these networks encourage interdisciplinary communication for politicians, economists, scientists, social scientists and media.

12.3. The Effect of Globalization on Political Change

Globalization is creating entirely new global forces, processes, and institutions. For example, global stock and bond markets permit traders to invest on a 24/7 basis instead of limited hours during Monday-Friday period. Globalization also changes the world by combining older ways of behaving with what's new, sometimes combining two or more ways of doing things. Online banking and shopping, with 24-hour high-speed computer access from home or anywhere in the world eliminates the need to travel to shop or bank, and has considerable impact on individual time management, social organization, jobs and consumption patterns.

While globalization brings some practices, values, or institutions into being, it also causes others to disappear. The notion of extinction becomes visible within the US, for example, when Wall Mart and other big box retailers overwhelm and extinguish local retail stores.

Predicaments associates with the politics of crisis decision-making. The term predicament refers to complex situations in which it is difficult or impossible to come up with a predictable solution. Complexity theory examines how something happens when large numbers of individual units come together and interact with each other, which makes it useful in studying globalization. (Lewin, 1999)

Some things donot change despite the global pressures on them. The forces of change represented by globalization may create resistance to change, and reinforces the values of the status quo. People or institutions may

try to preserve traditional economic practices or religious and social customs.

12.3.1. Changes Created by Novelty

Since the early 19th century, innovations and novelty have radically changed the world, giving rise to industrialism. To illustrate the value of using novelty as a tool for global analysis, we should understand how communications and networks operate in the contemporary world.

Novelty in the areas of communications has led to all forms of human endeavor becoming interdependent. Contemporary communications are built on its predecessor technologies, the telegraph and telephone of the 19th century, as the extension of earlier innovations. The advent of the microprocessor has led to huge changes in related fields. The important features of these innovations are their scale and widespread distribution, inter-relatedness and cumulative impacts on human behavior.

Contemporary global communication includes all information obtained through electronic technology. It also includes all other communication that takes place through non-technological means, such as face-to-face communicating networks. As new technologies appear, human behavior changes as a result. For example, the world gains speed, through the accessibility of people through cell phone networks.

Networks attract individuals and groups to join them because participation provides a benefit they could not

obtain through their resources. Networks that do not provide expected benefits over time will fail. People will withdraw their support to seek alternatives that will supply more benefits.

At the personal level, an individual can simultaneously be a member of any number of networks. No one knows how many networks have grown up in the world. Organizing society around networks creates a dynamic and change properties. As globalization demonstrates, networks are difficult to control directly, or to regulate. The internet continues to grow with extraordinary rapidity, by developing their search vehicles.

The network capacity of individuals, groups or societies of the world creates an open-ended set of possibilities for the association, re-association, and change. Networks represent that globalization has promoted a borderless, low-bounded or flat world. (Friedman, 2005)

Online design is becoming a substitute for in-house research and development while voting takes the place of conventional market research, as the biggest paradigm shift in innovation since the Industrial Revolution. For about hundred years, manufacturers have not been able to understand people's needs. Today, most people can better decide what they want for themselves. (Kaufman, 2008)

12.3.2. Combinations

With the innovation designed for one use, new dimensions of change may occur. Distance education is one

example of combinational change. Electronic distance education uses one of the two sets of combinations:

a. Synchronous media such as television, combined with the Internet or over telephone lines, put people separated by distance together electronically in real time,

b. Asynchronous techniques allow people to communicate via a common forum but free them from the requirement to interact at the same time. In this situation, a standard educational practice is combined with various combined technologies to overcome the place and time limitations of the traditional classroom.

Combination changes operate by creating multiplier effects: whatever the number of persons or actions involved the new combination, the numbers of those involved enlarge after the combination. Further, they often have the side effect of transforming the institutions using them. Combined changes may create new institutions altogether. Both transformed and innovative institutions have developed with the online distance education, especially in higher education applications.

On-line banking and ATMs represent another combinatorial innovation that links the concept of the credit card to individual uses of credit and bank accounts. The ATM gave individuals access to their accounts any time they wished to have access. This service soon coupled with credit cards, permitting cash access in thousands of international locations. Recently, this arrangement has coupled again with the sponsoring bank cards and on-line commercial transactions, including personal

hand devices. Although global data are probably unreliable, one source reports the total volume of electronic transactions conducted over the Internet at $280 billion. (Mindbranch, 2008)

These combination changes suggest complex economic behaviors and institutional transformations. The use of digital cameras to capture and review surgeries is an example of these combination dynamics.

The events leading up to the Iranian revolution in 1978 surprised the world as it discovered the role that cassette recorders were playing in bringing the voice and speeches of the Ayatollah Khomeini to the Iranian people. The Shah's regime had been relatively successful to control media such as radio and television, but not the under-ground audio recordings. Today, the digital devices are widely used by the non-state political actors including terrorist networks.

These require more complex and comprehensive state responses to such threats. Today, billions of communications are captured and monitored daily by the security services of many nation states. (Ball and Webster, 2003)

12.3.3. Extinction

Extinction naturally accompanies the varieties of change generated by globalization, for example, language extinction. The pressures by the dynamics of political and economic integration resulted in significant language extinction.

As nation-states have grown over the past two and a half centuries, regional, group, tribal, and ethnic languages have given way to national languages, by the homogenizing influence of broadcast media. National media tend to marginalize local languages by providing content in the national language. Half of the estimated 6000 languages in the world are classified as moribund, meaning that they are spoken by adults but no longer taught to the children. Thus, about 90 percent of local languages today are likely to die within the next century. (Crawford, 1998)

As the global economy continues to move to higher orders of integration, regional and less integrated economies imitate the patterns of the national economies that dominate global trade. English has progressively emerged as the de facto language of globalization. Nations wishing to be fully engaged in the global economy have quickly discovered that they must develop a workforce fluent in the English language. Many nations have placed great importance on teaching English in the schools. As a result of this continual pressure to globalize English, greater pressures are brought at the local level who keep sub-national languages alive and in active use. One outcome of globalization is language extinction. This will have significant political consequences for the future.

12.3.4. Predicaments

Globalization and its speed of change raise questions about the stability of world systems. The stability of a complex social or economic order competes with the forces of change that tend toward chaos, seeking a

sensitive balance or equilibrium. Too much order stifles the creativity and change that bring the benefits of novelty and greater efficiency. Too much chaos means the destruction of the order and known patterns to feel secure and accomplish the demands of daily life. Observers now use complexity theory and chaos theory to determine how complex systems such as globalization function and produce results. Chaos theory relies on sophisticated mathematics and uses of computers to examine the multiple variables of complex systems. (Gladwell, 2000)

Some assert that the extremely large numbers of variables and interactions that characterize globalization as a complex system may cause it to behave in random ways. Scientists use complexity theory to study subjects such as neuroscience, meteorology, evolutionary computation, or earthquake prediction, often seeking non-linear coupling rules that lead to complex phenomena, rather than only describe them. Human societies and human brains, in this view, are complex systems. (Wikipedia, 2008)

Globalization can be seen as a new order of complex systems whose rules of interactions are just beginning to be observed and understood. Under the conditions of complexity, some philosophers of complexity tell us that making a decision requires different thinking and actions. They argue, even in conditions of relative complexity, situations can be viewed as problems that can yield to predictable solutions under the right conditions. Individuals can make choices among various possible courses of actions that the outcomes of which are uncertain in complex situations.

For example, there is no way that the world can continue to employ fossil fuels at the current or predicted rates and should avoid continued global warming and all of the catastrophic results that it will bring. The solution to global warming can be drastically cut the use of fossil fuels and to develop rapidly low-emissions renewable fuel alternatives. Many large-scale complex systems, like ocean liners, cannot be quickly turned about. Scientists estimate that even if radical changes were made today in slowing the growth of fossil fuel emissions into the atmosphere, the melting of the polar ice caps would not stop. If the Greenland ice cap or the Antarctic Ice Shelf completely melt, sea levels would rise about 4 to 6 meters, and will bring catastrophic effects to the world's coastal areas. Besides, any solution through radically reduced fossil fuel emissions would mean sacrificing the current models of economic growth and personal aspirations for economic advancement. Because, the worldwide use of fossil fuels has created a complex system.

Seeing the world as a set of problems has been reinforced by the nation-state system of borders that permits a people to look inward to its society and national governments as a primary frame of reference. Global theorists emphasize that the boundary-lessening nature of globalization may increasingly be obsolete and that we may need to develop more ecological models for the world.

Finally, because complex systems are difficult to understand and predict, one human tendency is to ignore the complexity and uncertainty. Many facing a complex dilemma just go forward until a crisis is produced

and then respond to that crisis. Governments often be-
have in this way. By political considerations, govern-
ments resist change and organize the political process
to oppose such policies. But, a crisis may occur where
everybody is negatively affected. Government can act
under conditions of crisis in ways that it cannot under
normal conditions. Only when a crisis breaks out, for
example, when a deadly infectious disease emerges, a
government is empowered by public sentiment to take
the actions necessary to counter the public health threat.
(Stone, 1997)

12.3.5. Status Quo

A preference for maintaining the status quo is a kind
of change dynamic. Speed of the changes marks glo-
balization. Resistance to these changes can come from
any number of groups. Some resistance comes from
people who believe that they are losing out on the ben-
efits of globalization, and often would prefer a former
situation to the changes that globalization has brought.
Other kinds of resistance can come from those whose
economic interests are displaced by global forces, such
as small local, regional or national businesses that can-
not compete with transnational corporations. Resist-
ance can also come from environmental groups who
perceive that globalization threatens the ability of the
planet to sustain effectively life and social organiza-
tion. (Gills, 2000)

Another common form of resistance is related to culture
and belief, where religious values involved. These pre-
dispositions for the status quo articulated as religious
conservatism. One can find fundamentalists in business

organizations, political parties, or on sports teams. The core attitude is a belief in a value system viewed to be superior to alternatives and modifications of social change. Fundamentalism often tied to texts or practices identified with charismatic individuals.

Political conflict over globalization frequently takes the form of some status quo which serves as the basis of resistance. Coalitions of resistance may bring together individuals and groups whose reasons for opposing globalization may be quite different. This feature is common to the dynamics of political opposition.

12.4. The Clash of Civilizations

The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict may be cultural. Nation states may remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics may occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations could dominate global politics and the fault lines between civilizations can be the battle lines of the future.

The primary units of international conflict are now said to be civilizations, not the states. The clash of civilizations has a multi-polar dimension. The major players are united by culture, rather than by class or ideology. Politicized civilizations are power blocs, each of which naturally struggles for survival, influence, and where necessary, domination. The West is now on the top, but other civilizations start to develop their economic, military and cultural capacities to challenge Western hegemony and to reshape the world through the

non-Western values and beliefs.

The interactions among major civilizations can shape the world. These include Western, Confucian, Japan, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic-Orthodox, Latin American and possibly African civilization. Differences in power of the military, economic and institutional power are the source of conflict between the West, and other civilizations. The conflicts in future may occur along the cultural fault lines separating these civilizations from one another. (Huntington, 1993) "The West against the Rest" describes the most likely fault line of future civilization relations.

Regional hegemonic powers must be capable of persuading weaker nations to accept its representation of their cultural and political interests. It is hard to conceive of a Slavic-Orthodox civilization without Russia, a Hindu civilization without India, or a Confucian civilization without China.

The balance of power in the world has started to change. The West has lost its relatively superior influence. Asian civilizations are expanding their economic, military, and political strength. Islamic nations are exploding demographically and increasing their political, cultural and economic effects.

Efforts to shift societies from one civilization to another were not so successful. Non-Western civilizations started to recognize the value of their cultures. A civilization-based world order is emerging.

Avoidance of a global war of civilizations depends on

world leaders to cooperate to maintain a multi civilization character of global politics.

12.5. The Role of the International Organizations in National Politics

There are great numbers of public and private international organizations. But, the main actors of the multilateral diplomacy on the world scene are only a few. Among them the United Nations is unquestionably the number one.

The UN was created to release humanity from war and chaos. The UN is a collective security system to ensure that the horrors of the two World Wars should never be repeated. The current security threats include poverty, infectious diseases, environmental degradation, bad governments, civil conflicts, the proliferation of nuclear, radiological, chemical and biological weapons, international terrorism and transnational organized crime.

The main goal of the UN is maintaining peace and international security as well as promotion of international economic and social development, respect for human rights for all people, and the rule of law. For sixty years, the UN has contributed a lot to fulfill these goals. But the time has changed. The preoccupation of the UN with state security alone is not enough. The people of the world expect much more. They need not only state security but also human security, international security, economic development, human freedom and democracy. They expect from the UN to be more effective and efficient instrument for a united and collective response to the shared threats of the mankind.

The events of recent years, especially the attacks on 9/11 on New York and Pentagon led to declining public confidence in the UN. Another reason is related to the Security Council approach to the Iraq war. The UN institutions often have failed to meet expectations of the world people. New institutional arrangements are needed to address the economic and social threats to international security.

In fact, many efforts have been started to address the weaknesses of the UN and to revitalize it to be effectively fight injustice and inequalities, international terror and crime, and to protect environment.

Unless the UN undergoes a reform, it may not be able to meet the great demands of mankind. In particular, it is necessary to increase the efficiency of the UN in solving current international problems including the reform of Security Council and restoration of its role in world affairs. The reform should strengthen decision-making, implement multilateral arrangements, improve UN ability to undertake collective action and resist unilateral tendencies to use force without Security Council authorization.

The composition of the Security Council should reflect the political changes and the contribution of States to the activities of the UN. Increasing the number of permanent seats on the Security Council by adding new states from Asia, Africa, Latin America as well as Japan and Germany will provide a fair distribution of the political representation.

The crucial decisions concerning the humanitarian in-

tervention, there should be specific criteria for the use of force in line with the rules of international law. Only the Security Council should be authorized to allow the use of force, in case of any threat to the peace.

A strong respond to the challenges and threats of the twenty first century requires a multilateral system in the new international order. Twenty first century's civilization should be based on universal values enshrined in the UN Chanter. These universal values are freedom, security, democracy and solidarity. UN and all states need to present greater determination in response to the problems, such as terrorism and proliferation of WMD.

To save succeeding generations from the wars, it is necessary to move beyond peacekeeping or military and political matters, and to deal with economic development to fight poverty and to respond the human rights challenges facing the international community.

A new and effective strategy against the terrorism should be urgently developed. On the other hand, the rule of law should be a central part of UN, especially for the Peace-building Commission. It should go together with promotion of democracy.

There are many other issues and threats like spreading diseases, environmental degradation, failing states and civil conflicts. Today, any state cannot be alone with its problem, no matter how powerful. It needs partners and international cooperation.

12.6. European Union's Role in the Changing Political Environment

European commitment towards multilateralism is clearly at the center of the European Union external policies. Effective multilateralism is one of the central pillars of the European Security Strategy adopted in December 2003. The choice of multilateralism focused on a comprehensive strengthening of EU-UN relations.

EU Member States provide around 38 % of the UN's regular budget and 50 % of the UN funds and programs. The cooperation consists of the exchange of information, coordination of activities and priorities as well as contacts at all levels, including implementation of conflict prevention and peace building. Intensified EU-UN cooperation extends also to the conflict prevention and crisis management. In this respect, EU's Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina replaced the UN Task Force.

EU also contributes greatly to promoting democracy in the world. Stability, security and openness are essential for trade and inward investment that bring economic development and welfare. EU promoted the democracy to promote the solidarity and for interests in trade and investments. They believe that democracy is the best guarantor of peace, stability and prosperity. The rule of law operates well and human rights are respected in the democratic societies, to secure societies. They are also more open to international cooperation.

Today Europe is guided by political philosophy of inclusion and by common commitment to multilateralism

based on international law. The main task of the Council of Europe is to preserve and promote human rights, democracy and the rule of law.

12.7. The Way Ahead

It is necessary to analyze political changes at global level, creating large-scale data sets that escape from the nation-state primacy assumptions. There must be a broadening and sharpening of political science to focus on problems that are constituted by theory, which is framed in more carefully defined operational terms and open to being influenced by new political science theories.

Many established areas of discipline already operate under the looming threat of intellectual or methodological obsolescence and the challenge to the game through innovating is unavoidable. Transitionto digital era methods means reducing the dependence on reactive methods in favor of non-reactive methods. Especially web based methods in organizational analysis, and a focus on large transactional databases for studying mass behaviors and event processes would be necessary. This agenda will require concerted collective action among political scientists and scholars.

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